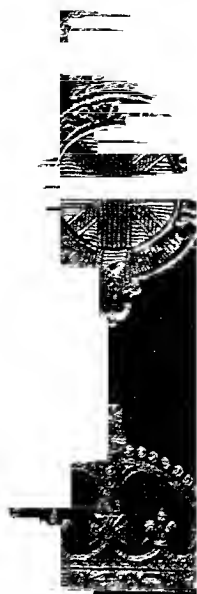


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THE INDIAN EMPIRE:
ITS PEOPLES, HISTORY, AND PRODUCTS.

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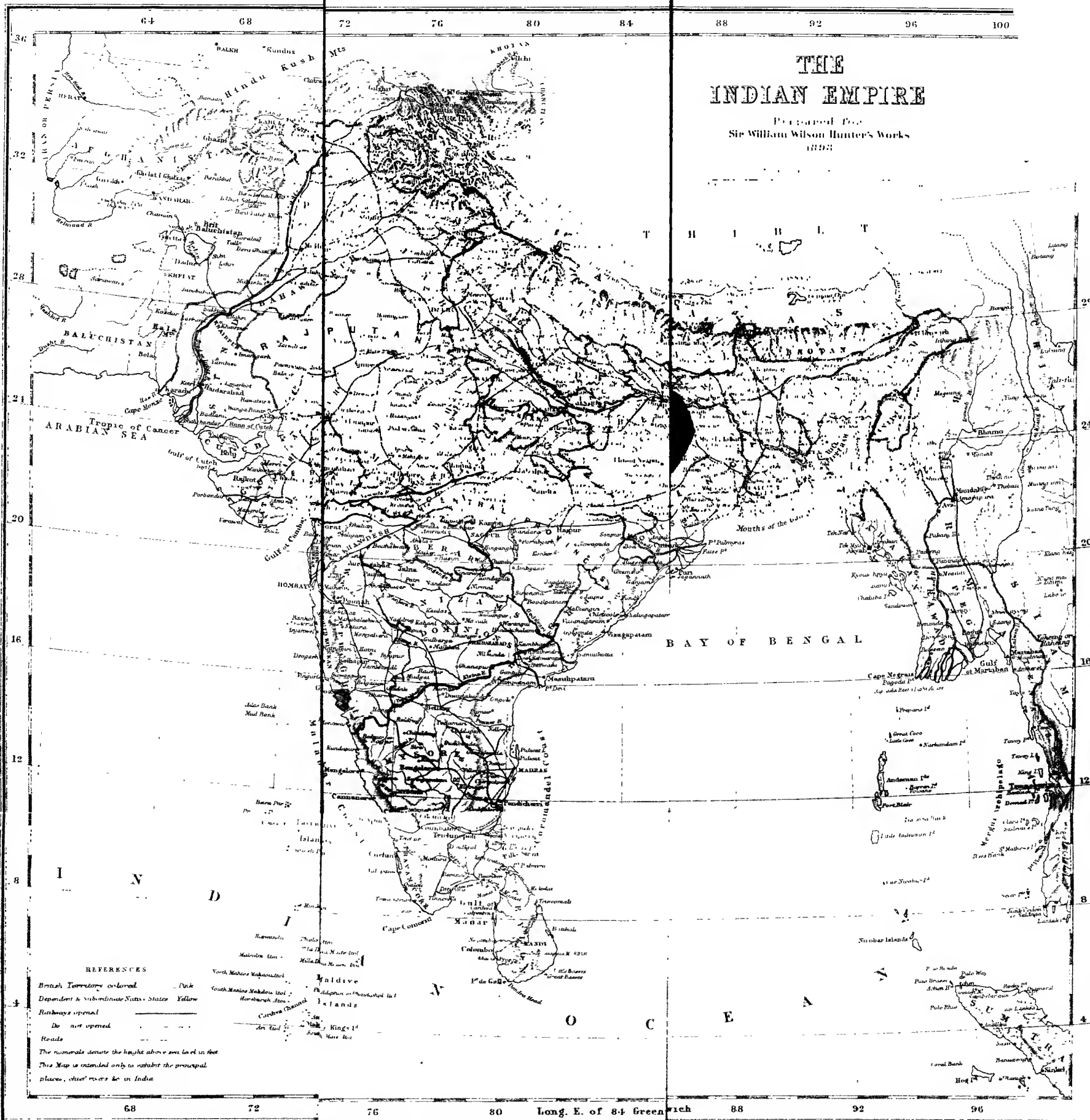
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British Territory colored. Pink
Dependent & subordinate States Yellow
Railways opened
Do not opened
Roads

The numerals denote the height above sea level in feet
This Map is extended only to exhibit the principal
places, chief rivers &c. in India

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PREFACE.

THIS book tries to present, in a compact form, an account of India and her peoples. The materials on which it is based are condensed from my larger works. In 1869 the Government of India directed me to execute a Statistical Survey of its dominions,—a vast enterprise, whose published records make 128 volumes, aggregating 60,000 printed pages. The scale of the operations, although by no means too elaborate for the administrative purposes for which they were designed, necessarily placed their results beyond the reach of the general public. The 128 volumes of *The Statistical Survey* were therefore reduced by me to a more compendious form as the fourteen volumes of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. In the present book I endeavour to distil into one volume the essence of the whole.

I have elsewhere explained the mechanism by which the Statistical Survey was conducted in each of the Districts or territorial units, now 250 in number, of British India.¹ Without the help of a multitude of fellow-workers, the local materials could never have been collected. In again acknowledging my indebtedness to my brethren of the Civil Service in India, I wish also to specially commemorate the obligations which I owe to two friends at home. Mr. J. S. Cotton, late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and Mr. Morse Stephens, B.A. (Balliol), Lecturer on Indian History at the University of

¹ See Preface to Volume I. of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 2nd ed.

Cambridge, have rendered important aid at later stages of the work.

This volume is the result of a long process of continuous condensation. But continuous condensation, although convenient to the reader, has its perils for the author. Many Indian topics are still open questions, with regard to which divergences of opinion may fairly exist. In some cases I have been compelled by brevity to state my conclusions without setting forth the evidence on which they rest, and without any attempt to combat alternative views. In other matters I have had to content myself with conveying a correct general impression, while omitting the modifying details. For I here endeavour to present an account, from original sources, of a continent inhabited by many more races and nations than Europe—races in every stage of human development, from the polyandric tribes and hunting hamlets of the hill jungles, to the most complex commercial communities in the world. When I have had to expose old fables, or to substitute truth for long-accepted errors, I clearly show my grounds for doing so. Thus, in setting aside the legend of Mahmúd the Idol-Breaker, I trace back the growth of the myth through the Persian Historians, to the contemporary narrative of Al Biruni (970–1029 A.D.). The calumnies against Jagannáth are corrected by the testimony of three centuries, from 1580 when Abul Fazl wrote, down to the local police reports of 1870. Macaulay's somewhat fanciful story of Plassey has been told afresh in the words of Clive's own despatch. His more serious misrepresentations of Warren Hastings are set right from the contemporary records of the Government of India, lately edited by Mr. George Forrest.

But indeed almost every period of Indian history forms an arena of controversy. Thus, in the early Sanskrit era, each date is the result of an intricate process of induction. The chapter on the Scythic inroads has been pieced together from

the unfinished researches of the Archæological Survey, from local investigations, and from an unpublished manuscript supplied for this edition by General Sir Alexander Cunningham. The growth of Hinduism, as the religious and social nexus of the Indian races, is here for the first time completely set forth in both its mediæval and modern developments. In attempting to reconstruct Indian history from its original sources in the fewest possible pages, I beg Oriental scholars to believe that, although their individual views are not always set forth, they have been respectfully considered. I also pray the reader to remember that, if he desires a more detailed treatment of the subjects dealt with in this volume, he may find it in my larger works.

The history of Christianity in India is written anew, from local investigation; and, at the same time, with a full appreciation of the latest researches by European scholars in the same field. The revenues of the Mughal Empire have been re-examined, from the evidence yielded by a further study of the coins and metric standards of the Delhi Emperors. The result is embodied in a section written by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole for this edition. The population chapter is largely made up of materials specially prepared for me by Mr. Baines, the Indian Census Commissioner (1891-92); and the revenue and statistical chapters have in like manner been enriched by the personal kindness of Sir Charles Bernard, Secretary in the Statistical Department of the India Office, and by Sir Theodore Hope, lately Member of the Viceroy's Council. Mr. H. G. Keene has also courteously helped me, by reading through the former, or second, edition with a view to calling attention to omissions or oversights. In the revision of the sections dealing with the modern statistics and organization of Christian missions, I have to thank Mr. W. R. Philipps for the latest Roman Catholic returns; Mr. Tucker, Secretary to the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel ; Mr. Osborn Allen, Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ; and Dr. George Smith, Secretary for Foreign Missions to the Free Church of Scotland.

The book has been thoroughly revised for this (the third) edition. New and valuable matter has been incorporated in every chapter, and important sections have been added. The population chapters have been reconstructed on the basis of the last Indian Census of 1891 ; and the whole of the statistics, administrative, economic, commercial, and social, have been brought down to the same date. I should add that it is due to the kind and most generous personal help of Mr. Baines, the Indian Census Commissioner, that I am enabled to bring out this volume in anticipation of his official report of the Indian Census of 1891.

W. W. HUNTER.

OAKEN HOLT, NEAR OXFORD,
December 1892.

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THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF INDIAN PROPER NAMES.

THIS volume adheres to the uniform spelling of Indian proper names prescribed by the Government of India. The system was resolved on after a protracted inquiry as to the best practicable course, and it embodies the joint conclusions of the Supreme and Provincial Governments on the subject. It is now adopted in the official publications and correspondence of those Governments, by an important section of the Indian Press, by the Royal Geographical Society, and by most authors who have an accurate acquaintance with India. According to its methods of transliteration the vowel sounds are as follow :—

a	has the sound of <i>a</i> in	woman.
á	has the sound of <i>a</i> in	father.
e	has the vowel sound in	grey.
i	has the sound <i>i</i> in	pın.
í	has the sound of final <i>i</i> in	intrigue.
o	has the sound of <i>o</i> as in	bone.
u	has the sound of <i>u</i> as in	bull.
ú	has the sound of <i>u</i> as in	rural.
ai	has the vowel sound in	briar.

Accents have been used as sparingly as possible ; and omitted in such words or terminals as *pur*, where the Sanskrit family of alphabets takes the short vowel instead of the long Persian one. The accents over *i* and *ú* have often been omitted, to avoid confusing the ordinary English reader, when the collocation of letters naturally gives them a long or open sound. No attempt has been made by the use of dotted consonants to distinguish between the dental and lingual *d*, or to represent similar refinements of Indian pronunciation. Such refinements have no meaning to the European eye, and would only perplex ninety-nine out of every hundred persons who will use this volume.

Where the double *oo* is used for *u*, or the double *ee* for *i*, and whenever the above vowel sounds are departed from, the reason is either that the place has obtained a popular fixity of spelling, or that the Government has for good reasons ordered the adoption of some special form.

I have borne in mind four things—First, that this work is intended for the ordinary English reader. Second, that the twenty-six characters of the

English alphabet cannot possibly be made to represent the fifty letters or signs of the Indian alphabets, unless we resort to puzzling un-English devices of typography, such as dots under the consonants, curves above them, or italic letters in the middle of words. Third, that as such devices are unsuitable in a work of general reference, some compromise or sacrifice of scholarly accuracy to popular convenience becomes inevitable. Fourth, that a compromise to be defensible must be successful, and that the spelling of Indian places, while adhering to the Sanskrit vowel sounds, should be as little embarrassing as possible to the European eye. This consideration has led to the old orthography being retained, at the cost of scientific consistency, in a large number of Indian proper names which have obtained a historical or popular fixity of spelling.

W. W. H.

NOTE ON THE SIGN RX.

Large values are given in this volume as 'tens of rupees,' a denomination which, while not subject to the charge of inaccuracy attaching to that of '£ sterling' calculated at the nominal exchange of 2s. to the rupee, nevertheless enables comparisons to be made with the old figures in treatises or official reports in which the no longer accurate expression of values in sterling was employed. The sign Rx. is used to signify tens of rupees; so that Rx. 50,000,000 means fifty millions of tens of rupees, or five hundred millions of rupees. This system of representing sums in Rx. or tens of rupees has now been uniformly adopted for large sums in the accounts of the Government of India, and in the Indian blue-books submitted to Parliament.

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THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY.

INDIA forms a great irregular triangle, stretching southwards from Mid-Asia into the ocean. Its northern base rests upon the Himalayan ranges; the chief part of its western side is washed by the Arabian Sea, and the chief part of its eastern side by the Bay of Bengal. It extends from the eighth to the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude; that is to say, from the hottest regions of the equator to far within the temperate zone. The capital, Calcutta, lies in $88\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E. long.; so that, when the sun sets at six o'clock there, it is just past mid-day in England.

General outline

The length of India from north to south, and its greatest breadth from east to west, are both about 1900 miles; but the triangle tapers with a pear-shaped curve to a point at Cape Comorin, its southern extremity. To this compact dominion the British have added, under the name of Burma, the country on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. The farthest eastern frontier of British India has now become continuous with the Chinese dominions. The British Indian Empire, thus described, contains over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles, and over 288 millions of inhabitants. India, therefore, has an area and a population about equal to the area and population of the whole of Europe, less Russia. Its peoples more than double Gibbon's estimate of 120 millions for all the races and nations which obeyed Imperial Rome.

Dimensions.

This vast Asiatic peninsula has, from a very ancient period, been known to the external world by one form or other of the name which it still bears. The early Indians did not themselves recognise any single designation for their numerous and diverse races; their nearest approach to a common appellation for India being Bhārata-varsha, the land of the Bhāratas, a noble warrior tribe which came into Upper India from the

Origin of the word 'India.'

north. But this term, although afterwards generalized, applied originally to the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, and strictly to only a part of them. The Indus river formed the first great landmark of nature which arrested the march of the peoples of Central Asia as they descended upon the plains of the Punjab. That mighty river impressed itself on the imagination of the ancient world. To the early comers from the high-lying camping grounds of inner Asia, it seemed a vast expanse of waters.

Sanskrit,
Zend, and
Greek
forms.

They called it in Sanskrit by the word which they gave to the ocean itself, *Sindhus* (from the root *gyand*, 'to flow'), a name afterwards applied to the ocean-god. The term extended itself to the country around the Indus river, and in its plural form, *Sindhavas*, to the inhabitants thereof. The ancient Persians, softening the initial sibilant to an aspirate, called it *Hendu* in the Zend language: the Greeks, further softening the initial by omitting the aspirate altogether, derived from it their *Indikos* and *Indos*. These forms closely correspond to the ancient Persian word *Idhus*, which is used in the inscriptions of Darius for the dwellers on the Indus. But the native Indian form (*Sindhus*) was known to the Greeks, as is proved by the *Sinthos* of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, and by the distinct statement of Pliny, 'Indus incolis Sindus appellatus.' Virgil says, 'India mittit ebur.'

Buddhist
derivation
of 'In-tu.'

The more eastern nations of Asia, like the western races of Europe, derived their name for India from the great river of the Punjab. The Buddhist pilgrims from China, during the first seven centuries of our era, usually travelled landward to Hindustán, skirting round the Himálayas, and entering the holy Indian land of their faith by the north-western frontier of the Punjab. One of the most celebrated of these pious travellers, Hiuen Tsiang (629-645 A.D.), states that India 'was anciently called Shin-tu, also Hien-tau: but now, according to the right pronunciation, it is called In-tu.' This word in Chinese means the moon: and the cradle-land of Buddhism derived its name, according to the good pilgrim, from its superior glory in the spiritual firmament, *sicut luna inter minora sidera*. 'Though there be torches by night and the shining of the stars,' he says, 'how different from the bright (cool) moon! Just so the bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called In-tu.'¹ Notwithstanding

¹ *Si-yu-t'u*: Buddhist Records of the Western World; translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel Beal. Vol. i. p. 69. Trubner, 1884.

the pious philology of the pilgrim, the great river of the Punjab (the Indus) is, of course, the origin of the Chinese name.

The term Hindustán is derived from the modern Persian form (Hind), and properly applies only to the Punjab and the central basin of the Ganges. It is reproduced, however, with a wider signification in the title of the Queen-Empress, *Kaisar-i-Hind*, the Caesar, Kaiser, Czar, or Sovereign-paramount of India.

India is shut off from the rest of Asia on the north by a vast mountainous region, known in the aggregate as the Himálayas. Among their southern ranges lie the Independent States of Bhután and Nepál: the great table-land of Tibet stretches northward behind: the Native Principality of Kashmír occupies their western corner. At this north-western angle of India (in lat. 36° N., long. 75° E.), an allied mountain system branches southward. Its lofty offshoots separate India on the west, by the well-marked ranges of the Safed Koh and the Suláimán, from Afghánistán; and by a southern continuation of lower hills (the Hálas, etc.) from Balúchistán. The most southerly part of the western land frontier of India is the river Hab, in Sind; and this boundary ends with Cape Monze, at the mouth of its estuary, in lat. $24^{\circ} 50'$ N., long. $66^{\circ} 43'$ E. Still proceeding southward, India is bounded along the west and south-west by the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean. Turning northward from its southern extremity at Cape Comorin (lat. $8^{\circ} 4' 20'$ N., long. $77^{\circ} 35' 35''$ E.), the Bay of Bengal forms the main part of its eastern boundary.

But in the north-east, as in the north-west, India has again a land frontier. The Himálayan ranges at the north-eastern angle of India (in about lat. 28° N., long. 97° E.) throw off long spurs and chains to the southward. These spurs separate the British Provinces of Assam, Eastern Bengal, and Burma, from the outlying and semi-independent territories of the Chinese Empire. Proceeding south-eastward from the Irawadi delta in Burma, a confused succession of little explored ranges divides the British province of Tenasserim from the Native Kingdom of Siam. The boundary line runs down to Point Victoria at the extremity of Tenasserim (lat. $9^{\circ} 59'$ N., long. $98^{\circ} 32'$ E.), following the direction of the watershed between the rivers of the British territory on the west and of Siam on the east.

The empire included within these boundaries is rich in

The four
Regions
of India.

varieties of scenery and climate, from the highest mountains in the world, to vast river deltas raised only a few inches above the level of the sea. It forms a continent rather than a country. But if we could look down on the whole from a balloon, we should find that India consists of four separate and well-defined tracts. The first includes the lofty Himālaya Mountains, which shut it out from the rest of Asia, and which, although for the most part beyond the British frontier, form a most important factor in the physical geography of Northern India. The second region stretches southwards from the base of the Himālayas, and comprises the plains of the great rivers which issue from them. The third region slopes upward again from the southern edge of the river plains, and consists of a high three-sided table-land, buttressed by the Vindhya Mountains on the north, and by the Eastern and Western Ghāts, which run down the coast on either side of India, till they meet at a point near Cape Comorin. The interior three-sided table-land, thus enclosed, is dotted with peaks and ranges, broken by river valleys, and interspersed by broad level uplands. It comprises the southern half of the Indian peninsula. The fourth region is Burma, consisting of the valley and delta of the Irawadi, together with the Yoma ranges, a coast-strip on the Bay of Bengal, and a wild hill-region stretching on the east and south-east of the Irawadi towards the Chinese and Siamese frontiers.

First
Region—
The Hima-
layas.

The first of the four regions is the Himālaya Mountains and their offshoots to the southward. The Himālayas—literally, the 'Abode of Snow,' from the Sanskrit *hima*, frost (Latin, *hiems*, winter), and *ālaya*, a house—consist of a system of stupendous ranges, the loftiest in the world. They are the *Emodus* or *Imaus* of the Greek geographers, and extend in the shape of a curved scimitar, with its edge facing southward, for a distance of 1500 miles along the northern frontier of India. At the north-eastern angle of that frontier, the Dihang river, the connecting link between the Tsan-pu (Sangpu) of Tibet and the Brahmaputra of Assam, bursts through the main axis of the Himālayas. At the opposite or north-western angle, the Indus in like manner pierces the Himālayas, and turns southward on its course through the Punjab. The Himālayas, like the Kuen-luen chain, the Tiān-shan, and the Hindu Kush, converge towards the Pamír table-land—that central knot whence the great mountain systems of Asia radiate. With the Kuen-luen the Himālayas have a closer connection, as these two mighty ranges form respectively the northern and

southern buttresses of the lofty Tibetan plateau. The Himalayas project east and west beyond the Indian frontier. Their total length is about 1750 miles, and their breadth from north to south from 150 to 250 miles.¹

Regarded merely as a natural frontier separating India from the Tibetan plateau, the Himalayas may be described as a double mountain wall running nearly east and west, with a trough or series of deep valleys beyond. The southernmost of the two walls rises steeply from the plains of India to 20,000 feet, or nearly 4 miles in height. It culminates in KANCHANJANGA, 28,176 feet, and MOUNT EVEREST, 29,002 feet, the latter being the loftiest measured peak in the world. This outer or southern wall of the Himalayas subsides on the northward into a series of depressions or upland dips, reported to be 13,000 feet above the level of the sea, beyond which rises the second or inner range of Himalayan peaks. The double Himalayan wall thus formed, then descends into a great trough or line of valleys, in which the Sutlej, the Indus, and the mighty Tsan-pu (Sangpu) gather their waters.

The Sutlej and the Indus flow westwards, and pierce through the Western Himalayas by separate passes into the Punjab. The Tsan-pu, after a long unexplored course eastwards along the valley of the same name in Tibet, finds its way through the Dihang gorge of the Eastern Himalayas into Assam, where it takes its final name of the Brahmaputra. On the north of the river trough, beyond the double Himalayan wall, rise the Karakoram and the Gangri Mountains, which form the southern escarpment of the Tibetan table-land. Behind the Gangris, on the north, the lake-studded plateau of Tibet spreads itself out at a height averaging 15,000 feet. Broadly speaking, the double Himalayan wall rests upon the low-lying plains of India, and descends northward into a river trough, beyond which, still farther to the north, rises the Tibetan plateau. Vast glaciers, one of which is known to be 60 miles in length, slowly move their masses of ice downwards to the valleys. The higher ranges between India and Tibet are crowned with eternal snow. They rise in a region of unbroken silence, like gigantic frosted fortresses one above the other, till their white towers are lost in the sky.

¹ Some geographers hold that the Himalayan system stretches in a continuous chain westwards along the Oxus to 68° E. long; and that only an arbitrary line can be drawn between the Himalayan ranges and the elevated regions of Tibet to the north of them.

Himálayan
passes.

This wild region is in many parts impenetrable to man, and nowhere yields a passage for a modern army. It should be mentioned, however, that the Chinese outposts extend as far as a point only 6000 feet above the Gangetic plain, north of Khátmánda, the capital of Nepál. Indeed, Chinese armies have seriously threatened Khátmánda itself; and Sir David Ochterlony's advance from the plains of Bengal to within reach of that city in 1816 is a matter of history. Ancient and well-known trade routes exist, by means of which merchandise from the Punjab finds its way over heights of 18,000 feet into Eastern Türkistán and Tibet. The Mustagh (Snowy Mount), the Karakoram (Black Mount), and the Chang-chenmo are among the most famous of these passes.

Offshoots
of the
Himá-
layas :

The Himálayas not only form a double wall along the north of India, but, as I have mentioned, at both their eastern and western extremities they send out ranges to the southward, which protect India's north-eastern and north-western frontiers.

on east ;

On the north-east, those offshoots, under the name of the Nágá and Patkoi mountains, etc., form a barrier between the civilised British Districts of Eastern Bengal and the wild tribes of Upper Burma. The southern continuations of these ranges, known as the Yomas, separate the coast strip of Burma on the Bay of Bengal from the interior valleys of the Irawadi, and are crossed by passes, the most historic of which, the An or Aeng, rises to 4517 feet, with gradients of 472 feet to the mile on its skilfully engineered road.

and west.

On the opposite or north-western frontier of India, the mountainous offshoots run down the entire length of the British boundaries from the Himálayas to the sea. As they proceed southwards, their best marked ranges are in turn known as the Safed Koh, the Suláimán, and the Hála mountains. These massive barriers have peaks of great height, culminating in the Takht-i-Suláimán, or Throne of Solomon, 11,317 feet above the level of the sea. But, as already stated, the mountain wall is pierced at the corner where it strikes southward from the Himálayas by an opening through which the Indus river flows into India. An adjacent opening, the KHAIBAR PASS (3400 feet above sea-level, amid neighbouring heights rising to 6800 feet), with the Kuram Pass on the south of it, the Gwalari Pass near Dera Ismáil Khán, the Tál Pass debouching near Dera Gházi Khán, and the famous Bolán Pass (5800 feet at top), still farther south, furnish (together with other less known passes) the gateways between India and Afghánistán. The

The Gate-
ways of
India.

HIMALAYAN WATER-SUPPLY

Hála, Brahui, and Pab mountains form the southern hilly offshoots between India and Balúchistán; but they have a much less elevation than the Safed Koh or the Suláimán.

The Himálayas, while thus standing as a rampart and strong defence around the northern frontier of India, collect and store up water for the tropical plains below. Throughout the summer, vast quantities of water are exhaled from the Indian Ocean. This moisture gathers into vapour, and is borne northward by the monsoon or regular winds, which set in from the south in the month of June. The monsoon carries the water-laden clouds northward across India, and thus produces the 'rainy season,' on which agriculture so critically depends. But large quantities of the moisture do not condense or fall as rain in passing over the hot plains. This vast residue is eventually dashed against the Himálayas. Their lofty double walls stop its farther progress northward, and it either descends in rain on their outer slopes, or is frozen into snow in its attempt to cross their inner heights. Very little gets beyond them: so that, while the southern spurs of the Himálayas receive the largest measured rainfall in the world, and pour it down to the Indian rivers, the great plateau of Tibet on the north of the double Himálayas wall gets scarcely any rainfall.

At Cherra-Púnjí, where the monsoon first strikes the hills in Assam, 489 inches of rain, according to the returns for 25 years, fall annually. In one year (1861) as many as 805 inches were reported, of which 366 inches fell in the single month of July. While, therefore, the yearly rainfall in London is about 2 feet, and that of the plains of India from 1 to 6 feet, the rainfall at Cherra-Púnjí is 40 feet, a depth more than is required to float the largest man-of-war: and in one year, 67 feet of water fell from the sky, or sufficient to drown a three-storied house. The mighty mountains that wall in India on the north form, in fact, a rain-screen which catches the vapour-clouds from the Southern Ocean, and condenses them for the hot Bengal plains. The outer slopes of the Himálayas swell the Indian rivers by their torrents during the rainy season; their inner ranges and heights store up the rainfall in the shape of snow, and thus form a vast reservoir for the steady supply of the Indian rivers throughout the year.

This heavy rainfall renders the southern slopes of the Himálayas very fertile, wherever there is any depth of tilth. But, on the other hand, the torrents scour away the surface soil, and leave most of the mountain-sides bleak and bare.

The upper ranges lie under eternal snow; the intermediate heights form arid grey masses; on the lower slopes, plateaux, and valleys, forests spring up, or give place to a rich though simple cultivation. The temperature falls about $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. for each thousand feet of elevation; and the vegetation of the Himālayas is divided into three well-marked zones, the tropical, the temperate, and the arctic, as the traveller ascends from the Indian plains. A damp belt of lowland, the *tari*, stretches along their foot, and is covered with dense fever-breeding jungle, habitable only by rude tribes and wild beasts. Fertile *déws* or valleys penetrate their outer margin.

Himālayan
vegetation,
and forests.

In their eastern ranges adjoining the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, where the rainfall is heaviest, the tree-fern flourishes amid a magnificent vegetation. Their western or Punjab ranges are barer. But the rhododendron grows into a forest tree, and hundreds of square miles of it are to be found throughout the Himālayas. The *deodār* rises in stately masses. Thickets of bamboos, with their graceful light-green foliage, beautify the lower valleys. Higher up, the glistening-grey ilex, mountain oaks with brown young leaves, the Himālayan cedar, drooping silver-firs, spruces, pines, and the many-hued foliage of the chestnut, walnut, and maple, not to mention a hundred trees of a lower growth hung with bridal veils of clematis in spring, and festooned with crimson virginia-creepers in autumn, form, together with patches of the white medlar blossom, a brilliant contrast to the stretches of scarlet and pink rhododendron. At harvest-time, crops of millet run in red bright ribands down the hillsides. The branches of the trees are themselves clothed in the damper regions with a luxuriant growth of mosses, ferns, lovely orchids, and flowering creepers. The Himālayas have enriched English parks and hothouses by the *deodār*, the rhododendron, and the orchid. A great extension in the cultivation of the *deodār* and rhododendron throughout Britain dates from the Himālayan tour in 1848 of Sir Joseph Hooker, for long Director of Kew Gardens. The high price of wood on the plains, for railway sleepers and building purposes, has caused many of the hills to be stripped of their forests, so that the rainfall now rushes quickly down their bare slopes, washing away the surface soil, and leaving no tilth in which new woods might grow up. The Indian Forest Department is endeavouring to repair this reckless denudation of the Himālayan woods.

Himālayan
cultivation.

The hill tribes cultivate barley, oats, and a variety of millets and small grains. Vegetables are also raised on a

large scale. The potato, introduced from England, is a favourite crop, and covers many sites formerly under forest.

The hillman clears his potato ground by burning a ring round the stems of the great trees, and then lays out the side of the mountain into terraces. After a few years the bark and leaves drop off the branches, and the forest stands bleached and ruined. Some of the trees rot on the ground, like giants fallen in confused flight; others still remain upright, with white trunks and skeleton arms. In the end, the rank green potato crop marks the spot where a forest has been slain and buried. Several of the ruder hill tribes follow an even more wasteful mode of tillage. Destitute of either ploughs or oxen, they burn down the jungle, and exhaust the soil by a quick succession of crops, raised by the hoe. In a year or two the whole settlement moves off to a fresh patch of jungle, which they clear and exhaust, and then desert in like manner.

Clearing a hill forest.

Rice is only grown in the *Himālayas* on ground which has an unfailing command of water—particularly in the damp hot valleys between the successive ranges that roll upwards into the interior. The hillmen practise an ingenious system of irrigation, according to which the slopes are laid out in terraces, and the streams are diverted to a great distance by successive parallel channels along the mountain-side. They also utilize their water-power for mill purposes. Some of them are ignorant of cog-wheels for converting the vertical movement of the mill-wheel into the horizontal movement required for the grinding-stone. They therefore place their mill-wheel flat instead of upright, and lead the water so as to dash with great force on the horizontal paddles. A horizontal rotary movement is thus obtained, and conveyed direct by the axle to the millstone above.

Irrigation and mill-power.

The chief saleable products of the *Himālayas* are timber, charcoal, barley, millets, potatoes, other vegetables, honey, jungle products, borax, and several kinds of inferior gems. Strings of ponies and mules straggle with their burdens along the narrow pathways, which are at many places mere ledges cut out of the precipice. The hillmen and their hard-working wives load themselves also with pine stems and conical baskets of grain. The yak-cow and robust mountain sheep are the favourite beasts of burden in the inner ranges. The little yak-cow, whose bushy tail was manufactured in Europe into lace, patiently toils up the steepest gorges with a heavy burden on her back. The sheep, laden with bags of borax, are driven to marts on the outer ranges near the plains, where they are

Himālayan saleable produce.

shorn of their wool, and then return into the interior with a load of grain or salt. Hundreds of them, having completed their journey from the upper ranges, are sold for slaughter at a nominal price of perhaps a shilling a-piece, as they are not worth taking back to the inner mountains.

Himálayan
animals
and tribes.

The characteristic animals of the Himálayas include the yak-cow, musk-deer, several kinds of wild sheep and goat, bear, ounce, leopard, and fox; the eagle, great vultures, pheasants of beautiful varieties, partridges, and other birds. Ethnologically, the Himálayas form the meeting-ground of the Aryan and Turanian races, which in some parts are curiously mingled, although generally distinguishable. The tribes or broken clans of non-Aryan origin number over fifty, with languages, customs, and religious rites more or less distinct. The lifelong labours of Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, of the Bengal Civil Service, have done much to illustrate the flora, fauna, and ethnology of the Himálayas; and no sketch of this region would be complete without a reference to Mr. Hodgson's work.

Second
Region of
India—
The
northern
River
Plains.

The wide plains watered by the Himálayan rivers form the second of the three regions into which India is divided. They extend from the Bay of Bengal on the east, to the Afghán frontier and the Arabian Sea on the west, and contain the richest and most densely-crowded Provinces of the Empire. One set of invaders after another have, from pre-historic times, entered by the passes on the north-eastern and north-western frontiers of India. They followed the courses of the rivers, and pushed the earlier comers southward before them towards the sea. About 165 millions of people now live on and around these river-plains in the Provinces known as the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, Assam, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, the Punjab, Sind, Rájputána, and other Native States.

The three
River-
systems of
N. India.
(1) The
Indus,
with the
Sutlej.
(2) The
Tsan-pu or
Brahma-
putra.

The vast level tract which thus covers Northern India is watered by three distinct river-systems. One of these river-systems takes its rise in the hollow trough beyond the Himálayas, and issues through their western ranges upon the Punjab as the Indus and Sutlej. The second of the three river-systems also takes its rise beyond the double wall of the Himálayas, not very far from the sources of the Indus and the Sutlej. It turns, however, almost due east instead of west, enters India at the eastern extremity of the Himálayas, and becomes the Brahmaputra of Assam and Eastern Bengal. These great rivers collect the drainage of the northern slopes of the Himálayas,

and convey it, by long, tortuous, and opposite routes, into India. Indeed, the special feature of the Himālayas is that they thus send down the rainfall from their northern as well as from their southern slopes to the Indian plains. Of the three great rivers of Northern India, the two longest, namely the Indus with its feeder the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra, take their rise in the trough on the north of the lofty Himālayan wall. That trough receives the drainage of the inner or northern escarpment of the Himālayas, together with such water-supply as emerges from the outer or southern escarpment of the high but almost rainless plateau of Tibet.

The third river-system of Northern India receives the (3) The drainage of the outer or southern Himālayan slopes, and Ganges, unites into the mighty stream of the Ganges. In this way with the the rainfall, alike from the northern and southern slopes of Jamna. the Himālayas, and even from the mountain buttresses of the Tibet plateau beyond, pours down upon the plains of India. The spur of the outer Himālayas, on which stands Simla, the summer residence of the Government of India, forms part of the watershed between the river-systems of the Indus and Ganges. The rain that falls on the western edge of the narrow ridge below the Simla Church flows into the Arabian Sea: while the drops of the same shower which fall a few feet off, on the eastern side, eventually reach the Bay of Bengal.

The INDUS (Sanskrit, *Sindhus*; Ἰνδός, Σιθός) rises in an The Indus. unexplored region (lat. 32° N., long. 81° E.) on the slopes of the sacred Kailās mountain, the Elysium or Siva's Paradise of ancient Sanskrit literature. The Indus has an elevation of about 16,000 feet at its source in Tibet; a drainage basin of 372,700 square miles; and a total length of over 1800 miles. Shortly after it passes within the Kashmir frontier, it drops to 14,000 feet, and at Leh it is only about 11,000 feet above the level of the sea. The rapid stream dashes down ravines and wild mountain valleys, and is subject to tremendous floods. The Indus bursts through the western ranges of the Himālayas by a wonderful gorge near Iskardo, in North-Western Kashmir—a gorge reported to be 14,000 feet in sheer depth.

Its great feeder, the SUTLEJ, rises on the southern slopes of The Sutlej. the Kailās mountain, also in Tibet. It issues from one of the sacred lakes, the Mānasarowar and Rāvana-hrāda (the modern Rākhas Tal), famous in Hindu mythology, and still a religious resort and place of pilgrimage for the Tibetan shepherds. Starting at an elevation of 15,200 feet, the Sutlej passes south-west across the plain of Gugé, where it has cut through a vast

accumulation of deposits by a gully said to be 4000 feet deep, between precipices of alluvial soil. After traversing this plain, the river pierces the Himālayas by a gorge with mountains rising to 20,000 feet on either side. The Sutlej is reported to fall from 10,000 feet above sea-level at Shipki, a Tibetan frontier outpost, to 3000 feet at Rāmpur, the capital of a Himālayān State about 60 miles inward from Simla. During this part of its course, the Sutlej runs at the bottom of a deep trough, with precipices and bare mountains which have been denuded of their forests, towering above. Its turbid waters, and their unceasing roar as the river dashes over the rapids, have a gloomy and terrifying effect. Sometimes it grinds to powder the huge pines and cedars entrusted to it to float down to the plains. By the time it reaches Bilāspur, it has dropped to 1000 feet above sea-level. After entering British territory, the Sutlej receives the many waters of the Punjab (gathered from the southern slopes of the Himālayas), and falls into the Indus near Mithankot, after a course of 900 miles.

Lower
course of
Indus.

A full account of the Indus will be found in the article on that river in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.¹ About 800 miles of its course are passed among the Himālayas before it enters British territory, and it flows for about 1000 miles more, south-west, through the British Provinces of the Punjab and Sind. In its upper part it is fordable in many places during the cold weather; but it is liable to sudden freshets, in one of which Ranjit Singh is said to have lost a force, variously stated at from 1200 to 7000 horsemen, while crossing by a ford. A little way above Attock, the Indus receives the Kābul river, which brings down the waters of Northern Afghānistān. The volume of those waters, as represented by the Kābul river, is about equal to the volume of the Indus at the point of junction. At Attock, the Indus has fallen, during a course of 860 miles, from its elevation of 16,000 feet at its source in Tibet, to under 2000 feet. These 2000 feet supply its fall during the remaining 940 miles of its course.

The discharge of the Indus, after receiving all its Punjab tributaries, varies from 40,857 to 446,086 cubic feet per second, according to the month of the year. The enormous mass of water spreads itself over a channel of a quarter of a mile to a mile (or at times much more) in breadth. The effect produced by the evaporation from this fluvial expanse is so marked that, at certain seasons, the thermometer is reported to be 10° F.

¹ In this and all other places it is the second edition of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* which is referred to.

lower close to its surface than at a distance on the surrounding arid plains. The Indus supplies a precious store of water for irrigation works at various points along its course, and forms the great highway of the Southern Punjab and Sind. In its lower course it sends forth distributaries across a wide delta, with Haidarâbâd in Sind as its ancient political capital, and Karâchi as its modern port. The silt which it carries down has helped to form the seaboard islands, mud-banks, and shallows, that have cut off the famous emporia of ancient trade around the Gulf of Cambay from modern commerce.

The BRAHMAPUTRA, like the Sutlej, rises near to the sacred lake of Mânasarowar. Indeed, the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra may be said to start from the same water-parting in the highlands of Central Asia. The Indus rises on the western slope of the Kailâs mountain, the Sutlej on its southern, and the Brahmaputra at some distance from its eastern base. The Mariam-la and other saddles connect the more northern Tibetan mountains, to which the Kailâs belongs, with the double Himâlayan wall on the south. They form an irregular watershed across the trough on the north of the double wall of the Himâlayas; thus, as it were, blocking up the western half of the great Central Asian trench. The Indus flows down a western valley from this transverse watershed; the Sutlej finds a more direct route to India by a south-western valley. The Brahmaputra, under its Tibetan name of Tsan-pu or Sangpu, has its source in 31° N. lat. and 83° E. long. It flows eastward down the Tsan-pu valley, passing not very far to the south of Lhasa, the capital of Tibet; and probably 800 to 900 miles, or about one-half of its total course, are spent in the hollow trough on the north of the Himâlayas. This brief account assumes that the Brahmaputra of India is the true continuation of the Sangpu of Tibet. The results of the latest researches into that long mooted question are given under article BRAHMAPUTRA¹ in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

After receiving several tributaries from the confines of the Chinese Empire, the river twists round a lofty eastern range of the Himâlayas, and enters British territory under the name of the DIHANG,¹ near Sadiyâ in Assam. It presently receives two confluent rivers, the DIHANG¹ river from the northward, and the Brahmaputra proper from the east (lat. 27° 25' N., long.

¹ The use of small capitals in the case of proper names indicates that the subject is treated at length in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, &c.

95° 50' E.). The united stream then takes its well-known appellation of the Brahmaputra, literally the 'Son of Brahma the Creator.' It represents a drainage basin of 361,200 square miles, and its summer discharge at Goalpara in Assam was for long computed at 146,188 cubic feet of water per second. Recent measurements have, however, shown that this calculation is below the truth. Observations made near Dibrugarh during the cold weather of 1877-78, returned a mean low-water discharge of 116,484 cubic feet per second for the Brahmaputra at the upper end of the Assam valley, together with 16,945 cubic feet per second for its tributary the SUBANSIRI. Total low-water discharge for the united stream, over 133,000 cubic feet per second near Dibrugarh. Several affluents join the Brahmaputra during its course through Assam; and the mean low-water discharge at Goalpara, in the lower end of the Assam valley, must be in excess of the previous computation at 146,188 cubic feet per second. During the rains the channel rises 30 or 40 feet above its ordinary level, and its flood discharge is estimated at over 500,000 cubic feet per second.

Brahma-
putra silt.

The Brahmaputra rolls down the Assam valley in a vast sheet of water, broken by numerous islands, and exhibiting the operations of alluvion and diluvion on a gigantic scale. It is so heavily freighted with silt from the Himalayas, that the least impediment placed in its current causes a deposit, and may give rise to a wide-spreading, almond-shaped mud-bank. Steamers anchoring near the margin for the night sometimes find their sterns aground next morning on an accumulation of silt, caused by their own obstruction to the current. Broad divergent channels split off from the parent stream, and rejoin it after a long separate existence of uncontrollable meandering. By centuries of alluvial deposit, the Brahmaputra has raised its banks and channel in parts of the Assam valley to a higher level than the surrounding country. Beneath either bank lies a low strip of marshy land, which is flooded in the rainy season. Beyond these swamps, the ground begins to rise towards the hills that hem in the valley of Assam on both sides.

The
Brahma-
putra in
Bengal

After a course of 450 miles south-west down the Assam valley, the Brahmaputra sweeps round the spurs of the Gáro Hills due south towards the sea. It here takes the name of the Jamuná, and for 180 miles rushes across the level plains of Eastern Bengal, till it joins the Ganges at Goalánda (lat. 23° 50' N., long. 89° 46' E.). From this point the deltas of

the two great river-systems of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (Jamunâ, Lower Ganges, and Meghnâ.) unite into one. But before reaching the sea, their combined streams have yet to receive, by way of the Cachar valley, the drainage of the eastern watershed between Bengal and Burma, under the name of the MEGHNA river, itself a broad and magnificent sheet of water.

The Brahmaputra is famous not only for its vast alluvial deposits, but also for the historical changes which have taken place in its course. One of the islands which it has created in its mid-channel out of the silt torn away from the distant Himâlayas, covers 441 square miles. Every year, thousands of acres of new land are thus formed out of mud and sand : some of them destined to be swept away by the inundations of the following year ; others to become the homes of an industrious peasantry or the seats of busy river marts. Such formations give rise to changes in the bed of the river—changes which within a hundred years have completely altered the course of the Brahmaputra through Bengal. In the last century, the stream, on issuing from Assam, bent close round the spurs of the Gâro Hills in a south-easterly direction. This old bed of the Brahmaputra, the only one recognised by Major Rennell in 1765–75, has now been deserted. It retains the ancient name of the Brahmaputra, but during the hot weather it is little more than a series of pools. The modern channel, instead of twisting round the Gâro Hills to the east, bursts straight southward towards the sea under the name of the Jamunâ, and is now separated at places by nearly 100 miles of level land from the main channel in the last century. A floating log thrown up against the bank, a sunken boat, or any smallest obstruction, may cause the deposit of a mud island. Every such silt-bank gives a more or less new direction to the main channel, which in a few years may have eaten its way far across the plain, and dug out for itself a new bed at a distance of several miles. Unlike the Ganges and the Indus, the Brahmaputra is little used for artificial irrigation ; but its silt-charged overflow annually replenishes the land. Indeed, the plains of Eastern Bengal, watered by the Brahmaputra, yield unfailing harvests of rice, mustard, oil-seeds, and the exhausting jute crop, year after year, without any deterioration. The valley of the Brahmaputra in Assam is not less fertile, although inhabited by a less industrious race.

The Brahmaputra is the great high-road of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Its tributaries and bifurcations afford innumerable waterways, almost superseding roads, and at the same

Brahma-
putra silt-
islands.

Great
changes in
its course.

The
Brahma-
putra as a
high-road.

time rendering road construction and maintenance very difficult. The main river is navigable by steamers as high up as DIBRUGARH, about 800 miles from the sea ; and its broad surface is crowded with country craft of all sizes and rigs, from the dug-out canoe and timber raft to the huge cargo ship, with its high bow and carved stern, its bulged-out belly, and spreading square-sails. The busy emporium of SIRAJGANJ, on the western bank of the Brahmaputra, collects the produce of the Districts for transmission to Calcutta. Over fifty thousand native craft, besides steamers, pass Sirajganj per annum.

Brahma-
putra
traffic.

The downward traffic consists chiefly of tea (to the value of about 25 millions of rupees), timber, caoutchouc, and raw cotton, from Assam ; with jute, oil-seeds, tobacco, rice, and other grains from Eastern Bengal. In return for these, Calcutta sends northward by the Brahmaputra, European piece-goods, salt, and hardware ; while Assam imports from the Bengal delta, by the same highway, large quantities of rice for the labourers on the tea plantations. The total value of the river-borne trade of the Brahmaputra was returned at a little over three millions sterling in 1882-83, and may now be taken at about fifty millions of rupees. But it is impossible to ascertain the whole produce carried by the innumerable native boats on the Brahmaputra. The railway system of India taps the Brahmaputra at Goalánda and Dhubrí ; while a network of channels through the Sundarbans supplies a cheaper means of water transit for bulky produce across the delta to Calcutta.

The
Gangetic
river-
system.

As the Indus, with its feeder the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra, convey to India the drainage from the northern or Tibetan slopes of the Himálayas, so the GANGES, with its tributary the Jumna, collects the rainfall from the southern or Indian slopes of the mountain wall, and pours it down upon the plains of Bengal. The Ganges traverses the central part of those plains, and occupies a more prominent place in the history of Indian civilisation than either the Indus in the extreme west, or the Brahmaputra in the extreme east of Hindustán. It passes its whole life to the south of the Himálayas, and for thousands of years has formed an overruling factor in the development of the Indian races.

The Ganges issues, under the name of the Bhágíratrí, from an ice-cave at the foot of a Himálayan snowbed, 13,800 feet above the sea-level (lat. $30^{\circ} 56' 4''$ N., long. $79^{\circ} 6' 40''$ E.). After a course of 1557 miles, it falls by a network of estuaries into the Bay of Bengal. It represents, with its tributaries, an

enormous catchment basin, bounded on the north by a section of about 700 miles of the Himālayan ranges, on the south by the Vindhya mountains, and embracing 391,100 square miles. Before attempting a description of the functions performed by the Ganges, it is necessary to form some idea of the mighty masses of water which it collects and distributes. But so many variable elements affect the discharge of rivers, that calculations of their volume must be taken merely as estimates.

At the point where it issues from its snowbed, the infant stream is only 27 feet broad and 15 inches deep, with an elevation of 13,800 feet above sea-level. During the first 180 miles of its course, it drops to an elevation of 1024 feet. At this point, Hardwār, its lowest discharge, in the dry season, is 7000 cubic feet per second. Hitherto the Ganges has been little more than a snow-fed Himālayan stream. During the next thousand miles of its journey, it collects the drainage of its vast catchment basin, and reaches Rājmahāl, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, about 1180 miles from its source. It has here, while still about 400 miles from the sea, a high flood discharge of 1,800,000 cubic feet of water per second, and an ordinary discharge of 207,000 cubic feet; longest duration of flood, about forty days. The maximum discharge of the Mississippi is given at 1,200,000 cubic feet per second.¹ The maximum discharge of the Nile at Cairo is returned at only 362,200 cubic feet; and of the Thames at Staines at 6600 cubic feet of water per second. The Meghnā, one of the many outflows of the Ganges, is 20 miles broad near its mouth, with a depth, in the dry season, of 30 feet. But for a distance of about 200 miles, the sea face of Bengal entirely consists of the estuaries of the Ganges, intersected by low islands and promontories, formed out of its silt.

In forming our ideas with regard to the Ganges, we must begin by dismissing from our minds any lurking comparison of its gigantic stream with the rivers with which we are familiar in England. A single one of its tributaries, the JUMNA, has an independent existence of 860 miles, with a catchment basin of 118,000 square miles, and starts from an elevation at its source of 10,849 feet above sea-level. The Ganges and its principal tributaries are treated of in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, in separate articles under their respective names. The following account confines itself to a brief sketch of the work which these

¹ *Hydraulic Manual*, by Lewis D'A. Jackson, Hydraulic Statistics, Table II. : Appendix, p. 2 (1875).

Gangetic rivers perform for the plains of Northern India, and of the position which they hold in the thoughts of the people.

Sanctity
of the
Ganges.

Of all great rivers on the surface of the globe, none can compare in sanctity with the Ganges, or Mother Gangá, as she is affectionately called by devout Hindus. From her source in the Himálayas, to her mouth in the Bay of Bengal, her banks are holy ground. Each point of junction of a tributary with the main stream has its own special claims to sanctity. But the tongue of land at Allahábád, where the Ganges unites with her great sister river the Jumna, is the true *Prayág*, the place of pilgrimage whither hundreds of thousands of devout Hindus repair to wash away their sins in her sanctifying waters. Many of the other holy rivers of India borrow their sanctity from a supposed underground connection with the Ganges. This fond fable recalls the primitive time when the Aryan race was moving southward with fresh and tender recollections of the Gangetic plains. It is told not only of first-class rivers of Central and Southern India, like the Nerbadá, but also of many minor streams of local sanctity.

Legend
of the
Ganges.

An ancient legend relates how Gangá, the fair daughter of King Himálaya (Himávat) and of his queen the air-nymph Menaka, was persuaded, after long supplication, to shed her purifying influence upon the sinful earth. The icicle-studded cavern from which she issues is the tangled hair of the god Siva. Loving legends hallow each part of her course; and from the names of her tributaries and of the towns along her banks, a whole mythology might be built up. The southern offshoots of the Aryan race not only sanctified their southern rivers by a fabled connection with the holy stream of the north. They also hoped that in the distant future, their rivers would attain an equal sanctity by the diversion of the Ganges' waters through underground channels. Thus, the Bráhmans along the Nerbadá maintain that in this iron age of the world (indeed, in the year 1894 A.D.), the sacred character of the Ganges will depart from her now polluted stream, and take refuge by an underground passage in their own Nerbadá river.

Gangetic
pilgrim-
ages.

The estuary of the Ganges is not less sacred than her source. Ságar Island at her mouth is annually visited by a vast concourse of pilgrims, in commemoration of her act of saving grace; when, in order to cleanse the 60,000 damned ones of the house of Ságar, she divided herself into a hundred channels, thus making sure of reaching their remains with her

purifying waters, and so forming the delta of Bengal. The six years' pilgrimage from her source to her mouth and back again, known as *pradak-shina*, is still performed by many; and a few devotees may yet be seen wearily accomplishing the meritorious penance of 'measuring their length' along certain parts of the route. To bathe in the Ganges at the stated festivals washes away guilt, and those who have thus purified themselves carry back bottles of her water to their kindred in far-off provinces. To die and to be cremated on the river bank, and to have their ashes borne seaward by her stream, is the last wish of millions of Hindus. Even to ejaculate 'Gangā, Gangā,' at the distance of 100 leagues from the river, said her more enthusiastic devotees, might atone for the sins committed during three previous lives.

The Ganges has earned the reverence of the people by centuries of unfailling work done for them. She and her tributaries are the unwearied water-carriers for the densely-peopled Provinces of Northern India, and the peasantry reverence the bountiful stream which fertilizes their fields and distributes their produce. None of the other rivers of India comes near to the Ganges in works of beneficence. The Brahmaputra and the Indus have longer streams, as measured by the geographer, but their upper courses lie beyond the great mountain wall in the unknown recesses of the Himalayas.

Not one of the rivers of Southern India is navigable in the proper sense. But in the North, the Ganges begins to distribute fertility by irrigation as soon as she reaches the plains, within 200 miles of her source, and at the same time her channel becomes in some sort navigable. Thenceforward she rolls majestically down to the sea in a bountiful stream, which never becomes a merely destructive torrent in the rains, and never dwindles away in the hottest summer. Tapped by canals, she distributes millions of cubic feet of water every hour in irrigation; but her diminished volume is promptly recruited by great tributaries, and the wide area of her catchment basin renders her stream inexhaustible in the service of man. Embankments are in but few places required to restrain her inundations, for the alluvial silt which she spills over her banks affords in most parts a top-dressing of inexhaustible fertility. If one crop be drowned by the flood, the peasant comforts himself with the thought that the next crop from his silt-manured fields will abundantly requite him. The function of the Ganges as a land-maker on a great scale will be explained hereafter.

Work
done by
the
Ganges;

The water-
carrier and
fertilizer
of Bengal.

The
Ganges
the great
highway of
Bengal.

The Ganges has also played a pre-eminent part in the commercial development of Northern India. Until the opening of the railway system, from 1855 to 1870, her magnificent stream formed almost the sole channel of traffic between Upper India and the seaboard. The products not only of the river plains, but even the cotton of the Central Provinces, were formerly brought by this route to Calcutta. Notwithstanding the revolution caused by the railways, the heavier and more bulky staples are still conveyed by the river, and the Ganges may yet rank as one of the greatest waterways in the world.

Traffic
on the
Ganges.

The value of the upward and downward trade of the interior with Calcutta, by the Gangetic channels, may be taken at about 400 millions of rupees *per annum*, of which over 153 millions go by country-boats, and nearly 240 millions by steamers (1891). This is exclusive of the sea-borne commerce. But the adjustments which have to be made are so numerous that the calculation is an intricate one. As far back as 1876, the number of cargo boats registered at Bámangháta, on one of the canals east of Calcutta, was 178,627; at Húglí, a river-side station on a single one of the many Gangetic mouths, 124,357; and at Patná, 550 miles from the mouth of the river, the number of cargo boats entered in the register was 61,571. The port of Calcutta is itself one of the world's greatest emporia for sea and river-borne commerce. Its total exports and imports landward and seaward amounted in 1881 to about 1400 millions of rupees (Rx. 140,000,000), and to 1523 millions of rupees (Rx. 152,363,583) in 1891.¹

Not
diminished
by the
railway.

Articles of European commerce, such as wheat, indigo, cotton, opium, and saltpetre, prefer the railway; so also do the imports of Manchester piece-goods. But if we take into account the vast development in the export trade of oil-seeds, rice, etc., still carried by the river, and the growing interchange of food-grains between interior districts of the country, it seems probable that the actual amount of traffic on the Ganges has increased rather than diminished since the opening of the railways. At well-chosen points along her course, the iron lines touch the banks, and these river-side stations form centres for collecting and distributing the produce of

¹ The sign Rx. uniformly means 'tens of rupees.' Thus, as above, Rx. 140,000,000 signifies 1400 millions of rupees. To find, therefore, the actual number of any sum in rupees in this volume which has the sign Rx. prefixed to it, multiply by ten. Thus Rx. 1,000,000 signifies 10 million rupees, or say Rx. 270,000 signifies 2,700,000 rupees. This system has now been adopted in the accounts of the Government of India.

the surrounding country. The Ganges, therefore, is not merely a rival, but a feeder, of the railway. Her ancient cities, such as ALLAHABAD, BENARES, and PATNA, have thus been able to preserve their former importance; while fishing villages like SAHIBGANJ and GOALANDA have been raised into thriving river marts.

For, unlike the Indus and the Brahmaputra, the Ganges is a river of great historic cities. CALCUTTA, PATNA, and BENARES are built on her banks; AGRA and DELHI on those of her tributary, the Jumna; and ALLAHABAD on the tongue of land where the two sister streams unite. Many millions of human beings live by commerce along her margin. Calcutta, with its suburbs on both sides of the river, contains a population of nearly a million. It has a municipal revenue of $4\frac{1}{4}$ millions of rupees; a sea-borne and coasting commerce in 1891 of 770 millions of rupees, with a landward trade of over 750 millions. These figures vary from year to year, but show a steady increase. Calcutta lies on the HUGLI, the most westerly of the mouths by which the Ganges enters the sea. To the eastward stretches the delta, till it is hemmed in on the other side by the MEGHNA, the most easterly of the mouths of the Ganges. More accurately speaking, the Meghná is the vast estuary by which the combined waters of the Brahmaputra and Gangetic river-systems find their way into the Bay of Bengal.

In order, therefore, to understand the plains of Northern India, we must have a clear idea of the part played by the great rivers; for the rivers first create the land, then fertilize it, and finally distribute its produce. The plains of Bengal were in many parts upheaved by volcanic forces, or deposited in an aqueous era, before the present race of man appeared. But in other parts they have been formed out of the silt which the rivers bring down from the mountains; and at this day we may stand by and watch the ancient process of land-making go on.

A great Indian river like the Ganges has three distinct stages in its career from the Himálayas to the sea. In the first stage of its course, it dashes down the Himálayas, cutting out for itself deep gullies in the solid rock, ploughing up glens between the mountains, and denuding the hillsides of their soil. In wading over the Sutlej feeders among the Himálayas in the rainy season, my ankles were sore from the pebbles which the stream carried with it; while even in the

The great Gangetic cities.

Calcutta.

The part played by the great rivers.

Three stages in the life of a river. First stage;

hot weather, the rushing sand and gravel cause a prickly sensation across the feet.

Second stage.

The second stage in the life of an Indian river begins at the point where it emerges from the mountains upon the plains. It then runs peacefully along the valleys, searching out for itself the lowest levels. It receives the drainage and mud of the country on both sides, absorbs tributaries, and rolls forward with an ever-increasing volume of water and silt. Every torrent from the Himálayas brings its separate contribution of new soil, which it has torn from the rocks or eroded from its banks. This process repeats itself throughout more than ten thousand miles; that is to say, down the course of each tributary from the Himálayas or Vindhya, and across the plains of Northern India. During the second stage of the life of a Bengal river, therefore, it forms a great open drain, which gradually deepens itself by erosion of its channel. As its bed thus sinks lower and lower, it draws off the water from swamps or lakes in the surrounding country. Dry land takes the place of fens; and in this way the physical configuration of Northern India has been greatly altered, even since the Greek descriptions of it 2200 years ago.

First and second stages of a great river as a silt-collector.

As long as the force of the current is maintained by a sufficient fall per mile, the river carries forward the silt thus supplied, and adds to it fresh contributions from its banks. Each river acquires a character of its own as it advances, a character which tells the story of the country and soil in which it has spent its early life. Thus, the Indus is loaded with silt of a brown hue; the Chenáb has a reddish tinge; while the Sutlej is of a paler colour. The exact amount of fall required per mile depends upon the specific gravity of the silt which it carries. At a comparatively early stage, the current drops the heavy particles of rock or sand which it has torn from the Himálayan precipices. But a fall of 5 inches per mile suffices to hold in suspension the great body of the silt, and to add further accretions in passing through alluvial plains. The average fall of the Ganges between Benares and the delta-head (about 461 miles) is nearly 5 inches per mile. In its upper course its average declivity is much greater, and suffices to bear along and pulverize the heavier spoils torn from the Himálayas.

Loss of carrying power.

By the time the Ganges reaches its delta in Lower Bengal (Colgong to Calcutta), its average fall per mile has dropped to 4 inches. From Calcutta to the sea the fall varies in the numerous distributaries of the parent stream, according to the

tide, from 1 to 2 inches. In the delta the current seldom suffices to carry the burden of its silt, except during the rains, and so deposits it.¹

In Lower Bengal, therefore, the Ganges enters on the third stage of its life. Finding its speed checked by the equal level of the plains, and its bed raised by the deposit of its own silt, it splits out into channels, like a jet of water suddenly obstructed by the finger, or a jar of liquid dashed on the ground. Each of the new streams thus created throws out in turn its own set of distributaries to right and left. The country which their many offshoots enclose and intersect forms the delta of Bengal. The present delta of the Ganges may be taken to commence at a point 1231 miles from the source of the river, and 326 from the sea by its longest channel. At the commencement of the delta of the Ganges the head-waters of the Huglí break off, under the name of the Bhágirathí, from the parent channel, and make their way south to the sea. The main volume of the Ganges pursues its course to the south-east, and a great triangle of land, with its southern base on the Bay of Bengal, is thus enclosed.

Third stage of an Indian river, as a land-maker.

The delta of Bengal.

¹ The following facts may be useful to observers in Bengal who wish to study the most interesting feature of the country in which they live, namely the rivers. Ten inches per mile is considered to be the fall which a navigable river should not exceed. The average fall of the Ganges from the point where it unites with the Jumna at Allahábid to Benares (139 miles), is 6 inches per mile; from Benares to Colgong, 326 miles, 5 inches per mile; from Colgong to the delta-head, where the Bhágirathí strikes off (about 135 miles), 4 inches per mile; from the delta-head to Calcutta (about 200 miles), also 4 inches per mile; from Calcutta to the sea *via* the Huglí (about 80 miles), 1 to 2 inches per mile, according to the tide. The fall of the Nile from the First Cataract to Cairo (555 miles), is 6½ inches per mile; from Cairo to the sea, it is very much less. The fall of the Mississippi for the first hundred miles from its mouth, is 1·80 inches per mile; for the second hundred miles, 2 inches; for the third hundred, 2·30 inches; for the fourth hundred, 2·57 inches; and for the whole section of 855 miles from the mouth to Memphis, the average fall is given as 4½ inches to the mile.

The following table, calculated by Mr. David Stevenson (*Canal and River Engineering*, p. 315), shows the silt-carrying power of rivers at various velocities:—

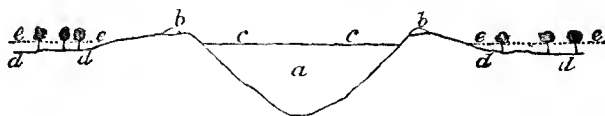
Inches per Second.	Miles per Hour.	
3	=	0·170 will just begin to work on fine clay.
6	=	0·340 will lift fine sand.
8	=	0·4545 will lift sand as coarse as linseed.
12	=	0·6819 will sweep along fine gravel.
24	=	1·3638 will roll along rounded pebbles 1 inch in diameter.
36	=	2·045 will sweep along slippery angular stones of the size of an egg.

The
deltaic
distrib-
utaries ;

how they
raise their
banks
above sur-
rounding
country.

Between the Húglí on the west and the main channel on the east, a succession of offshoots strike southward from the Ganges. The network of streams struggles slowly seaward over the level delta. Their currents are no longer able, by reason of their diminished speed, to carry along the silt or sand which the more rapid parent river has brought down from Northern India. They accordingly drop their burden of silt in their channels or along their margins, producing almond-shaped islands, and by degrees raising their banks and channels above the surrounding plains. When they spill over in time of flood, the largest amount of silt is deposited on their banks, or near them on the inland side. In this way not only their beds, but also the lands along their banks, are gradually raised.

SECTION OF A DELTAIC CHANNEL OF THE GANGES.



a The river channel ; *b b* the two banks raised by successive deposits of silt from the spill-water in time of flood ; *c c* the surface of the water when not in flood ; *d d* the low-lying swamps stretching away from either bank, into which the river flows when it spills over its banks in time of flood ; *c c* the dotted lines represent the ordinary level of the river surface. The curves are necessarily exaggerated in this drawing, in order more clearly to bring out the facts.

Delta
rivers build
themselves
up into
high-level
canals.

The rivers of a delta thus build themselves up, as it were, into high-level canals, which in the rainy season overflow their banks and leave their silt upon the low country on either side. Thousands of square miles in Lower Bengal receive in this way each summer a top-dressing of new soil, carried free of cost for more than a thousand miles by the river currents from Northern India or the still more distant Himálayas—a system of natural manuring which yields a constant succession of rich crops.

Junction
of Ganges,
Brahma-
putra, and
Meghná.

At Goálánda, about half-way between the delta-head and the sea, the Ganges unites with the main stream of the Brahmaputra, and farther down with the Meghná. Their combined waters exhibit deltaic operations on the most gigantic scale. They represent the drainage collected by the two vast river-systems of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, from an aggregate catchment basin of 752,000 square miles on both the Tibetan and Indian sides of the Himálayas, together with the rainfall poured into the Meghná from the eastern Burmese watershed.

Their
combined
delta.

The forces thus brought into play defy the control even of modern engineering. As the vast network of rivers creeps

farther down the delta, they become more and more sluggish, and raise their beds still higher above the adjacent flats. Each set of channels has a depressed tract or swamp on either side, so that the lowest levels in a delta lie about half-way between the rivers. The stream constantly overflows into these depressed tracts, and gradually fills them up with its silt. The water which rushes from the river into the swamps has sometimes the colour of pea-soup, from the quantity of silt which it carries. When it has stood a few days in the swamps, and the river flood subsides, the water flows back from the swamps into the river channel; but it has dropped all its silt, and is of a clear dark-brown hue. The silt remains in the swamp, and by degrees fills it up, thus slowly creating new land. The muddy foliage of the shrubs which have been submerged bears witness to the fresh deposit. As we shall presently see, decayed trees and stumps are found at great depths below the surface: while nearer the top the excavator comes upon the remains of old tanks, broken pottery, and other traces of buried human habitations, which within historical times were above the ground.

The last scene in the life of an Indian river is a wilderness of forest and swamp at the end of the delta, amid whose malarious solitude the network of tidal creeks merges into the sea. Here all the secrets of land-making stand disclosed. The river channels, finally checked by the dead weight of the sea, deposit most of their remaining silt, which emerges from the estuary as banks or blunted headlands. The ocean currents also find themselves impeded by the outflow from the rivers, and in their turn drop the burden of sand which they sweep along the coast. The two causes combine to build up breakwaters of mingled sand and mud along the foreshore. In this way, while the solid earth gradually grows outward into the sea, owing to the deposits of river silt; peninsulas and islands are formed around the river mouths from the sand dropped by the ocean currents: and a double process of land-making goes on.

The great Indian rivers, therefore, have not only supplied new solid ground by draining off the water from neighbouring lakes and marshes in their upper courses, and by depositing islands in their beds lower down. They are also constantly filling up the low-lying tracts or swamps in their deltas, and are forming banks and capes and masses of low-lying land at their mouths. Indeed, they slowly construct their entire deltas by driving back the sea. Lower Egypt was thus 'the gift of the Nile,' according to her priests in the age of Hero-

Deltaic swamps,

how filled up by silt.

Last scene in the life of an Indian river.

Land-making in the estuary.

Egypt, the 'Gift of the Nile.'

Bengal,
the 'Gift
of the
Ganges.'

dotus; and the vast Province of Lower Bengal is in the strictest scientific sense the gift of the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and the Meghná. The deltas of these three river-systems are in modern times united into one, but three distinct delta-heads are observable. The delta-head of the Brahmaputra commences near the bend where the river now twists due south round the Gáro Hills, 220 miles from the sea as the crow flies. The present delta-head of the Ganges begins at the point where the Bhágirathi breaks southward from the main channel, also about 220 miles in a direct line from the sea. The delta of the Meghná, which represents the heavy southern rainfall of the Khási Hills together with the western drainage of the watershed between Bengal and Burma, commences in Sylhet District.

Size of the
Bengal
delta.

The three deltas, instead of each forming a triangle like the Greek Δ , unite to make an irregular parallelogram, running inland 220 miles from the coast, with an average breadth also of about 220 miles. This vast alluvial basin of say 50,000 square miles was once covered with the sea, and it has been slowly filled up to the height of at least 400 feet by the deposits which the rivers have brought down. In other words, the united river-systems of the Ganges, Brahmaputra, and Meghná have torn away from the Himálayas and North-Eastern Bengal enough earth to build up a lofty island, with an area of 50,000 square miles, and a height of 400 feet.

Successive
depressions
of
the delta.

Care has been taken not to overstate the work performed by the Bengal rivers. Borings have been carried down in the alluvial silt to 481 feet at Calcutta, but the auger broke at that depth, and it is impossible to say how much farther the deposits may go. There have been successive eras of vegetation, followed by repeated depressions of the surface. These successive eras of vegetation now form layers of stumps of trees, peat-beds, and carbonized wood. Passing below traces of recently submerged forests, a well-marked peat-bed is found in excavations around Calcutta at a depth varying from 20 to 30 feet; and decayed wood, with pieces of fine coal, such as occur in mountain streams, has been met with at a depth of 392 feet. Fossilized remains of animal life have been brought up from 372 feet below the present surface. The footnote¹

Its subter-
anean
structure.

¹ 'Abstract Report of Proceedings of Committee appointed to superintend the Borings at Fort-William, December 1835 to April 1840.' 'After penetrating through the surface soil to a depth of about 10 feet, a stratum of stiff blue clay, 15 feet in thickness, was met with. Underlying this was a light-coloured sandy clay, which became gradually darker in colour

illustrates the successive layers of the vast and lofty island, so to speak, which the rivers have built up—an island with an area of 50,000 square miles, and 400 feet high from its foundation, although at places only a few inches above sea-level.

It should be remembered, however, that the rivers have been aided in their work by the sand deposited by the ocean currents. But, on the other hand, the alluvial deposits of the Ganges and Brahmaputra commence far to the north of the present delta-head, and have a total area greatly exceeding the 50,000 square miles mentioned in a former paragraph. The Brahmaputra has covered with thick alluvium the valley of Assam; its confluent, the Meghna, or rather the upper waters which ultimately form the Meghna, have done the same fertilizing task for the valleys of Cachar and Sylhet; while the Ganges, with its mighty feeders, has prepared for the uses of man thousands of square miles of land in the broad hollow between the Himálayas and the Vindhya, far to the north-west of its present delta. A large quantity of the finest and lightest silt, moreover, is carried out to sea, and discolours the Bay of Bengal 150 miles from the shore. The plains of Bengal are truly the gift of the great rivers.

Several attempts have been made to estimate the time which from the admixture of vegetable matter, till it passed into a bed of peat, at a distance of about 30 feet from the surface. Beds of clay and variegated sand, intermixed with *kankar*, mica, and small pebbles, alternated to a depth of 120 feet, when the sand became loose and almost semi-fluid in its texture. At 152 feet, the quicksand became darker in colour and coarser in grain, intermixed with red water-worn nodules of hydrated oxide of iron, resembling to a certain extent the laterite of South India. At 159 feet, a stiff clay with yellow veins occurred, altering at 163 feet remarkably in colour and substance, and becoming dark, friable, and apparently containing much vegetable and ferruginous matter. A fine sand succeeded at 170 feet, and this gradually became coarser, and mixed with fragments of quartz and felspar, to a depth of 180 feet. At 196 feet, clay impregnated with iron was passed through; and at 221 feet sand recurred, containing fragments of limestone, with nodules of *kankar* and pieces of quartz and felspar; the same stratum continued to 340 feet; and at 350 feet a fossil bone, conjectured to be the humerus of a dog, was extracted. At 360 feet a piece of supposed tortoiseshell was found, and subsequently several pieces of the same substance were obtained. At 372 feet, another fossil bone was discovered, but it could not be identified, from its being torn and broken by the borer. At 392 feet, a few pieces of fine coal, such as are found in the beds of mountain streams, with some fragments of decayed wood, were picked out of the sand, and at 400 feet a piece of limestone was brought up. From 400 to 481 feet, fine sand, like that of the sea-shore, intermixed largely with shingle composed of fragments of primary rocks, quartz, felspar, mica, slate, and limestone, prevailed, and in this stratum the bore has been terminated.

the Ganges and Brahmaputra must have required for accomplishing their gigantic task. The borings already cited, together with an admirable account by Colonel Baird Smith in the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History*,¹ and the Rev. Mr. Everest's calculations, form the chief materials for such an estimate. Sir Charles Lyell² accepts Mr. Everest's calculation, made half a century ago, that the Ganges discharges 6368 millions of cubic feet of silt per annum at Gházipur.

Ganges
silt at
Gházipur.

This would alone suffice to supply 355 millions of tons a year, or nearly the weight of 60 replicas of the Great Pyramid. 'It is scarcely possible,' he says, 'to present any picture to the mind which will convey an adequate conception of the mighty scale of this operation, so tranquilly and almost insensibly carried on by the Ganges.' About 96 per cent. of the whole deposits are brought down during the four months of the rainy season, or as much as could be carried by 240,000 ships, each of 1400 tons burthen. The work thus done in that season may be realized if we suppose that a daily succession of fleets, each of two thousand great ships, sailed down the river during the four months, and that each ship of the daily 2000 vessels deposited a freight of 1400 tons of mud every morning into the estuary.

Estimated
silt of
united
river-
system at
the delta.

But the Ganges at Gházipur is only a single feeder of the mighty mass of waters which have formed the delta of Bengal. The Ganges, after leaving Gházipur, receives many of its principal tributaries, such as the GOGRA, the SON, the GANDAK, and the Kusi. It then unites with the Brahmaputra, and finally with the Meghná, and the total mass of mud brought down by these combined river-systems is estimated by Sir Charles Lyell to be at least six or seven times as much as that discharged by the Ganges alone at Gházipur. We have therefore, at the lowest estimate, about 40,000 millions of cubic feet of solid matter spread over the delta, or deposited at the river mouths, or carried out to sea, each year; according to Sir Charles Lyell, five times as much as is conveyed by the Mississippi to its delta and the Gulf of Mexico. The silt borne along during the rainy season alone represents the work which a daily succession of fleets, each of 13,000 ships a-piece, sailing down the Ganges during the four rainy months would

¹ Vol. i. p. 324. The other authorities, chiefly from the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, are fully quoted in the *Geology of India*, by Messrs. Medlicott and Blanford, vol. i. pp. 396 *et seq.* (Calcutta Government Press, 1879).

² *Principles of Geology*, vol. i. pp. 478 *et seq.* (1875).

perform, if each ship of the daily 13,000 vessels discharged a freight of 1400 tons a-piece each morning into the Bay of Bengal. This vast accumulation of silt takes place every rainy season in the delta or around the mouths of the Ganges; and the process, modified by volcanic upheavals and depressions of the delta, has been going on during uncounted thousands of years.

General Strachey took the area of the delta and coast-line within influence of the deposits at 65,000 square miles, and estimated that the rivers would require 45·3 years to raise it by 1 foot, even by their enormous deposit of 40,000 millions of cubic feet of solid earth per annum. The rivers must have been at work 13,600 years in building up the delta 300 feet. But borings have brought up fluvial deposits from a depth of at least 400 feet. The present delta forms, moreover, but a very small part of the vast alluvial area which the rivers have constructed in the great dip between the Himālayas and the Vindhyan mountains. The more closely we scrutinize the various elements in such estimates, the more vividly do we realize ourselves in the presence of an almost immeasurable labour carried on during an almost immeasurable past.

The land which the great Indian rivers thus create, they also fertilize. In the lower parts of their course we have seen how their overflow affords a natural system of irrigation and manuring. In the higher parts, man has to step in, and to bring their water by canals to his fields. Some idea of the enormous irrigation enterprises of Northern India may be obtained in the four articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer* on the Ganges and Jumna canals.

The four main canals drawn from the Ganges and Jumna rivers already irrigate an aggregate area of over two million acres, and will eventually irrigate over three millions. But besides these four great works there are many other irrigation enterprises in Upper India. Among them may be mentioned the Agra, Bāri Doāb, Rohilkhand and Bijnor, Betwā, and the Sutlej-Chenab and Indus Inundation Canals.

The Indian rivers form, moreover, as we have seen, the great highways of the country. They supply cheap transit for the collection, distribution, and export of the agricultural staples. What the arteries are to the living body, the rivers are to the plains of Bengal. But the very potency of their energy sometimes causes terrible calamities. Scarcely a year passes without disastrous floods, which sweep off cattle and grain stores and the thatched cottages, with anxious families perched on their roofs.

Time required by rivers to construct the delta.

River irrigation.

The Rivers as highways.

The Rivers as destroyers.

In their upper courses, where their water is carried by canals to the fields, the rich irrigated lands breed fever, and are in places rendered sterile by a saline crust called *reh*. Farther down, the uncontrollable rivers wriggle across the face of the country, deserting their ancient beds, and searching out new channels for themselves, sometimes at a distance of many miles. Their old banks, clothed with trees and dotted along their route with villages, run like high ridges through the level rice-fields, and mark the deserted course of the river.

Changes
of river-
beds.

It has been shown how the Brahmaputra deserted its main channel of the last century, and now rushes to the sea by a new course, far to the westward. Such changes are on so vast a scale, and the eroding power of the current is so irresistible, that it is perilous to build large or permanent structures on the margin. The ancient sacred stream of the Ganges is now a dead river, which ran through the Districts of Húglí and the 24 Parganá's. Its course is marked by a line of tanks and muddy pools, with temples, shrines, and burning *gháts* along high banks overlooking its deserted bed.

Deserted
river-
capitals.

Many decayed or ruined cities attest the alterations in river-beds within historic times. In our own days, the Ganges passed close under Rájmahál, and that town, once the Muhamadan capital of Bengal, was (1850-55) selected as the spot where the railway should tap the river-system. The Ganges has now turned away in a different direction, and left the town high and dry, 7 miles from the bank. In 1787-88, the TISTÁ, a great river of Northern Bengal, broke away from its ancient bed. The ATRAI, or the old channel, by which the Tistá waters found their way into the Ganges, has dwindled into a petty stream, which, in the dry weather, just suffices for boats of 2 tons burthen; while the Tistá has branched to the eastward, and now pours into the Brahmaputra. In 1870, the RAVI, one of the Five Rivers of the Punjab, carried away the famous shrine of the Sikhs near DIRA NANAK, and imperilled the existence of the town.

If we go back to a more remote period, we find that the whole ancient geography of India is obscured by changes in the courses of the rivers. Thus, Hastinapur, the Gangetic capital of the Pándavas, in the Mahābhārata, is with difficulty identified in a dried-up bed of the Ganges, 57 miles north-east of the present Delhi. The once splendid capital of KANAUJ, which also lay upon the Ganges, now moulders in desolation 4 miles away from the modern river-bank. The

remnant of its inhabitants live for the most part in huts built up against the ancient walls.

A similar fate on a small scale has befallen Kushtia, the river terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway. The channel silted up (1860-70), and the terminus had to be removed to Goálanda, farther down the river. On the HUGLI river¹ a succession of emporia and river-capitals have been ruined from the same cause, and the permanence of CALCUTTA as a great port is only secured by a complete system of river-engineering.

An idea of the forces at work may be derived from a single *The bore.* well-known phenomenon of the Húglí and the Meghná, the *bore*. The tide advances up their broad estuaries until checked by a rapid contraction of the channel. The obstructed influx, no longer able to spread itself out, rises into a wall of waters from 5 to 30 feet in height, which rushes onwards at a rate nearly double that of a stage-coach. Rennell stated that the Húglí *bore* ran from Húglí Point to Húglí Town, a distance of about 70 miles, in four hours. The native boatmen fly from the bank (against which their craft would otherwise be dashed) into the broad mid-channel when they hear its approaching roar. The *bore* of the Meghná is so 'terrific and dangerous' that no boat will venture down certain of the channels at spring-tide.

The Indian rivers not only desert the cities on their banks, *Hamlets torn away.* but they sometimes tear them away. Many a hamlet and rice-field and ancient grove of trees are remorselessly eaten up each autumn by the current. A Bengal proprietor has often to look on helplessly while his estate is being swept away, or converted into the bed of a broad, deep river. An important branch of Indian legislation deals with the proprietary changes thus caused by alluvion and diluvion.

The rivers have a tendency to straighten themselves out. *River-windings.* Their course consists of a series of bends, in each of which the current sets against one bank, which it undermines; while it leaves still water on the other bank, in which new deposits of land take place. By degrees these twists become sharper and sharper, until the intervening land is almost worn away, leaving only a narrow tongue between the bends. The river finally bursts through the slender strip of soil, or a canal is cut across it by human agency, and direct communication is thus established between points formerly many miles distant by the windings of the river. This process of eating away soil from the one bank, against which the current sets, and depositing

¹ See article HUGLI RIVER, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

silt in the still water along the other bank, is constantly at work. Even in their quiet moods, therefore, the rivers steadily steal land from the old owners, and give it to new ones.

A railway terminus swept away.

During the rains these forces work with uncontrollable fury. I have mentioned that the first terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway at Kushtid had been partially deserted by the Ganges. Its new terminus at Goálánda has suffered from an opposite but equally disastrous accident. Up to 1875, the Goálánda station stood upon a massive embankment near the water's edge, protected by masonry spurs running out to the river. About Rs. 130,000 had been spent upon these protective works, and it was hoped that engineering skill had conquered the violence of the Gangetic floods. But in August 1875, the solid masonry spurs, the railway station, and the magistrate's court, were all swept away; and deep water covered their sites. A new Goálánda terminus had to be erected two miles inland from the former river-bank. Higher up the Ganges, fluvial changes on so great a scale have been encountered at the river-crossing, where the Northern Bengal Railway begins and the Eastern Bengal Railway ends, that no costly or permanent terminus has yet been attempted. Throughout the long courses of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, the mighty currents each autumn undermine and then rend away many thousand acres of solid land. They afterwards deposit their spoil in their channels farther down, and thus, as has been shown, leave high and dry in ruin many an ancient city on their banks.

Poetry of Indian river-names.

Their work, however, is on the whole beneficent; and a poem of Ossian might be made out of the names which the Indian peasant applies to his beloved rivers. Thus, we have the Goddess of Flowing Speech (*Sarasvatī*), or, according to another derivation, the River of Pools; the Streak of Gold (*Sucarna-rekhā*); the Glancing Waters (*Chitra*); the Dark Channel (*Kāla-nadī*), or the Queen of Death (*Kālī-nadī*); the Sinless One (*Pāpāginī* = *Pāpahinī*); the Arrowy (*Sharavatī*); the Golden (*Sucarnamatī*); the Stream at which the Deer Drinks (*Haringhāta*); the Forest Hope (*Banās*); the Old Twister (*Burabaling*); besides more common names, such as the All-Destroyer, the Forest King, the Lord of Strength, the Silver Waters, and the Flooder.

Crops of the river plains.

Throughout the river plains of Northern India, two harvests, and in some Provinces three, are reaped each year. These crops are not necessarily taken from the same land; but in most Districts the best situated fields yield two harvests within

the twelve months. In Lower Bengal, pease, pulses, oil-seeds, and green crops of various sorts, are reaped in spring; the early rice crops in September; and the great rice harvest of the year in November and December. Before the last has been gathered in, it is time to prepare the ground for the spring crops, and the husbandman knows no rest except during the hot weeks of May, when he is anxiously waiting for the rains. Such is the course of agriculture in Lower Bengal. But it should always be remembered that rice is the staple crop in a limited area of India, and that it forms the everyday food of only about 90 millions, or under one-third of the population of the Indian Empire. It has been estimated that, in the absence of irrigation, the rice crop requires an annual rainfall of at least 36 inches; and an Indian District requires an average fall of not less than 40 to 60 inches in order to grow rice as its staple crop. A line might almost be drawn across Behar, to the north of which rice ceases to be the staple food of the people; its place being taken by millets, and in a less degree by wheat. There are, indeed, rice-growing tracts in well-watered or low-lying Districts of Northern India, and in the river valleys or deltas and level strips around the southern coast. But, speaking generally, throughout North-Western, Central, and Southern India (except in the coast-strip), rice is consumed only by the richer classes.

The products of each Province are carefully enumerated in my separate provincial articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and an account of the most important will be found under the heading of Agriculture in the present volume. They are here referred to only so far as is necessary to give a general idea of the scenery of the river plains. Along the upper and middle courses of the Bengal rivers, the country rises gently from their banks in fertile undulations, dotted with mud villages and adorned with noble trees. Mango groves scent the air with their blossom in spring, and yield their abundant fruit in summer. The spreading banyan, with its colonnades of hanging roots; the stately *pipal*, with its green masses of foliage; the wild cotton-tree, glowing while still leafless with heavy crimson flowers; the tall, daintily-shaped, feathery-leaved tamarind, and the quick-growing *babul*, rear their heads above the crop fields. As the rivers approach the coast, the palm-trees take possession of the scene. The ordinary landscape in the delta is a flat stretch of rice-fields, fringed round with an evergreen border of bamboos, cocoa-nuts, date-trees, areca, and other coronetted palms. This

The three harvests of the year.

Scenery of the river plains.

In North-Western Bengal.

In the delta.

densely-peopled tract seems at first sight bare of villages, for each hamlet is hidden away amid its own grove of plantains and wealth-giving trees. The bamboo and cocoa-nut play a conspicuous part in the industrial life of the coast-provinces; and the numerous products derived from them, including rope, oil, food, fodder, fuel, and timber, have been dwelt on with admiration by many writers.

Crops of
North-
Western
Bengal;
of the
delta.

The crops also change as we sail down the rivers. In the north, the principal grains are wheat, barley, Indian corn, and a variety of millets, such as *joir* (*Sorghum vulgare*) and *lajra* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). In the delta, on the other hand, rice is the staple crop, and the universal diet. In a single Bengal District, Rangpur, there are 295 separate kinds of rice known to the peasant,¹ who has learned to grow his favourite crop in every locality, from the comparatively dry ground, which yields the December harvest, to the swamps 12 feet deep, on whose waters the September rice may be seen struggling upwards for air. Sugar-cane, oil-seeds, flax, mustard, sesamum, palma-christi, cotton, tobacco, indigo, safflower and other dyes, ginger, coriander, red pepper, capsicum, cummin, and precious spices, are grown both in the Upper Provinces and in the moister valleys and delta of Lower Bengal.

Drug,
fibres,
oil-seeds,
etc

A whole pharmacopœia of medicines, from the well-known aloe and castor-oil, to obscure but valuable febrifuges, is derived from shrubs, herbs, and roots. Resins, gums, varnishes, india-rubber, perfume-oils, and a hundred articles of commerce or luxury, are obtained from the fields and the forests. Vegetables, both indigenous and imported from Europe, largely enter into the food of the people. The melon and huge yellow pumpkin spread themselves over the thatched roofs; fields of potato, *brinjal*, and yams are attached to the homesteads. The tea-plant is reared on the hilly ranges which skirt the plains both in the North-West and in Assam; the opium poppy about half-way down the Ganges, around Benares and in Behar; the silkworm mulberry still farther down in Lower Bengal; while the jute fibre is essentially a crop of the delta, and would exhaust any soil not fertilized by river floods. Even the jungles yield the costly lac and the *tassar* silk cocoons. The *mahuá*, also a gift of the jungle, produces the fleshy flowers which form a staple article of food in many districts, and when distilled supply a cheap spirit. The *sál*, *sissu*, *tín*, and many other indigenous trees yield

Jungle
products.

¹ *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. vii. pp. 234-237.

excellent timber throughout the river plains of Northern India and on their hilly outskirts. Flowering creepers, of gigantic size and gorgeous colours, festoon the jungle; while each tank bears its own beautiful crop of the lotus and water-lily. Nearly every vegetable product which feeds and clothes a people, or enables it to trade with foreign countries, abounds on the northern river plains.

Having described the leading features of the Himálayas on the north, and of the great river plains at their base, we come now to the third division of India, namely, the three-sided table-land which covers the southern half or more strictly peninsular portion of India. This tract, known in ancient times as the Deccan (Dakshin), literally *The South*, comprises, in its widest historical application, the CENTRAL PROVINCES, BERAR, MADRAS, BOMBAY, MYSORE, with the Native Territories of the Nizám, Sindhia, Holkar, and other Feudatory chiefs. It had in 1891 an aggregate population of about 115 millions. For the sake of easy remembrance, therefore, we may take the inhabitants of the river plains and their outskirts in the north at about 165 millions, and the inhabitants of the southern table-land at 115 millions.

The Deccan, in its local acceptation, is restricted to the high inland tract between the Narbadá (Nerbudda) and the Kistna rivers; but the term is also loosely used to include the whole country south of the Vindhya as far as Cape Comorin. Taken in this wide sense, it slopes up from the southern edge of the Gangetic plains. Three ranges of hills support its northern, its eastern, and its western sides, the two latter meeting at a sharp angle near Cape Comorin.

The northern side is buttressed by confused ranges, with a general direction of east to west, popularly known in the aggregate as the Vindhya mountains. The Vindhya, however, are made up of several distinct hill systems. Two sacred peaks stand as outposts in the extreme east and west, with a succession rather than a series of ranges stretching 800 miles between. At the western extremity, Mount Abú, famous for its exquisite Jam temples, rises, as a solitary outlier of the Arávali hills, 5653 feet above the Rájputána plains, like an island out of the sea. Beyond the southern limits of that plain, the Vindhya range of modern geography runs almost due east from Gujarát, forming the northern wall of the Narbadá valley. The Satpura mountains stretch, also east and west, to the south of the Narbadá river, and form the water-

Third
Region of
India—
The
Southern
Table-
land.

The
Deccan :

its three
supporting
mountain
walls.

The
Vindhya
mountains :

their
various
ranges :

shed between it and the Tápti. Towards the heart of India, the eastern extremities of the Vindhya and Sātpuras end in the highlands of the Central Provinces. Passing still east, the hill system finds a continuation in the Kāmūr range and its congeners. These in their turn end in the outlying peaks and spurs that mark the western boundary of Lower Bengal, and abut on the old course of the Ganges under the name of the Rājmahál hills. On the extreme east, Mount Párasnāth—like Mount Abú on the extreme west, sacred to Jain rites—rises to 4479 feet above the Gangetic plain.

The various ranges of the Vindhya, from 1500 to over 4000 feet high, form, as it were, the northern wall and buttresses which support the central table-land. But in this sense the Vindhya must be taken as a loose convenient generalization for the congeries of mountains and table-lands between the Gangetic plains and the Nerbádá valley. Now pierced by road and railway, they stood in former times as a barrier of mountain and jungle between Northern and Southern India, and formed one of the main difficulties in welding the whole into an empire. They consist of vast masses of forests, ridges, and peaks, broken by cultivated tracts of the rich cotton-bearing black soil, exquisite river valleys, and high-lying grassy plains.

The other two sides of the elevated southern triangle are known as the Eastern and Western GHÁTS. These ranges start southward from the eastern and western extremities of the Vindhya, and run along the eastern and western coasts of India. The Eastern Gháts stretch in fragmentary spurs and ridges down the Madras Presidency, receding inland and leaving broad level tracts between their base and the coast. The Western Gháts form the great sea wall of the Bombay Presidency, with a comparatively narrow strip between them and the shore. Some of them rise in magnificent precipices and headlands out of the ocean, and truly look like colossal 'landing-stairs' (*gháts*) from the sea. The Eastern or Madras Gháts recede upwards to an average elevation of 1500 feet. The Western or Bombay Gháts ascend more abruptly from the sea to an average height of about 3000 feet, with peaks up to 4700, along the coast; rising to 7000 feet and even 8760 feet in the upheaved angle where they unite with the Eastern Ghát, towards their southern extremity.

The inner triangular plateau thus enclosed lies from 1000 to 3000 feet above the level of the sea. But it is dotted with peaks and seamed with ranges exceeding 4000 feet in height.

Its best known hills are the Nilgiris (Blue Mountains), with the summer capital of Madras, Utakamand, over 7000 feet above the sea. Their highest point is Dodabetta peak, 8760 feet, in the upheaved southern angle. The interior plateau is approached by several famous passes from the level coast-strip on the western side. The Bhor-Ghât, for example, ascends a tremendous ravine about 40 miles south-east of Bombay city, to a height of 2027 feet. In ancient times it was regarded as the key to the Deccan, and could be held by a small band against any army attempting to penetrate from the coast. A celebrated military road was constructed by the British up this pass, and practically gave the command of the interior to the then rising port of Bombay. A railway line has now been carried up the gorge, twisting round the shoulders of mountains, tunnelling through intervening crags, and clinging along narrow ledges to the face of the precipice. At one point the zigzag is so sharp as to render a circuitous turn impossible, and the trains have to stop and reverse their direction on a levelled terrace. The Thalghât (1912 feet), to the north-east of Bombay, has in like manner been scaled both by road and railway. Another celebrated pass, farther down the coast, connects the military centre of Belgaum with the little port of Vengurla.

Passes up from the coast; the Bhor-Ghat

and the Thal-ghât.

These 'landing-stairs' from the sea to the interior present scenes of rugged grandeur. The trap rocks stand out, after ages of denudation, like circular fortresses flanked by round towers and crowned with nature's citadels, from the mass of hills behind; natural fastnesses, which in the Maráthá times were rendered impregnable by military art. In the south of Bombay, the passes climb up from the sea through thick forests, the haunt of the tiger and the mighty bison. Still farther down the coast, the western mountain wall dips deep into the Pálghât valley—a remarkable gap, 20 miles broad, and leading by an easy route, only 1000 feet in height, from the seaboard to the interior. A third railway and military road penetrate by this passage from Bèypur, and cross the peninsula to Madras. A fourth railway runs inland from the coast of the Portuguese Settlement of Goa.

The Pál-ghât Pass.

On the eastern side of India, the Ghâts form a series of spurs and buttresses for the elevated inner plateau rather than a continuous mountain wall. They are traversed by a number of broad and easy passages from the Madras coast. Through these openings, the rainfall of the southern half of the inner plateau reaches the sea. The drainage from the northern or

The rivers of the inner plateau:

no exit westward ;
 Vindhyan edge of the three-sided table-land falls into the Ganges. The Nerbádá (Nerbudda) and Tápti carry the rainfall of the southern slopes of the Vindhyas and of the Sápura Hills, by two almost parallel lines, into the Gulf of Cambay. But from Surat, in lat. $21^{\circ} 28'$, southward to Cape Comorin, in lat. $8^{\circ} 4'$, no great river succeeds in piercing the Western Gháts, or in reaching the Bombay coast from the interior table-land.

its drainage eastward.
 The Western Gháts form, in fact, a lofty unbroken barrier between the waters of the central plateau and the Indian Ocean. The drainage has therefore to make its way across India to the eastward, now foaming and twisting sharply round projecting ranges, then tumbling down ravines, roaring through rapids, or rushing along valleys, until the rain which the Bombay sea-breeze has dropped on the ridges of the Western Gháts finally flows into the Bay of Bengal. In this way the three great rivers of the Madras Presidency, viz. the Godávári, the Kistna (Krishna), and the Káveri (Cauvery), rise in the mountains overhanging the Bombay coast, and traverse the whole breadth of the central table-land before they reach the sea on the eastern shores of India.

Historical significance of the Eastern and Western Gháts ;
 and of the rainfall.
 The physical geography and the political destiny of the two sides of the Indian peninsula have been determined by the characteristics of the mountain ranges on either coast. On the east, the Madras country is comparatively open, and was always accessible to the spread of civilisation. On the east, therefore, the ancient dynasties of Southern India fixed their capitals. Along the west, only a narrow strip of lowland intervenes between the barrier range and the Bombay seaboard. This western tract long remained apart from the civilisation of the eastern coast. To our own day, one of its ruling races, the Nairs, retain land tenures and social customs, such as polyandry, which mark a much ruder stage of human advancement than Hinduism, and which in other parts of India only linger among isolated hill tribes. On the other hand, the people of this western or Bombay coast enjoy a bountiful rainfall, unknown in the inner plateau and the east. The monsoon dashes its rain-laden clouds against the Western Gháts, and pours 100 to 200 inches of rain upon their maritime slopes from Khándesh southward to Malabar. By the time the monsoon has crossed the Western Gháts, it has dropped the greater part of its aqueous burden ; and central Districts, such as Bangalore, obtain only about 35 inches. The eastern coast also receives a monsoon of its own ; but,

except in the neighbourhood of the sea, the rainfall throughout the Madras Presidency is scanty, seldom exceeding 40 inches in the year. The deltas of the three great rivers along the Madras coast form, however, tracts of inexhaustible fertility; and much is done by irrigation to husband and utilize both the local rainfall and the accumulated waters which the rivers bring down.

The ancient Sanskrit poets speak of Southern India as buried under forests. But much of the forest land has gradually been denuded by the axe of the cultivator, or in consequence of the deterioration produced by unchecked fires and by the grazing of innumerable herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. Roughly speaking, Southern India consists of four forest regions—First, the Western Gháts and the plains of the Konkan, Malabar, and Travancore between them and the sea; second, the Karnátik, with the Eastern Ghats, occupying the lands along the Coromandel coast and the outer slopes of the hill ranges behind them; third, the Deccan, in its narrower sense, comprising the central tracts of the southern peninsula, the high plateaux of Haidarábád, the Ceded Districts, Mysore, Coimbatore, and Salem; fourth, the forests of the Northern Circars in the Madras Presidency.

Each of these Districts has its own peculiar vegetation. That of the first region, or Western Gháts, largely consists of virgin forests of huge trees, with an infinite variety of smaller shrubs, epiphytic and parasitic plants, and lianas or tangled creepers which bind together even the giants of the forest. The king of these forests is the teak (*Tectona grandis*, *Linn.*). That prince of timber is now found in the greatest abundance in the forests of Kánara, in the Wainád, and in the Anamalai Hills of Coimbatore and Cochin. The *pín* tree (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, *Linn.*) is more especially found in the southernmost forests of Travancore and Tinneveli; where tall straight stems, fit for the spars and masts of seagoing ships, are procured. The jack fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, *Linn.*) and its more common relation the *aini* (*Artocarpus hirsuta*, *Lam.*), furnish a pretty yellow-coloured timber; the blackwood (*Dalbergia latifolia*, *Roeb.*) yields huge logs excellent for carved furniture. The *Terminalias* (*T. tomentosa* and *T. paniculata*, *W. and A.*) with the benteak (*Lagerstrœmia microcarpa*, *Wight.*) supply strong wood suitable for the well-built houses of the prosperous population of Malabar and Travancore. The dammer tree or Indian copal (*Vateria indica*, *Linn.*) yields its useful resin. The ground vegetation supplies one of the most

valuable of Indian exports, the cardamom. To enumerate all the important trees and products of the Western Ghâts would, however, be impossible.

Forests of Eastern Ghâts and Karnâtik. In the Karnâtik or Eastern Ghât region, the forests rarely consist of large timber, owing to the drier climate and the shorter monsoon. Nor are they of a wide area. Most of the forests here consist of what is known as 'Evergreen Scrub,' in which the prominent trees are the *Eugenia jambolana*, *Lam.* *Mimusops indica*, *Linn.*, and the strychnine (*Strychnos nuxvomica*, *Linn.*). On the slopes of the hills deciduous forest appears with teak, *Terminalias*, *Anogeissus*, and occasional red sanders.

Forests of the Deccan. The Deccan, or central region, which gets a share of both monsoons (namely the monsoon from the south-west from June to September, and that from the north-east from September to January), has still some large areas covered with fine forest, and yielding good timber. Chief among these areas are the Nallamalâi Hills of Karnûl, the Palkonda Hills of Cuddapah, the Collegal Hills of Coimbatore, and the Shevaroy and Jawadî ranges of Salem and North Arcot. In the Nallamalâi Hills, *bijusâl* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*, *Roxb.*) and *sâj* (*Terminalia tomentosa*, *W. and A.*) are the prevailing timbers: the valuable red sanders-wood (*Pterocarpus santalinus*, *Linn.*) has its home in the Palkonda and adjoining ranges of Cuddapah, while the growth on the hills of Coimbatore includes the precious sandal-wood (*Santalum album*, *Linn.*). In the drier country of Bellary and Penukonda, the chief tree is the *anjân* (*Hardwickia binata*, *Roxb.*), furnishing the hardest and heaviest of Indian woods.

Forests of Northern Madras. The fourth forest region is that of the Madras or Northern Circars. It stretches from the Kistna river up to the Chilka lake, and includes fine forests of almost untouched *sâl* (*Shorea robusta*, *Gært.*), the iron-wood (*Xylia dolabriformis*, *Benth.*), the satin-wood (*Chloroxylon Swietenia*, *D.C.*), and many other timbers of value.

Scenery of southern hill country. In wild tropical beauty nothing can surpass the luxuriance of an untouched Coorg forest, as viewed from one of the peaks of the Western Ghâts. A waving descent of green, broken into terraces of varying heights, slopes downward on every side. North and south run parallel ranges of mountains, wooded almost to the summit, while to the west, thousands of feet below, the view is bounded by the blue line of the Arabian Sea. Wild animals of many kinds breed in the jungle, and haunt the grassy glades. The elephant, the tiger,

and the leopard, the mighty bison, the stately *sāmbhar* deer, and the jungle sheep, with a variety of smaller game, afford adventure to the sportsman. During the rains magnificent cataracts dash over the precipices. The picturesque Gersoppa Falls, in the Western Ghāts, have a thunderous descent of 830 feet.

In the valleys, and upon the elevated plains of the central plateau, tillage is driving back the jungle to the hilly recesses, and fields of wheat and many kinds of smaller grain or millets, tobacco, cotton, sugar-cane, and pulses, spread over the open country. The black soil of Southern India, formed from the detritus of the trap mountains, is proverbial for its fertility; while the level strip between the Western Ghāts and the sea rivals even Lower Bengal in its fruit-bearing palms, rice harvests, and rich succession of crops. The deltas of the rivers which issue from the Eastern Ghāts are celebrated as rice-bearing tracts. But the interior of the central table-land of the southern peninsula is liable to droughts. The cultivators here contend against the calamities of nature by varied systems of irrigation—by means of which they store the rain brought during a few months by the monsoon, and husband it for use throughout the whole year. Great tanks or lakes, formed by damming up the valleys, are a striking feature of Southern India. The food of the common people consists chiefly of small grains, such as *jowār*, *bājra*, and *riḡi*. The great export is cotton, with wheat from the northern Districts of the table-land. The pepper trade of Malabar dates from far beyond the age of Sindbad the Sailor, and reaches back to Roman times. Cardamoms, spices of various sorts, dyes, and many medicinal drugs, are also grown.

It is on the interior table-land, and among the hilly spurs which project from it, that the mineral wealth of India lies hid. Coal-mining now forms a great industry on the north-eastern side of the table-land in Bengal; and also in the Central Provinces. Beds of iron-ore and limestone have been worked in several places, and hold out a possibility of a new era of enterprise to India in the future. Many districts are rich in building stone, marble, and the easily-worked laterite. Copper and other metals exist in small quantities. Golconda was long famous as the central mart for the produce of the diamond districts, which now yield little more than a bare living to the workers. Gold dust has from very ancient times been washed out of the river-beds; and quartz-crushing for gold is being attempted on scientific principles, and upon a large scale, in Madras and Mysore.

Crops of
Southern
India.

Minerals;
Coal,
Lime,
Iron.

Recapitulation :
the Three
Regions of
India.

I have now briefly surveyed the three regions of Continental India. The first, or the *Himálayan*, lies for the most part beyond the British frontier ; but a knowledge of it supplies the key to the climatic and social conditions of India. The second region, or the *River Plains* in the north, formed the theatre of the ancient race movements which shaped the civilisation and political destinies of the whole Indian peninsula. The third region, or the *Triangular Table-land* in the south, has a character quite distinct from either of the other two divisions, and a population which is now working out a separate development of its own. Broadly speaking, the *Himálayas* are peopled by *Turanian* tribes, although to a large extent ruled by *Aryan* immigrants. The great *River Plains* of *Bengal* are still the possession of the *Indo-Aryan* race. The *Triangular Table-land* has formed an arena for a long struggle between the *Aryan* civilisation from the north, and what is known as the *Dravidian* stock in the south.

Their
races and
lan-
guages.

Fourth
Region
of India :
Burma,

To this vast Empire of Continental India the English have added *BURMA*, consisting of the valley of the *Irawadi* (*Irawaddy*), together with its delta, and the territories which stretch eastward and westward from the central valley. On the western bank of the river the country rises into a series of high ranges, and then falls into the narrow coast-strip of *Arakan*, along the eastern shore of the *Bay of Bengal*. These high ranges, known as the *Yoma* (*Roma*) mountains, are covered with dense forests, and separate the *Irawadi* valley from the strip of coast. The *Yomas* have peaks exceeding 4000 feet, and culminate in the *Blue Mountain*, 7100 feet. They form a sort of backbone to the more level regions of *Burma* on either side of them, but are crossed by passes, one of which, the *An* or *Aeng*, rises to 4517 feet above the sea-level. Turning to the eastern side of the *Irawadi*, the country rises into the mountainous regions of the *Sháns* and other races, dwelling in the little-explored highlands which separate *Burma* from the frontier States of the *Chinese* Empire. Below the *Irawadi* delta, a long narrow strip, known under the comprehensive name of *Tenasserim*, runs southward between the *Bay of Bengal* and the *Siamese* dominions, as far as *Point Victoria*.

its valleys
and moun-
tains ;

Its five
tracts.

Burma consists therefore of five well-defined tracts : the valley of the *Irawadi*, including *Upper* and *Lower Burma*, in the centre ; the backbone of the *Yoma* mountains on the

western margin of that central valley; the hill country of the Sháns and other wild tribes on the opposite or eastern edge of the central valley; the coast-strip of Arakan, between the Bay of Bengal and the Yoma mountains; and the long isolated southern coast-strip of Tenasserim, between the Bay of Bengal and the Siamese dominions. The central valley and the two coast-strips are extremely fertile. The outskirts of the hilly tracts are rich in teak and other valuable trees, and forest produce. A thousand creeks indent the seaboard; and the whole of the level country, on the coast and in the lower Irawadi valley, forms one vast rice-field. The rivers float down cheaply the teak, bamboos, and timbers from the north. Tobacco, of an excellent quality, supplies the cigars which all Burmese (men, women, and children) smoke, and affords an industrial product of increasing value. Arakan and Pegu, the two Provinces of the coast, and also the Irawadi valley, contain mineral-oil springs. Tenasserim is rich in tin mines, and contains iron-ores equal to the finest Swedish; besides gold and copper in smaller quantities, and a very pure limestone. Rice and timber form the staple exports of Burma; and rice is also the universal food of the people. Burma, including Upper and Lower Burma and Tenasserim, has an area of about 170,000 square miles; and a population, in 1891, of over 7½ million persons. It is fortunate in still possessing wide areas of yet uncultivated land to meet the wants of its rapidly-increasing people.

Its products.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE.

General
Survey
of the
People.

THE POPULATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE OF INDIA, including the Feudatory States and Burma, amounted in 1891 to over 288 millions, or, as already mentioned, more than double the number which Gibbon estimated for the Roman Empire in the height of its power. But the English Government has respected the possessions of native chiefs, and more than one-third of the country still remains in the hands of its hereditary rulers. Their subjects make nearly one-fourth of the whole Indian people. The British territories, therefore, comprise about two-thirds of the area of the British Empire of India, and three-fourths of its inhabitants.

The Feudatory
Chiefs.

The native princes govern their States with the help of British 'Political' officers, whom the Viceroy stations at their capitals. Some of the Chiefs reign almost as independent sovereigns; others require more assistance, or a stricter control. They form a magnificent body of feudatory rulers, possessed of revenues and armies of their own. Many of them also maintain contingents of disciplined battalions at the disposal of the British Government of India, under the title of Imperial Service Troops. The more important of these princes exercise the power of life and death over their subjects; but the authority of each is limited by usage, or by treaties or engagements, acknowledging their subordination to the British Government. That Government, as Suzerain in India, does not allow its feudatories to make war upon each other, or to have any relations with foreign States. It interferes when any chief misgoverns his people; rebukes, and if needful removes, the oppressor; protects the weak; and firmly imposes peace upon all.

Their
various
powers.

British
India—the
Provinces,

The British possessions are distributed into governments (heretofore reckoned at twelve),¹ each with a separate head;

¹ From the table on p. 78, it will be seen that the classification adopted by the Census of 1891 gives eleven separate governments, with certain miscellaneous territories arranged in a twelfth group.

but all of them under the orders of the Supreme Government of India, consisting of the Governor-General in Council. The Governor-General, who also bears the title of Viceroy, holds his court and government at Calcutta in the cold weather, and during summer at Simla, an outer spur of the Himalayas, 7000 feet above the level of the sea. The Viceroy of India, and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, are usually British statesmen appointed in England by the Queen. The heads ^{how} of the other Provinces are selected for their merit from the ^{governed.} Anglo-Indian services (in almost all cases from the India Civil Service), and are nominated by the Viceroy, subject in the case of the Lieutenant-Governorships to approval by the Secretary of State.

The first Census for all India was taken in 1872. Although not synchronous, it yielded fairly accurate returns for the British Provinces, with less trustworthy materials for the Native States. But in many Districts it was regarded with apprehension as a possible basis for increased taxation; and in some of the backward tracts and hill or jungle districts it led to petty risings, or threatened risings, of the peasantry. The experience of the next nine years convinced the population of India that the Census meant no harm to them; and the enumeration of 1881 furnished more correct returns both for the British and Feudatory territories, although there was still a hesitation in giving the true numbers and ages of the females. The third Census, taken in 1891, completed the process of improvement, and supplies an absolutely verified basis for the future. Its results will not, however, be published in full till some time after this volume appears; and many of its tabulations were not finished when these pages had to go to press. I owe several of the following paragraphs and all the tables to the great courtesy and kindness of Mr. Baines, the Indian Census Commissioner, who has prepared them with his own hand for this chapter, and has done me the additional favour of checking the figures in the proof-sheets. It should be borne in mind from the outset that the recent territorial expansion of India involves important adjustments in any attempt to compare the returns of 1891 with those of 1881.

The Census of 1891 returned a population of 289,187,316 ^{Census of} souls for all India (British, Feudatory, French, and Portuguese), ^{1891.} including tracts where the Census operations were not carried out in detail, and where a less perfect enumeration was conducted through the tribal chiefs or village headmen. The following tables give an abstract of the area and population:—

THE GOVERNMENTS OR PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA (1891).

NAME OF PROVINCE (Exclusive of the Native States attached to it).		Area in Square Miles.	Total Population.	Average Population per Square Mile.
1. Government of Madras.	.	141,189	35,630,440	252
2. Government of Bombay.	.	77,275	15,685,270	206
Bombay.	.	47,780	2,871,774	60
Sind.	.	80	18,901,123	151
Achen.	.	80	44,079	587
3. Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal.	.	154,513	71,346,987	471
4. Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces.	.	83,280	34,254,254	411
5. Chief Commissioner-ship of Oudh.	.	24,217	12,650,831	522
6. Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab.	.	110,667	46,905,085	436
7. Chief Commissioner-ship of the Central Provinces.	.	86,501	20,866,847	288
8. Chief Commissioner-ship of Assam. ²	.	49,004	10,784,204	225
9. Chief Commissioner-ship of Burma—	.		5,476,833	112
Upper Burma.	.	33,473	2,946,933	35
Lower Burma.	.	87,957	4,658,027	54
10. Commissioner-ship of Berar. ³	.	171,430	7,605,560	45
11. Commissioner-ship of Ajmere-Merwara.	.	17,718	2,897,491	163
12. Commissioner-ship of Coorg.	.	4,711	542,358	200
Miscellaneous—	.	1,583	173,055	109
Quetta, etc. ⁴	.	Not ascertained, but {	27,270	...
Port Blair, Andaman Islands. ⁵	.	very small	15,609	...
British Baluchistan. ⁶	.	Not ascertained	* 145,417	...
* Upper Burma Frontier Tracts. ⁷	.	Included in Upper Burma	* 116,493	...
Total for British India.			221,434,862	229

The population of these territories was not enumerated by individuals, but registered by households.

1 Oudh has been incorporated, since 1877, with the North-Western Provinces. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces is also Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

2 Assam was separated from the Lieutenant Governor-ship of Bengal in 1874, and erected into a Chief Commissioner-ship.

3 Berar consists of the six Assigned Districts made over to the British administration by the Nizam of Hyderabad for the maintenance of the Hand Held Contingent, which he was bound by treaty to maintain, and in discharge of other obligations.

4 Quetta, etc., includes cantonments, railways, and civil stations only. Only the civil settlement on the Andaman Islands was enumerated.

5 This return of the population of British Baluchistan is said to be much below the actual number.

6 Portions of the Upper Baluchistan District were enumerated, but the results, after rough tabulation, as given above, were destroyed in subsequent disturbances. Portions of Bhawal and Kaddi were collected from the regular census.

THE NATIVE STATES AND GROUPS OF NATIVE STATES
FORMING FEUDATORY INDIA (1891).

STATES, OR GROUPS OF STATES.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Population.	Average Population per Square Mile.
1. Rájputána,	130,268	12,016,102	94
2. Haidarábád (Nizám's Dominions), .	82,698	11,537,040	139
3. Central India Agency and Bundel- khand,	77,808	10,318,812	133
4. Baroda,	8,226	2,415,396	294
5. Mysore,	27,936	4,943,604	177
6. Kashmir,	80,600	2,543,952	31
7. Native States under the Bombay Government,	69,045	8,059,298	117
8. Native States under the Madras Government,	9,609	3,700,622	385
9. Native States under the Bengal Government,	35,834	3,296,379	92
10. Native States under the Punjab Government,	38,299	4,263,280	111
11. Native States under the Central Provinces,	29,435	2,160,511	73
12. Native States under the North- Western Provinces,	5,109	792,491	155
13. Fort Steadman in the Shan States, .	...	2,992	...
14. *Shán States (Cis-Salwín),	40,000	*372,669	9
15. *Sikkim,	1,550	*30,458	19
16. *Forest Tracts in Meywar, etc., Rájputána,	(Included in Rájputána)	*204,241	...
17. Manipur, ²	8,000	250,000	31
Total for Feudatory India,	644,717	66,908,147	104

* The population of these States and Tracts, excepting Fort Steadman in the Shan States, was not enumerated by individuals, but registered by households.

If to the foregoing figures we add the French and Portuguese possessions, we obtain the total for all India. Thus—

ALL INDIA, INCLUDING BURMA (1891).

	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Average Population per Square Mile.
British India (1891),	665,951	221,454,702	229
Feudatory India (1891),	644,717	66,908,147	104
Portuguese Settlements (1897), . . .	1,705	501,354	294
French Settlements (1891),	203	282,923	1,393
Total for all India, including Burma,	1,312,576	229,167,126	179

¹ Mysore includes the British portion of Bangalore.

² Manipur was enumerated, but, the records having been destroyed in March 1891, the results are estimated only.

Census of
1872 and
1881.

It may be useful to give the figures of the two previous Census returns, premising that various circumstances, such as more perfect enumeration and the annexation of Upper Burma, make them unsuitable for an elaborate comparison with the returns of 1891. The population in 1872 was as follows:—British India, 186 millions; Feudatory States, over 54 millions; French and Portuguese possessions, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million: total for all India, 240,931,521. In 1881 the population, allowing for subsequent transfers of territory between British and Feudatory tracts, was:—British India, 198,860,606.¹ Feudatory States, 56,998,330:¹ French and Portuguese Settlements, 748,783: total for all India, 256,607,719. In 1891 the total for all India, as shown in detail in the foregoing table, was 289,187,316.

Of the 288 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions in British India and its Feudatory States, only 90,169 persons were English, Scotch, or Irish; and the total number of persons not born in Asia was only 110,504 (including the 90,169 just mentioned).

Density of
the popu-
lation,

compared
with
France,
England,
and other
European
States.

British India as a whole supports a population much more than twice as dense as that of the Native States. If we exclude the outlying and lately-acquired Provinces of British Burma and Assam, the proportion is nearly three-fold, or 279 persons to the square mile. How thick this population is, may be realized from the fact that France had in 1891 only 186 people to the square mile; while even in crowded England, wherever the density approaches 200 to the square mile, it ceases to be a rural population, and has to live, to a greater or less extent, by manufactures, mining, or city industries.² The following table shows the density of the population per square mile in the principal European countries:—

England and Wales (1891).	498	Hungary (1880).	125
Scotland (1891).	132	German Empire (1890).	237
Ireland (1891).	144	Prussia (1890).	223
France (1891).	186	Holland (1889).	300
Italy (1880).	249	Belgium (1890).	340
Austria (1880).	191	Portugal (1878).	134

Throughout large areas of Bengal, two persons have to live on the proceeds of each cultivated acre, or 1280 persons to each cultivated square mile. The Famine Commissioners reported in 1880, that over 6 millions of the peasant holdings of Bengal, or two-thirds of the whole, averaged from 2 to 3 acres a-piece.

¹ The difference between this and the figures given in the *Imperial Census*, Table II., is due to the exclusion from the latter of all tracts not enumerated both in 1881 and 1891.

² Report on the Census of England and Wales for 1871.

Allowing only four persons to the holding, for men, women, and children, this represents a population of 24 millions struggling to live off 15 million acres, or a little over half an acre a-piece.

Unlike England, India has few large towns, and no great manufacturing centres. Thus, in England and Wales, 53·22 per cent., or more than one-half of the population in 1891, lived in 182 towns with upwards of 20,000 inhabitants,¹ while in British India only 4·84 per cent., or not one-twentieth of the people, live in the 225 towns of that size. India, therefore, is almost entirely a rural country; and many of the so-called towns are mere groups of villages, in the midst of which the cattle are driven a-field, and ploughing and reaping go on. Calcutta itself has grown out of a cluster of hamlets on the bank of the Hugli; and the term 'municipality,' which in Europe is only applied to towns, often means in India a 'rural union,' or collection of homesteads for the purposes of local government.

Absence
of large
towns.

Population
entirely
rural.

We see, therefore, in India, a dense population of husbandmen. Wherever their numbers exceed 1 to the acre, or 640 to the square mile,—excepting in suburban districts or in irrigated tracts,—the struggle for existence becomes hard. At half an acre a-piece that struggle is terribly hard. In such Districts, a good harvest yields just sufficient food for the people; and thousands of lives depend each autumn on a few inches more or less of rainfall. The Government may, by great efforts, feed the starving in time of actual famine; but it cannot stop the yearly work of disease and death among a steadily underfed people. In these overcrowded tracts the population reaches the stationary stage. For example, in Allahâbâd District, during twenty years, the inhabitants increased by only 6 persons in 10,000 each year. During the nine years from 1872 to 1881, the annual increase was 8 persons in 10,000; and in the succeeding decade, but 5 persons. In still more densely-peopled localities upon the line of railway, facilities for migration have drained off the excessive population, and their total number in 1872 was less than it had been twenty years before. On the other hand, in thinly-peopled Provinces the inhabitants quickly multiply. Thus, when we obtained the District of Amherst in 1824 from the king of Burma, it had been depopulated by savage native wars. The British established their firm rule; people began to flock in; and by 1829 there were 70,000 inhabitants in Amherst District. Its popu-

Over-
crowded
Districts.

Under-
peopled
Provinces

¹ Provisional Totals of the Census of England and Wales for 1891.

lation had increased to 301,086 in 1881, and to 417,312 in 1891; or nearly six times its number in 1829.

The 'im-
mobile'
Indian
peasant.

In some parts of India, therefore, there are more husbandmen than the land can feed; in other parts, vast tracts of fertile soil still await the cultivator. In England, the people would move freely from the over-populated districts to the thinly-inhabited ones; but in India the peasant clings to his hereditary homestead long after his family has outgrown his fields. If the Indian races will only learn to migrate to tracts where spare land still abounds, they will do more than the utmost efforts of Government can accomplish to prevent famines.

The Census returns for 1891 show that, with a general average of 229 persons per square mile, the population has increased by about 9 per thousand per annum; and the District variations indicate the tendency of the relative increase to vary inversely to the local density of the population. This is plainly marked in the tracts supporting not more than 300 persons to the square mile. In these the rate throughout is above the mean; but beyond this limit it falls, though with less regularity. Thus, whilst in the tracts with under 300 persons to the square mile the rate of increase in the decade is about 14 per cent., in the more densely-peopled areas it falls to about 8 per cent. A good example of the above-mentioned irregularity may be found in the fact that out of the total area of British territory, excluding Upper Burma, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., with 45 per cent. of the population, returns a specific population of more than double the average,—that is, of 460 per square mile and over,—but the mean rate of increase in this densely-peopled area is only 7.2 per cent.

Move-
ments of
the people.

There cannot be said to be any migration to an extent which is sufficient to relieve a congested tract, except in the cases of, first, Bengal to Assam, and from Behar down towards Calcutta: secondly, from Madras to Ceylon and Burma; and it is only the Bengal to Assam emigration that is really permanent. In other cases, however, there is temporary displacement, due to special attractions, such as the wheat harvest, or cotton picking; but the effect, though apparent in the Census returns, is obliterated by the time the season for sowing has come round again in the home Districts of the migrants. In one District, however, of Lower Burma, in a couple of Districts of Bombay, in the sub-montane tracts to the east of the North-West Provinces, and in parts of the Punjab, there have been small agricultural movements, which are probably permanent.

Taking the country as a whole, however, it appears that over 90 per cent. of the inhabitants were born in the District or State in which they were residing at the time of the Census, and 6 per cent. in the tracts immediately adjoining it. Only 3 per cent. of the people came from more remote Districts.

Throughout many of the hill and border tracts, land is so plentiful that it yields no rent. Any one may settle on a patch which he clears of jungle, exhaust the soil by a rapid succession of crops, and then leave it to relapse into forest. In such tracts no rent is charged; but each family of wandering husbandmen pays a poll-tax to the chief, or to the Government under whose protection it dwells. As the inhabitants increase, this nomadic system of cultivation gives place to regular tillage. Throughout Burma we see both methods at work side by side; while on the thickly-peopled plains of India the 'wandering husbandmen' have long since disappeared, and each household remains rooted to the same plot of ground during generations.

In some parts of India, this change in the relation of the people to the land has taken place before our own eyes. Thus, in Bengal there was in the last century more cultivable land than there were husbandmen to till it. A hundred years of British rule has reversed the ratio; and there are now, in some Districts, more people than there is land for them to till. This change has produced a silent revolution in the rural economy of the Province. When the English obtained Bengal in the last century, they found in many Districts two distinct rates of rent current for the same classes of soil. The higher rate was paid by the *thání ráyats*, literally 'stationary' tenants, who had their houses in the hamlet, and formed the permanent body of cultivators. These tenants would bear a great deal of extortion rather than forsake the lands on which they had expended labour and capital in digging tanks, cutting irrigation channels, and building homesteads. They were oppressed accordingly; and while they had a right of occupation in their holdings as long as they paid the rent, the very highest rates were squeezed out of them. The temporary or wandering cultivators, *paikhást ráyats*, were those who had not their homes in the village, and who could therefore leave it whenever they pleased. They had no right of occupancy in their fields; but, on the other hand, the landlord could not obtain so high a rent from them, as there was plenty of spare land in adjoining villages to which they could retire in case of oppression. The landlords were at that time competing for

tenants; and one of the commonest complaints which they brought before the Company's officials was a charge against a neighbouring proprietor of 'enticing away cultivators' by low rates of rent.

and at the
present
day.

This state of things is now reversed in most parts of Bengal. The landlords have no longer to compete for tenants. It is the husbandmen who have to compete with one another for land. There are still two rates of rent. But the lower rates are now paid by the 'stationary' tenants, who possess occupancy rights; while the higher or rack-rents are paid by the other class, who do not possess occupancy rights. In ancient India, the eponymous hero, or original village founder, was the man who cut down the forest. In modern India, special legislation and a Forest Department are required to preserve the woods which remain. Not only has the country been stripped of its woodlands, but in many Districts the pastures have been brought under the plough, to the detriment of the cattle. The people in such Districts can no longer afford to leave sufficient land fallow, or under grass, for their oxen and cows.

Serfdom
in India.

It will be readily understood that in a country where, almost down to the present day, there was more land than there were people to till it, a high value was set upon the cultivating class. In tracts where the nomadic hill-system of husbandry survives, no family is permitted by the native chief to quit his territory. For each household there pays a poll-tax. In many parts of India, we found the lower classes attached to the soil in a manner which could scarcely be distinguished from prædial slavery. In spite of our legislative enactments, this system lingered on during nearly a century of British rule. Our early officers in South-Eastern Bengal, especially in the great island of Sandwip, almost raised a rebellion by their attempts to liberate the slaves. Indeed, in certain tracts where we found the population very depressed, as in Behar, the courts have in our own day occasionally brought to light the survival of serfdom. A feeling long survived in the minds of some British officers against migrations of the people from their own Districts to adjoining ones, or to Native States.

Unequal
pressure of
the popula-
tion on the
land.

If we except the newly-annexed Provinces of Burma and Assam, the population of British India is nearly three times more dense than the population of Feudatory India. This great disproportion cannot be altogether explained by differences in the natural capabilities of the soil. It would be for the advantage of the people that they should spread themselves over the whole country, and so equalize the

pressure throughout. The Feudatory States lie interspersed among British territory, and no costly migration by sea is involved. That the people have not thus spread themselves out, but crowd together within our Provinces, is partly due to their belief that, on the whole, they are less liable to oppression under British rule than under native chiefs. But any outward movement of the population, even from the most densely-peopled English Districts, used to be regarded with pain by the local officers. Indeed, the occasional exodus of a few cultivators from the overcrowded British Province of Behar into the thinly-peopled frontier State of Nepal, has formed a subject of sensitive self-reproach. In proportion as we can enforce good government under the native chiefs of India, we should hope to see a gradual movement of the people into the Feudatory States. Such a movement, as I shall presently show, seems to have begun. There is plenty of land in India for the whole population. What is required is not the diminution of the people, but their more equal distribution.

The following paragraphs compare the increase in the population during the two periods for which census-enumerations exist. The extremely slow growth of the population during the first period serves to illustrate the disastrous effect of famine in India; for, while the last decade (1881-91) was one of normal prosperity, the previous period (1872-81) included the great famine of 1876-78, and was distinctly abnormal.

The Census, taken in 1881, showed an increase of $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions for all India, or 6·4 per cent., during the nine years since 1872. But this general statement gives but an imperfect insight into the local increment of the people. For while in the southern Provinces, which suffered most from the famine of 1877-78, the numbers stood still, or even receded, an enormous increase took place in the less thickly-peopled tracts. Thus the British Presidency of Madras showed a diminution of 1·4 per cent.; while the Native State of Mysore, which felt the full effects of the long-continued dearth of 1876-79, had 17 per cent. fewer inhabitants in 1881 than in 1872. The Bengal population increased by 11 per cent. in the nine years, notwithstanding the milder scarcity of 1874. But the great increase was in the outlying, under-peopled Districts of India, where the pressure of the inhabitants on the soil has not yet begun to be felt, and where thousands of acres still await the cultivator. In Assam the increase (1872-81) was 19 per cent.—largely due to immigration; in the Central Provinces, with their Feudatory States and tracts of unreclaimed

Increase of population, 1872-91.

Census of 1872 and of 1881.

Increase of the people.

jungle, 25 per cent. ; in Berár (adjoining them), 20 per cent. ; while in Lower Burma—which, most of all the British Provinces, stood in need of inhabitants—the nine years added 36 per cent. to the population, equivalent to doubling the people in about twenty-five years.

Census of
1891.

The Census of 1891 exhibits an increase on 1881 of 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions for all India, British and Feudatory, calculated on the same area as that enumerated in 1881, or 10·94 per cent. ; being nearly double the advance of the previous nine years. This increase is spread in varying proportions over all the Provinces of British India, except Coorg, which shows a diminution of 5247 inhabitants, or 3 per cent., and over all the Native States of Feudatory India. The largest increase in the British Provinces is again in Lower Burma, where the population has grown 24·7 per cent., or by very nearly one-fourth, in the ten years between 1881 and 1891. Next in order comes the outlying Province of Sind, with an increase of 18·9 per cent. ; then the Presidency of Madras, which has shown wonderful recuperative power since the famine of 1876–78, with 15·5 per cent. ; and the Bombay Presidency proper (excluding Sind) with 13·7 per cent. Assam and Oudh show about the same rate of progression, 11 per cent., and the Punjab is not far behind with 10·7 per cent. On the other hand, the Central Provinces increased by only 9·6 per cent. during the decade, Berár by 8·4, Bengal by 6·8, and the North-Western Provinces (excluding Oudh) by 4·5 per cent. The general ratio of increase in the British Provinces (exclusive of the Native States) between 1881 and 1891 is 9·70 per cent., as against 6·99 per cent. between 1872 and 1881.

Increase in
British
Provinces.

Increase in
Native
States,
1881–91.

But the striking feature, the feature which may be called the surprise of the Census of 1891, is the enormous apparent increase in the population in the Native States. The argument that improved government in Feudatory India ought to encourage the increase of its inhabitants may seem justified, for the increase during the last decade in the Native States is 15·52 per cent., or almost four times the 4·41 per cent. of the nine preceding years. But the increase is general throughout the Native States, and must be largely attributed to improved enumeration. In only two groups of Native States, those attached to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces and the Central India Agency, is the increase of the population during 1881–91 less than 10 per cent. ; in the former the increment is but 6·8 per cent., or the same ratio as Bengal ; and in the latter 9·9 per cent., slightly

exceeding the growth of the Central Provinces. In the Native States attached to the Punjab, in Baroda, and in the Native States under the Madras Government, the rate of increase is 10·4, 10·5, and 10·6 respectively. Everywhere else the percentage of increase is higher than in any British Province, excepting Sind and Lower Burma. Thus the Native States attached to Bombay show an increase of 16·3 per cent., Haidarabad (the Nizām's dominions) of 17·1, Mysore of 18, the Bengal Native States of 18·3, Rajputana of 20·2, or more than Sind, and the Native States attached to the Central Provinces of 26·3, or nearly the same as Lower Burma.

The following tables compare the results of the Census taken in 1872, 1881, and 1891. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Census of 1872 was not a synchronous one; and that in some of the Native States the returns of 1872 were estimates rather than actual enumerations. I would further warn the reader that he must carefully consider the footnotes to each table. It is not possible to compare the gross totals for the British Provinces and the Feudatory States in 1881 with the gross totals for 1891, as given on p. 79. During the interval new territories have been added to British India, and readjustments have been made in the Native States. Subject to this warning, the following statements have been kindly supplied by Mr. Baines, the Indian Census Commissioner:—

TABLE I.
POPULATION OF INDIA IN 1872 AND 1881.¹

	In 1872.	In 1881. ²	Increase.	Per-centage.
British Provinces, . .	186,041,191	169,013,492	13,002,301	6·99
Feudatory States, . .	54,211,158	56,004,371	2,393,213	4·41
French and Portuguese Possessions, . . . }	679,172	748,783	69,611	10·25
	240,931,521	256,366,646	15,465,125	6·42

¹ The figures for 1872 in this table are taken from the finally revised statements, after allowing for transfers of territory and the restoration of Mysore to Native rule. How far the increase in the French and Portuguese Possessions is due to more accurate enumeration in 1881, cannot be exactly ascertained.

² The figures for 1881 for the British Provinces in these tables differ owing to certain readjustments of territory. The large discrepancy in the figures for the Feudatory States is caused by the inclusion in Table I. of the estimated population of Kashmir and Manipur, 1,756,042, which are omitted in Table II., and by slight readjustments.

TABLE II.¹
POPULATION OF INDIA IN 1881 AND 1891.

	In 1881. ²	In 1891.	Increase.	Percentage
British Provinces, . . .	198,860,606	218,155,115	19,294,509	9.76
Feudatory States, . . .	54,932,908	63,459,816	8,526,911	15.52
French and Portuguese Possessions, . . .	748,783	844,307	95,524	12.75
	254,542,297	282,459,241	27,916,944	10.97

Analysis
of the
Indian
population.

The statistical elucidation of the races and Provinces of India can only be effected by tabular forms. At the end of this volume, therefore, will be found a series of ten statements dealing with the various aspects of the Indian population.³ The briefest summary of the ethnological elements which compose that population is all that can be here attempted.

¹ This table refers only to the territories enumerated in both 1881 and 1891, excluding those brought within the Census for the first time in the latter year, as well as the tracts in which the population was registered by households, and those in which a formal Census was not taken. The object is to show the relative population, irrespective of accretion of territory or the extension of the Census operations. The excluded tracts are the North Lushai country, Upper Burma, and Quetta, under the head of the British Provinces; and Kashmir, Manipur, Fort Steadman, the Shân States, and a portion of Kájputána among the Feudatory States.

² See footnote 2, p. 87.

³ Viz.—Table I. Area, villages, houses, and population, etc., in each Province of British India in 1891.

- „ II. Distribution into town and country, or ‘towns and villages in British India.’
- „ III. Population of British India classified according to age and sex.
- „ IV. Population of British India classified according to religion.
- „ V. Asiatic non-Indian population of British India classified according to birth-place.
- „ VI. Non-Asiatic population of British India classified according to birth-place.
- „ VII. Town population of India, being a list of the 222 towns of British India of which the population exceeds 20,000.
- „ VIII. Population of British India, according to education.
- „ IX. Population of all India, according to occupation.
- „ X. Incidence of the Land Revenue on the area and population of British India.

European writers formerly divided the Indian population into two races—the Hindus and the Muhammadans. But when we look more closely at the people, we find that they consist of four well-marked elements. When the original Census for all India was taken, in 1872, these elements were, first, the recognised non-Aryan Tribes, called the Aborigines, and their half-Hinduized descendants, numbering over 17½ millions in British India. Second, the comparatively pure offspring of the Aryan or Sanskrit-speaking Race (the Brāhmans and Rājputs), about 16 millions. Third, the great Mixed Population, known as the Hindus, which has grown out of the Aryan and non-Aryan elements (chiefly from the latter), 111 millions. Fourth, the Muhammadans, 41 millions. These made up the 186 millions of people under British rule in 1872. The same four-fold division applied to the population of the 54 millions in Feudatory India in 1872, but we do not know the numbers of the different classes.

The figures for 1872 are given by themselves in the last paragraph, as the Census of 1881 and of 1891 adopted a different classification, which does not so clearly disclose the ethnical elements of the people. This difference will be more fully explained in the next chapter.

According to the Census of 1881, the comparatively pure descendants of the Aryan race (the Brāhmans and Rājputs) still numbered 16 millions in British India; the mixed population, including lower caste Hindus, Aboriginal Tribes, and Christians, 138 millions; and the Muhammadans, 45 millions. These made up the 199 millions in British India in 1881. In the Feudatory States there appear in 1881 to have been 5¼ millions of Brāhmans and Rājputs; 46¼ millions of lower caste Hindus and Aboriginal Tribes; and 5 millions of Muhammadans,—making up the 56½ millions in Feudatory India in 1881. The aboriginal element of the population was chiefly returned as low-caste Hindus. Only 4¾ millions were separately registered as non-Aryans or Aborigines in British India; and 1¾ millions in the Feudatory States; making 6½ millions for all India in 1881.

It is not possible to compare these figures with the returns of the last Census in 1891. For the Census of 1891 adopted hereditary occupation and language as the joint basis for classifying the population. This circumstance renders impossible any true comparison of Aryans and Non-Aryans as given by the Census of 1872 or of 1881, with the returns of 1891. But the Census Commissioner estimates for purposes of

comparison with my previous figures, the Brāhmans and Rājputs at 19½ millions for British India in 1891, or 25 millions for all India. The strictly non-Hinduized 'aboriginals,' who still remain in the state of 'wild forest tribes,' he estimates at 11 millions for British India in 1891, or about 14½ millions for all India.

Plan of this volume in dealing with the Indian Races and their history.

The following chapters treat of each of the four Indian classes separately, namely the non-Aryan or so-called aboriginal tribes; the Aryan immigrants from the north; the mixed population or Hindus; and the Muhammadans. These are the four components which make up the present population. Their history, as a loosely-connected whole, after they had been pounded together in the mortar of Muhammadan conquest, will next be traced. A narrative of the events by which the English nation became answerable for the welfare of this vast section of the human family, will follow. Finally, it will be shown how the British Government is trying to discharge its solemn responsibility, and the administrative mechanism will be explained which is knitting together the discordant races of India into a great pacific Empire.

The two races of pre-historic India.

Our earliest glimpses of India disclose two races struggling for the soil. The one was a fair-skinned people, which had lately entered by the north-western passes; a people of ARYAN, literally 'noble,' lineage, speaking a stately language, worshipping friendly and powerful gods. The other was a race of a lower type, who had long dwelt in the land, and whom the lordly new-comers drove back before them into the mountains, or reduced to servitude on the plains. The comparatively pure descendants of these two races (as returned by the original Census of India in 1872, which adopted this basis of classification) were nearly equal in numbers, total 33½ millions; the intermediate castes, sprung chiefly from the ruder stock, make up the mass of the present Indian population.

CHAPTER III.

THE NON-ARYAN RACES.

THE present chapter treats of the lower tribes, an obscure people, who, in the absence of a race-name of their own, may be called the non-Aryans or Aborigines. They have left no written records; indeed, the use of letters, or of any simplest hieroglyphs, was to them unknown. The sole works of their hands which have come down to us are rude stone circles, and the upright slabs and mounds, beneath which, like the primitive peoples of Europe, they buried their dead. From these we only discover that, at some far-distant but unfixed period, they knew how to make round pots of hard, thin earthenware, not inelegant in shape; that they fought with iron weapons, and wore ornaments of copper and gold. Coins of Imperial Rome have been dug up from their graves. Still earlier remains prove that, long before their advent, India was peopled as far as the depths of the Central Provinces, by tribes unacquainted with the metals, who hunted and warred with polished flint axes and other deftly-wrought implements of stone, similar to those found in Northern Europe. And even these were the successors of yet ruder beings, who have left their agate knives and rough flint weapons in the Narbadá valley. In front of this far-stretching background of the early Metal and Stone Ages, we see the so-called Aborigines being beaten down by the newly-arrived Aryan race.

The struggle is commemorated by the two names which the victors gave to the early tribes, namely, the Dasyus, or 'enemies,' and the Dásas, or 'slaves.' The new-comers from the north prided themselves on their fair complexion, and their Sanskrit word for 'colour' (*varna*) came to mean 'race' or 'caste.' Their poets, more than 3000 years ago, praised in the Rig-Veda their bright gods, who, 'slaying the Dasyus, protected the *Aryan colour*;' who 'subjected the black-skin to the Aryan man.' They tell us of their 'stormy deities, who rush on like furious bulls and scatter the black-skin.' The sacrificer gave thanks to his god for 'dispersing the slave hands of

The Non-ARYANS or Aborigines.

Kistvaen-builders.

Flint weapons.

The Non-Aryans as described by the Aryans.

The 'Black-skin.'

Flat-nosed.

Raw-eaters.

The 'Demons' of the Aryan race.

More civilised non-Aryan tribes.

black descent,' and for sweeping away 'the vile Dasyan colour.' Moreover, the Aryan, with his finely-formed features, loathed the squat Mongolian faces of the Aborigines. One Vedic singer speaks of them as 'noseless' or flat-nosed, while another praises his own 'beautiful-nosed' gods. Indeed, the Vedic hymns abound in scornful epithets for the primitive tribes, as 'disturbers of sacrifices,' 'gross feeders on flesh,' 'raw-eaters,' 'lawless,' 'not-sacrificing,' 'without gods,' and 'without rites.' As time went on, and these rude tribes were driven back into the forest, they were painted in still more hideous shapes, till they became the 'monsters' and 'demons' of the Aryan poet and priest. Their race-name Dasyu, 'enemy,' thus grew to signify a devil, as the old Teutonic word for enemy, or 'the hater' (still used in that sense in the modern German *feind*), has become the English 'fiend.'

Nevertheless, all of them could not have been savages. We hear of wealthy Dasyus, and even the Vedic hymns speak of their 'seven castles' and 'ninety forts.' In later Sanskrit literature, the Aryans make alliance with aboriginal princes; and when history at length dawns on the scene, we find some of the most powerful kingdoms of India ruled by dynasties of non-Aryan descent. Nor were they devoid of religious rites, or of cravings after a future life. 'They adorn,' says an ancient Sanskrit treatise,¹ 'the bodies of the dead with gifts, with raiment, with jewels; imagining that thereby they shall attain the world to come.' These ornaments are the bits of bronze, copper, and gold which we now dig up from beneath their rude stone monuments. In the Sanskrit epic which narrates the advance of the Aryans into Southern India, a non-Aryan chief describes his race as 'of fearful swiftness, unyielding in battle, in colour like a dark-blue cloud.'²

The non-Aryans as they are.

Let us now examine these primitive peoples, not as portrayed by their enemies 3000 years ago, but as they exist at the present day. Thrust back by the Aryans from the plains, they have lain hidden away in the recesses of the mountains, like the remains of extinct animals which palæontologists find in hill caves. India thus forms a great museum of races, in which we can study man from his lowest to his highest stages of culture. The specimens are not fossils or dry bones, but living communities, to whose widely-diverse conditions we have to adapt our administration and our laws.

¹ *Chandogya Upanishad*, Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, ii. 396 (1874).

² *Rāmāyana* (ed. Gorresio), iii. 28. 18.

Among the rudest fragments of mankind are the isolated Andaman islanders in the Bay of Bengal. The old Arab and European voyagers described them as dog-faced man-eaters. The English officers sent to the islands in 1855 to establish a Settlement, found themselves surrounded by naked cannibals of a ferocious type, who daubed themselves at festivals with red earth, and mourned in a suit of olive-coloured mud. They used a noise like *crying* to express friendship or joy; bore only names of common gender, which they received before birth, and which therefore had to be applicable to either sex; and their sole conception of a god was an evil spirit, who spread disease. For five years they repulsed every effort at intercourse with showers of arrows; but our officers slowly brought them to a better frame of mind by building sheds for them near the British Settlement, where these poor beings might find shelter from the tropical rains, and receive medicines and food.

The Anamalai Hills, in Southern Madras, form the refuge of a whole series of broken tribes. Five hamlets of long-haired, wild-looking Puliars were found living on jungle products, mice, or any small animals they could catch; and worshipping demons. The Mundavers shrink with terror from contact with the outside world. When they first came within our observation they possessed no fixed dwellings, but wandered over the innermost hills with their cattle, sheltering themselves under little leaf sheds, and seldom remaining in one spot more than a year. The thick-lipped, small-bodied Kaders, 'Lords of the Hills,' are a remnant of a higher race. These hills, now almost uninhabited, abound in the great stone monuments (kistvaens and dolmens) which the primitive tribes erected over their dead. The Náirs, or aborigines of South-Western India, still practise polyandry, according to which one woman is the wife of several husbands, and a man's property descends not to his own, but to his sister's children. This system also appears among the non-Aryan Himalayan tribes.

In the Central Provinces, the aboriginal races form a large proportion of the population. In certain Districts, as in the State of Bastar, they amounted to three-fifths of the inhabitants, when the first exact enumeration of them was made in 1872. Their most important race, the Gonds, have made some

¹ I usually take the numbers of hill and forest tribes from the enumeration of 1872, as the aboriginal races were more clearly brought out by that Census (the first for all India) than in the next one. The returns of Bengal for 1891 were not completed in time to be used in this work. For farther explanations *vide ante*, pp. 88, 89, 90.

advances in civilisation; but the wilder tribes still cling to the forest, and live by the chase. Some of them were reported to be using, within our own times, flint points for their arrows. The Máriás wield bows of great strength, which they hold with their feet while they draw the string with both hands. A still wilder tribe, the Márís, fled from their grass-built huts on the approach of a stranger. Once a year a messenger came to them from the local Rájá to take their tribute, which consisted chiefly of jungle products. He did not, however, enter their hamlets, but beat a drum outside, and then hid himself. The shy Márís crept forth, placed what they had to give in an appointed spot, and ran back into their retreats.

Tax-gathering among the Máriás.

The Juángo or 'Leaf-wearers' of Orissa Hill States :

clothed by Government.

Farther to the north-east, in the Tributary States of Orissa, there is a poor tribe, numbering about 10,000 when enumerated in 1872, of Juángo or Patuas, literally the 'leaf-wearers,' whose women wore no clothes. The only covering on the females consisted of a few strings of beads round the waist, with a bunch of leaves tied before and behind. Those under British influence were, in 1871, clothed by order of the Government, and their chief was persuaded to do the same work for others. The English officer called together the clan, and after a speech handed out strips of cotton for the women to put on. They then passed in single file, to the number of 1900, before him, made obeisance to him, and were afterwards marked on the forehead with vermilion, as a sign of their entering into civilised society. Finally, they gathered the bunches of leaves which had formed their sole clothing into a heap, and set fire to it. It is reported, however, that many of the Juáng women have since relapsed to their foliage attire.

A relic of the Stone Age.

Juáng dwellings.

This leaf-wearing tribe had no knowledge of the metals till the nineteenth century, when foreigners came among them; and no word existed in their own language for iron or any other metal. But their country abounds in flint weapons, so that the Juángo form a remnant to our own day of the Stone Age. 'Their huts,' writes the officer who knows them best, 'are among the smallest that human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings. They measure about 6 feet by 8. The head of the family and all the females huddle together in this one shell, not much larger than a dog-kennel.' The boys and the young men of the village live in a building apart by themselves; and this custom of having a common abode for the whole male youth of the hamlet is found among many aboriginal tribes in distant parts of India.

Proceeding to the northern boundary of India, we find the

slopes and spurs of the Himálayas peopled by a great variety of rude tribes. Some of the Assam hillmen, when we first came in contact with them, had no word for expressing distance by miles nor any land measure, but reckoned the length of a journey by the number of quids of tobacco or betel-leaf which they chew upon the way. As a rule, they are fierce, black, undersized, and ill-fed. They eked out a wretched subsistence by plundering the more civilised hamlets of the Assam valley; a means of livelihood which they have but slowly given up under British rule. Some of the wildest of them, like the independent Abars, are now engaged as a sort of irregular police, to keep the peace of the border, in return for a yearly gift of cloth, hoes, and grain. Their very names bear witness to their former wild life. One tribe, the Akas of Assam, is divided into two elans, known respectively as 'The eaters of a thousand hearths,' and 'The thieves who lurk in the cotton-field.'

Himá-
layan
tribes.

Akas of
Assam.

Many of the aboriginal tribes, therefore, remain in nearly the same stage of human progress as that ascribed to them by the Vedic poets more than 3000 years ago. But others have made great advances, and form communities of a well-developed type. It must here suffice to briefly describe two such races, the Santáls and the Kandhs, who inhabit the north-eastern edge of the central plateau. The Santáls have their home among the hills which abut on the Ganges in Lower Bengal. The Kandhs live 150 to 350 miles to the south, among the highlands which look down upon the Orissa delta and Madras coast.

More
advanced
non-Aryan
tribes.

The Santáls dwell in villages in the jungles or among the mountains, apart from the people of the plains. They numbered about a million in 1872,¹ and give their name to a large District, the SANTAL PARGANAS, 140 miles north-west of Calcutta. Although still clinging to many customs of a hunting forest tribe, they have learned the use of the plough, and settled down into skilful husbandmen. Each hamlet is governed by its own head-man, who is supposed to be a Santál descendant of the original founder of the village, and who is assisted by a deputy head-man and a watchman. The boys of the hamlet have their separate officers, and are strictly controlled by their own head and his deputy till they enter the married state. The Santáls know not the cruel distinctions of Hindu caste, but trace their tribes, usually numbering seven, to the seven sons of the first parents. The whole village feasts.

The
Santáls.

Santál
village
govern-
ment.

¹ See footnote, p. 93.

hunts, and worships together; and the Santál has to take his wife, not from his own tribe, but from one of the six others. So strong is the bond of race, that expulsion from the tribe was the only Santál punishment. A heinous criminal was cut off from 'fire and water' in the village, and sent forth alone into the jungle. Minor offences were forgiven upon a public reconciliation with the tribe; to effect which the guilty one provided a feast, with much rice-beer, for his clansmen.

The chief ceremonies in a Santál's life, six in number, vary in different parts of the country, but are all based upon this strong feeling of kinship. The first is the admission of the newly-born child into the family,—a secret rite, one act of which consists in the father placing his hand on the infant's head and repeating the name of the ancestral deity. The second, the admission of the child into the tribe, is celebrated three or five days after birth,—a more public ceremony, at which the child's head is shaved, and the clansmen drink beer. The third ceremony, or admission into the race, takes place about the fifth year, when all friends, whatever may be their tribe, are invited to a feast, and the child is marked on his right arm with the Santál spots. The fourth consists of the union of his own tribe with another by marriage, which does not take place till the young people can choose for themselves. At the end of the ceremony, the girl's clanswomen pound burning charcoal with the household pestle, in token of the breaking up of her former family ties, and then extinguish it with water, to signify the separation of the bride from her clan. The Santáls respect their women, and seldom or never take a second wife, except for the purpose of obtaining an heir. The fifth ceremony consists of the dismissal of the Santál from the race, by the solemn burning of his body after death. The sixth is the reunion of the dead with the fathers, by floating three fragments of the skull down the Dámodar river (if possible), the sacred stream of the race.

The Santál had no conception of bright and friendly gods, such as the Vedic singers worshipped. Still less could he imagine one omnipotent and beneficent Deity, who watches over mankind. Hunted and driven back before the Hindus and Muhammadans, he did not understand how a Being could be more powerful than himself without wishing to harm him. 'What,' said a Santál to an eloquent missionary, who had been discoursing on the Christian God—'what if that strong One should eat me?' Nevertheless, the earth swarms with spirits and demons, whose ill-will the Santál tries to avert. His

No caste-,
but strong
tribal
feeling.

The six
Santal
cere-
monies.

Santal
marriages

Santal
religion

religion consists of nature-worship, and offerings to the ghosts of his ancestors; and his rites are more numerous even than those of the Hindus. First the Race-god, next the Tribe-god Race-god; Tribe-god; Family-god; Demon. of each of the seven clans, then the Family-god, requires in turn his oblation. But besides these, there are the spirits of his forefathers, river-spirits, forest-spirits, well-demons, mountain-demons, and a mighty host of unseen beings, whom he must keep in good humour. He seems also to have borrowed from the Hindus certain rites of sun-worship. But his own gods dwell chiefly in the ancient *sál* trees which shade his hamlets. Them he propitiates by offerings of blood, with goats, cocks, and chickens. If the sacrificer cannot afford an animal, it is with a red flower, or a red fruit, that he draws near to his gods. In some Santál hamlets the people dance round every tree, so that they may not by evil chance miss the one in which the village-spirits happen to be dwelling.

Until nearly the end of the last century, the Santáls were the pests of the neighbouring plains. Regularly after the December harvest, they sallied forth from their mountains, plundered the lowlands, levied black-mail, and then retired with their spoil to the jungles. But in 1789 the British Government granted the proprietary right in the Bengal lowlands to the landholders under the arrangements which four years later became the Permanent Settlement. Forthwith every landholder tried to increase the cultivated area on his revenue-farm or estate, which the Permanent Settlement had converted into his own property. The Santáls and other wild tribes were tempted to issue from their fastnesses by high wages or rent-free farms. 'Every proprietor,' said a London newspaper, the *Morning Chronicle*, in 1792, 'is collecting husbandmen from the hills to improve his lowlands.' The English officers found they had a new race to deal with, and gradually won the highlanders to peaceful habits by grants of land and 'exemption from all taxes.' The Santáls were allowed to settle disputes 'among themselves by their own customs,' and they were used as a sort of frontier police, being paid to deliver up any of their own people who committed violent crimes. Such criminals, after being found guilty by their countrymen, were handed over for punishment to the English judge. The Santáls gained confidence in us by degrees, and came down in great numbers within the fence of stone pillars, which the British officers set up in 1832 to mark off the country of the hill people from the plains.

The Hindu money-lender soon made his appearance in their

The Santals sink into debt to the Hindus.

settlements, and the simple hillmen learned the new luxury of borrowing. Our laws were gradually applied to them, and before 1850 most of the Santal hamlets were plunged in debt. Their strong love of kindred prevented them from running away, and the Hindu usurers reduced them to a state of practical slavery, by threatening the terrors of a distant jail. In 1848, three whole villages threw up their clearings, and fled in despair to the jungle. In June 1855, the southern Santals started in a body, 30,000 strong, with their bows and arrows, to walk 140 miles to Calcutta and lay their condition before the Governor-General. At first they were orderly; but the way was long, and they had to live. Robberies took place: quarrels broke out between them and the police; and within a week they were in armed rebellion. The rising was put down, not without mournful bloodshed; and their wrongs were carefully inquired into. A very simple form of administration was introduced, according to which their village headmen were brought into direct contact with the English officer in charge of the District, and acted as the representatives of the people. Our system of justice and government has been adapted to their primitive needs, and the Santals have for years been among the most prosperous of the Indian races.

Santal rising, 1855.

The Kandhs or Kondhs.

The Kandhs, literally 'The Mountaineers,' a tribe about 100,000 strong in 1872,¹ inhabit the steep and forest-covered ranges which rise inland from the Orissa delta, and the Madras Districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. They form one of a group of non-Aryan races who still occupy the position assigned to them by the Greek geographers 1500 years ago. Before that early date, they had been pushed backwards by the advancing Aryans from the fertile delta which lies between the mountains and the sea. One section of the Kandhs was completely broken up, and has sunk into landless low-castes among the Aryan or Hindu communities at the foot of the hills. Another section stood its ground more firmly, and became a peasant militia, holding grants of land from the Hindu chiefs in return for military service. A third section fell back into the fastnesses of the mountains, and was recognised as a wild but free race. It is of this last section that the present chapter treats.

Breaking up of the race.

Kandh patriarchal government.

The Kandh idea of government is purely patriarchal. The family is strictly ruled by the father. The grown-up sons have no property during his life, but live in his house with their wives and children, and all share the common meal prepared by the grandmother. The clan consists of a number of

¹ See footnote. p. 93.

families, sprung from a common father; and the tribe is made up in like manner from a number of clans who claim descent from the same ancestor. The head of the tribe is usually the eldest son of the patriarchal family; but if he be not fit for the post he is set aside, and an uncle or a younger brother appointed. He enters on no undertaking without calling together the heads of clans, who in their turn consult the heads of families.

According to the Kandh theory of existence, a state of Kandh war might lawfully be presumed against all neighbours with whom no express agreement had been made to the contrary. Murders were punished by blood-revenge, the kinsmen within a certain degree being one and all bound to kill the slayer, unless appeased by a payment of grain or cattle. The man who wounded another had to maintain the sufferer until he recovered from his hurt. A stolen article must be returned, or its equivalent paid; but the Kandh twice convicted of theft was driven forth from his tribe, the greatest punishment known to the race. Disputes were settled by combat, or by the ordeal of boiling oil or heated iron, or by taking a solemn oath on an ant-hill, or on a tiger's claw, or a lizard's skin. When a house-father died, leaving no sons, his land was parcelled out among the other male heads of the village; for no woman, nor indeed any Kandh, was allowed to hold land who could not with his own hand defend it.

The Kandh system of tillage represented a stage half-way between the migratory cultivation of the ruder non-Aryan tribes and the settled agriculture of the Hindus. They did not, on the one hand, merely burn down a patch in the jungle, take a few crops off it, and then move on to fresh clearings. Nor, on the other hand, did they go on cultivating the same fields from father to son. When their lands showed signs of exhaustion, they deserted them; and it was a rule in some of their settlements to change their village sites once in fourteen years. Caste is unknown; and, as among the Santals, marriage between relations, or even within the same tribe, is forbidden. A Kandh wedding consisted of forcibly carrying off the bride in the middle of a feast. The boy's father paid a price for the girl, and usually chose a strong one, several years older than his son. In this way, Kandh maidens were married about fourteen, Kandh boys about ten. The bride remained as a servant in her new father-in-law's house till her boy-husband grew old enough to live with her. She generally acquired a great influence over her husband.

Kandh wars and punishments. Blood-revenge.

Kandh agriculture.

Kandh marriages by 'Capture.'

and a Kandh might not marry a second wife during the life of his first one, except with her consent.

Serfs of
the Kandh
village.

The Kandhs employed themselves only in husbandry and war, and despised all other work. But attached to each village was a row of hovels inhabited by a lower race, who were not allowed to hold land, to go forth to battle, or to join in the village worship. These poor people did the dirty work of the hamlet, and supplied families of hereditary weavers, blacksmiths, potters, herdsmen, and distillers. They were kindly treated, and a portion of each feast was left for them. But they could never rise in the social scale. No Kandh could engage in their work without degradation, nor eat food prepared by their hands. They can give no account of their origin, but are supposed to be the remnants of a ruder race whom the Kandhs found in possession of the hills when they themselves were pushed backwards by the Aryans from the plains.

Kandh
human
sacrifices.

The Kandhs, like the Santáls, have many deities, race-gods, tribe-gods, family-gods, and a multitude of malignant spirits and demons. But their great divinity is the Earth-god, who represents the productive energy of nature. Twice each year, at sowing-time and at harvest, and in all seasons of special calamity, the Earth-god required a human sacrifice (*mariah*). The duty of providing the victims rested with the lower race attached to the Kandh village. Bráhmans and Kandhs were the only classes exempted from sacrifice, and an ancient rule ordained that the offering *must be bought with a price*. Men of the lower race kidnapped the victims from the plains, and a thriving Kandh village usually kept a small stock in reserve, 'to meet sudden demands for atonement.' The victim, on being brought to the hamlet, was welcomed at every threshold, daintily fed, and kindly treated till the fatal day arrived. He was then solemnly sacrificed to the Earth-god, the Kandhs shouting in his dying ear, 'We bought you with a price; no sin rests with us!' His flesh and blood were distributed among the village lands.

The
victims.

The
sacrifice.

The
Kandhs
under
British
rule.

Human
sacrifices
abolished.

In 1835, the Kandhs passed under our rule, and these rites had to cease. The proud Kandh spirit shrank from compulsion; but, after many tribal councils, they agreed to give up their stock of victims as a valuable present to their new suzerain. Care was taken that they should not procure fresh ones. The kidnapping of victims for human sacrifice was declared a capital offence: and their priests were led to discover that goats or buffaloes did quite as well for the

Earth-god under British rule as human sacrifices. Until 1835 they consisted of separate tribes, always at war with each other and with the world. But under able English administrators (especially Campbell, Macpherson, and Cadenhead), human sacrifices were abolished, and the Kandhs were formed into a united and peaceful race (1837-45). The British officer removed their old necessity for tribal wars and family blood-feuds by setting himself up as a central authority. He adjusted their inter-tribal disputes, and punished heinous crimes. Lieutenant Charters Macpherson, in particular, won over the more troublesome clans to quiet industry, by grants of jungle tracts, of little use to us, but a paradise to them, and where he could keep them well under his eye. He made the chiefs vain of carrying out his orders by small presents of cattle, honorific dresses, and titles. He enlisted the whole race on his side by picking out their best men for the police; and drew the tribes into amicable relations among themselves by means of hill-fairs. He constructed roads, and taught the Kandhs to trade, with a view to 'drawing them from their fastnesses into friendly contact with other men.' The race has prospered and multiplied under British rule.

The race won over to peaceful industry.

Whence came these primitive peoples, whom the Aryan invaders found in the land more than 3000 years ago, and who are still scattered over India, the fragments of a pre-historic world? Written annals they do not possess. Their oral traditions tell us little: but such hints as they yield feebly point to the north. They seem to preserve dim memories of a time when their tribes dwelt under the shadow of mightier hill ranges than any to be found on the south-west of the river-plains of Bengal. 'The Great Mountain' is the race-god of the Santáls, and an object of worship among other tribes. Indeed, the Gonds, who numbered $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions in the heart of Central India in 1872, have a legend that they were created at the foot of Dewálagiri peak in the Himálayas. Till lately, they buried their dead with the feet turned northward, so as to be ready to start again for their ancient home in the north.

Origin of the non-Aryan tribes.

Non-Aryan traditions.

But the language of the non-Aryan races, that record of a nation's past more enduring than rock-inscriptions or tables of brass, is being slowly made to tell the secret of their origin. It already indicates that the early peoples of India belonged to three great stocks, known as the Tibeto-Burman, the Kolarian, and the Dravidian.

The three non-Aryan stocks.

The first stock, or Tibeto-Burman tribes, cling to the skirts

(1) The
Tibeto-
Burman.

of the Himālayas and their north-eastern offshoots. They crossed over into India by the north-eastern passes, and in some pre-historic time had dwelt in Central Asia, side by side with the forefathers of the Mongolians and the Chinese. Several of the hill languages in Eastern Bengal preserve Chinese terms, others contain Mongolian. Thus, the Nāgās in Assam still use words for *three* and *water* which might almost be understood in the streets of Canton.

From the subjoined footnote,¹ and from the list of languages given on pp. 108, 109, it will be seen that the tribes or races of the Tibeto-Burman group settled in India are numerous, although much broken up. A recent writer has endeavoured to show that they form a large element in the Hinduized and semi-Hinduized low-caste population and of the Muhammadan

¹ The following are the twenty principal languages of the Tibeto-Burman group:—(1) Cachari or Bodo, (2) Gāro, (3) Tipura or Mrung, (4) Tibetan or Bhutia, (5) Gurung, (6) Murmi, (7) Newar, (8) Lepchā, (9) Mīri, (10) Aka, (11) Mishmi dialects, (12) Dhimal, (13) Kanawari dialects, (14) Mikir, (15) Singpho, (16) Nāgā dialects, (17) Kuki dialects, (18) Burmese, (19) Khyeng, and (20) Manipuri. 'It is impossible,' writes Mr. Brandreth, 'to give even an approximate number of the speakers included in this group, as many of the languages are either across the frontier or only project a short distance into our own territory. The languages included in this group have not, with perhaps one or two exceptions, both a cerebral and dental row of consonants, like the South-Indian languages; some of them have aspirated forms of the surd, but not of the sonants; others have aspirated forms of both. All the twenty dialects have words in common, especially numerals and pronouns, and also some resemblances of grammar. In comparing the resembling words, the differences between them consist often less in any modification of the root-syllable than in various additions to the root. Thus in Burmese we have *na*, "ear;" Tibetan, *na-ba*; Magar, *na-kep*; Newar, *na-pang*; Dhimal, *na-hathun*; Kiranti dialects, *na-pro*, *na-rék*, *na-phak*; Nāgā languages, *te-na-ro*, *te-na-rang*; Manipuri, *na-hong*; Kupui, *ka-na*; Sak, *aka-na*; Karen, *na-khu*; and so on. It can hardly be doubted that such additions as these to monosyllabic roots are principally determinative syllables for the purpose of distinguishing between what would otherwise have been monosyllabic words having the same sound. These determinatives are generally affixed in the languages of Nepāl and in the Dhimal language; prefixed in the Lepchā language, and in the languages of Assam, of Manipur, and of the Chittagong and Arakan Hills. Words are also distinguished by difference of tone. The tones are generally of two kinds, described as the abrupt or short, and the pausing or heavy. It has been remarked that those languages which are most given to adding other syllables to the root make the least use of the tones, and, *vice versa*, where the tones most prevail the least recourse is had to determinative syllables.'—Thus and the following quotations, from Mr. E. L. Brandreth, are condensed from his valuable paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, vol. x. (1877), pp. 1-32.

masses in Bengal. He classifies them as the 'Yellow Men of India.'¹

The Kolarians, the second of the three non-Aryan stocks, (2) The appear also to have entered Bengal by the north-eastern passes. They dwell chiefly in the north, and along the north-eastern edge, of the three-sided table-land which covers the southern half of India. The Dravidians, or third stock, seem, generally speaking, on the other hand, to have found their way into the Punjab by the north-western passes. They now inhabit the southern part of the three-sided table-land, as far down as Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India. It appears as if the two streams, namely the Kolarian tribes from the north-east and the Dravidians from the north-west, had converged and crossed each other in Central India. The Dravidians proved the stronger, broke up the Kolarians, and thrust aside their fragments to east and west. The Dravidians then rushed forward in a mighty body to the south. ^{(3) The Dravidians. Their convergence in Central India.}

It thus came to pass that while the Dravidians formed a compact mass in Southern India, the Kolarians survived only as isolated tribes, so scattered as to soon forget their common origin. We have seen one of the largest of the Kolarian races, the Santáls, dwelling on the extreme eastern edge of the three-sided table-land, where it slopes down into the Gangetic valley. The Kúrkús, a broken Kolarian tribe, inhabit a patch of country about 400 miles to the west. They have for perhaps thousands of years been cut off from the Santáls by mountains and pathless forests, and by intervening races of the Dravidian and Aryan stocks. The Kúrkús and Santáls have no tradition of a common origin; yet at this day the Kúrkús speak a language which is little else than a dialect of Santáli. The Savars, once a great Kolarian tribe, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, are now a poor wandering race of woodcutters in Northern Madras and Orissa. Yet fragments of them have lately been found deep in Central India, and as far west as Rájputána on the other side. The Juánga is an isolated non-Aryan remnant among the Aryan and Uriya-speaking population of Orissa. They have forgotten, and disclaim, any connection with the Hos or other Kolarian tribes. Nevertheless their common origin is attested by a number of Kolarian words which they have unconsciously preserved. ^{Scattered Kolarian fragments.}

¹ Mr. Charles Johnston, late B.C.S., in two articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1892, and in the forthcoming number for January 1893.

² The nine principal languages of the Kolarian group are—1. the Santáli,

The compact Dravidians of Southern India.

Their *olishoots* beyond sea (?).

The compact Dravidians in the south, although in after-days subdued by the higher civilisation of the Aryan race which pressed in among them, were never thus broken into fragments.¹ Their pure descendants consist, indeed, of small and scattered tribes; but they have given their language to 28 millions of people in Southern India. A theory has been started that some of the islands in the distant Pacific Ocean were peopled either from the Dravidian settlements in India,

(2) Mundári, (3) Ho, (4) Bhumij, (5) Korwá, (6) Kharria, (7) Juáng, (8) Kúrkú, and perhaps (9) the Savar. Some of them, however, are separated only by dialectical differences. 'The Kolarian group of languages,' writes Mr. Brandreth, 'has both the cerebral and dental row of letters, and also aspirated forms, which last, according to Caldwell, did not belong to early Dravidian. There is also a set of four sounds, which are perhaps peculiar to Santáli, called by Skreksrud semi-consonants, and which, when followed by a vowel, are changed respectively into *g, j, d,* and *h*. Gender of nouns is animate and inanimate, and is distinguished by difference of pronouns, by difference of suffix of a qualifying noun in the genitive relation, and by the gender being denoted by the verb. As instances of the genitive suffix, we have in Santáli *in-ren hoŋon* "my son," but *in-ak oraŋ* "my house." There is no distinction of sex in the pronouns, but of the animate and inanimate gender. The dialects generally agree in using a short form of the third personal pronoun suffixed to denote the number, dual and plural, of the noun, and short forms of all the personal pronouns are added to the verb in certain positions to express both number and person, both as regards the subject and object, if of the animate gender; the inanimate gender being indicated by the omission of these suffixes. No other group of languages, apparently, has such a logical classification of its nouns as that shown by the genders of both the South Indian groups. The genitive in the Kolarian group of the full personal pronouns is used for the possessive pronoun, which again takes all the post-positions, the genitive relation being thus indicated by the genitive suffix twice repeated. The Kolarian languages generally express grammatical relations by suffixes, and add the post-positions directly to the root, without the intervention of an oblique form or genitive or other suffix. They agree with the Dravidian in having inclusive and exclusive forms for the plural of the first personal pronoun, in using a relative participle instead of a relative pronoun, in the position of the governing word, and in the possession of a true causal form of the verb. They have a dual, which the Dravidians have not, but they have no negative voice. Counting is by twenties, instead of by tens, as in the Dravidian. The Santáli verb, according to Skreksrud, has 23 tenses, and for every tense two forms of the participle and a gerund.'

¹ Bishop Caldwell recognises twelve distinct Dravidian languages:— (1) Tamil, (2) Malayálam, (3) Telugu, (4) Kanarese, (5) Tulu, (6) Kudugu, (7) Toda, (8) Kota, (9) Gond, (10) Kandh, (11) Uraón, (12) Rájmahál. 'In the Dravidian group,' writes Mr. Brandreth, 'there is a rational and an irrational gender of the nouns, which is distinguished in the plural of the nouns, and sometimes in the singular also, by affixes which appear to be fragmentary pronouns, by corresponding pronouns, and by the agreement of the verb with the noun, the gender of the verb being expressed by

or from an earlier common source. Bishop Caldwell points out that the aboriginal tribes in Southern and Western Australia use almost the same words for *I, thou, he, we, you*, etc., as the Dravidian fishermen on the Madras coast; and resemble in other ways the Madras hill tribes, as in the use of their national weapon, the boomerang. The civilisation and literature which the Dravidians developed in Southern India will be described in a later chapter on the Indian vernaculars.

the pronominal suffixes. To give an instance of verbal gender, we have in Tamil, from the root *sey*, "to do," *seyd-an*, "he (rational) did;" *seyd-id*, "she (rational) did;" *seyd-aiu*, "it (irrational) did;" *seyd-u*, "they (the rationals) did;" *seyd-a*, "they (the irrationals) did;" the full pronouns being *avan*, "he;" *aval*, "she;" *aiu*, "it;" *avar*, "they;" *erei*, "they." This distinction of gender, though it exists in most of the Dravidian languages, is not always carried out to the extent that it is in Tamil. In Telugu, Gond, and Kandh. it is preserved in the plural, but in the singular the feminine rational is merged in the irrational gender. In Gond, the gender is further marked by the noun in the genitive relation taking a different suffix, according to the number and gender of the noun on which it depends. In Uráon, the feminine rational is entirely merged in the irrational gender, with the exception of the pronoun, which preserves the distinction between rationals and irrationals in the plural; thus. *ar*, "he," referring to a god or a man; *ai*, "she" or "it," referring to a woman or an irrational object; but *ar*, "they," applies to both men and women; *abra*, "they," to irrationals only. The rational gender, besides human beings, includes the celestial and infernal deities: and it is further sub-divided, in some of the languages, but in the singular only, into masculine and feminine. The grammatical relations in the Dravidian are generally expressed by suffixes. Many nouns have an oblique form, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Dravidian group: still, with the majority of nouns, the post-positions are added directly to the nominative form. Other features of this group are—the frequent use of formatives to specialize the meaning of the root: the absence of relative pronouns and the use instead of a relative participle, which is usually formed from the ordinary participle by the same suffix as that which Dr. Caldwell considers as the oldest sign of the genitive relation; the adjective preceding the substantive; of two substantives, the determining preceding the determined; and the verb being the last member of the sentence. There is no true dual in the Dravidian languages. In the Dravidian languages there are two forms of the plural of the pronoun of the first person, one including, the other excluding, the person addressed. As regards the verbs, there is a negative voice, but no passive voice, and there is a causal form." Bishop Caldwell's second edition of his great work, the *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* (Trubner, 1875), forms in itself an epoch in that department of human knowledge. Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India* (Trubner, 1872) has laid the foundation for the accurate study of North Indian speech. Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), and Sir George Campbell's *Specimens of the Languages of India* (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1874), have also shed new and valuable light on the questions involved.

I have tried to exhibit the present characteristics of several of the aboriginal races who have best preserved their ancient types in our own day. But much research has also been devoted to obtain a correct idea of the stage of civilisation reached by the non-Aryan races when they arrived in India. Such reconstructions of inductive history are unavoidably open to uncertainty and doubt. The following comparison of the primitive Kols and Dravidians is mainly based on a series of articles by Mr. Hewitt in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*.¹

Character
of the
Kols.

The ancient Kols seem to have been a very primitive people, who did not know how to tame cattle or to work them in the plough. But at an early period they learned the use of iron, and made implements with which they cut down the jungle and formed clearings. These clearings grew into villages, each governed by its head-man, usually called the Munda. The more populous villages threw off in their turn new settlers, who made fresh clearings for themselves in the jungle. The Kol tribes thus settled down into a number of groups of forest hamlets, each group of hamlets having a larger parent village as their point of union. Assemblies of men, chosen from the forest hamlets, were held from time to time at the parent village, and each group of forest hamlets acknowledged the authority of a high priest, or a common chief. Although the ancient Kol race did not employ cattle for ploughing, they raised crops by tilling the ground with a sort of bill-hook. The Kols are a peaceable and good-humoured race, but excitable and turbulent when roused. They are ignorant, brave, witty, fond of amusement, careless of the future, and do no more work than is required to produce a simple livelihood from harvest to harvest.

The Dra-
vidians.

The Dravidians, as I have mentioned, entered the country from the north-west, and gradually spread southward and eastward. They were strongly bound together in tribes, and well understood the necessity of some firm central authority to maintain order. Each man among them was made to feel that he belonged not to his own family alone, but to the clan. The young men and women left their parents at an early age, and were brought up in large houses set apart for them. The young men lived by themselves in a sort of bachelor's hall, under the care of a head. The girls had also a common dwelling-house apart for themselves, under

¹ Notes on the Early History of Northern India, in six articles contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vols. xx. *et seq.* of the new series, by J. F. Hewitt, late Commissioner of Chota Nagpur.

the charge of a village matron. In certain cases the girls were distributed among the widows, who were responsible for bringing them up. This curious custom of having large separate houses for the young men and the young women, still survives among some of the Dravidian tribes in India. It formed part of a general system, by which the Dravidian youth were trained up in the idea that they belonged not to themselves alone, but to the community.

The Dravidians, when they grew into men, were thus prepared to obey the orders of a firm government, and to bear their fair share of its charges either by giving their labour, or by paying a part of their crops. The Dravidians are a more silent people than the Kols, not so quick-witted or excitable, but very determined when they have once made up their minds. They were from ancient times fond of trade, and possessed large herds of cattle, of which they used the milk. The Kols, on the other hand, do not appear to have used the cow's milk as food. The Dravidians were great builders, and the earliest forms of Indian architecture are ascribed to them.

The Dravidian tribes pushed their way through prehistoric India with a strong hand. Unlike the Kols, they did not scatter into forest hamlets, but settled in large agricultural encampments in the more open districts. They seized on the best lands which the Kols had cleared, but in other respects they seem to have treated the Kols in a friendly way. In many parts of India the two races blended together and formed new tribes. The Dravidian settlements were ruled by kings. They also acknowledged the high importance of a military officer, whom we should now call the Commander-in-Chief. They had village accountants in each settlement, who looked after the royal lands and collected the government dues; indeed, the present revenue system of India is still founded on the old Dravidian revenue system which grew up thousands of years ago. This is particularly true in Southern India, where the Dravidians have been settled in organized masses from the dawn of history down to the present day.

The Dravidians differed from the Kols in their religion, as much as they did in their personal character and system of government. The Kols worshipped the local spirits that dwelt in the trees of the forest, and ghosts. The Dravidians worshipped the productive earth herself, under the symbol of the snake, and the *linga*, or rude stone emblem of male reproduction. They did not, however, entirely neglect the local spirits of the forest whom the Kols revered. The tree, with

Character
of the Dra-
vidians

The Dra-
vidian
settlement
in India.

The two
primitive
religions.

the deity who dwelt in it, was united with their adoration of the snake. The Dravidians were the famous tree and serpent worshippers of ancient India.

List of
non-
Aryan
lan-
guages.

The following is a list of 142 of the principal non-Aryan languages and dialects, prepared by Mr. Brandreth for the Royal Asiatic Society in 1877, and classified according to their grammatical structure. Mr. Robert Cust has also arranged them in another convenient form, according to their geographical habitat.

TABLE OF THE NON-ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.¹

DRAVIDIAN GROUP.

Tamil.
Malayalam.
Telugu.
{ Kanarese.
{ Badaga.
Tulu.
Kudugu or Coorg.
Toda.
Kota.
Gond dialects.
{ *Mahado*.
{ *Rij*.
{ *Mara*.
Kannih or Ku.
Uraon or Dhangar.
Raymahali or Mäler.
Miscellaneous dialects.
{ *Narbaie*.
{ *Kosani*.
Kusku.
Yerukala.
Gadula (Kolarian?).

KOLARIAN GROUP.

Santali.
{ Mundari.
{ Ho or Larka Kol.
{ Biumij.
Korwa.
Kharina.
Juang.
{ Kuri.
{ Karku.
Mehto.
Savara.

TIBETO-BURMAN GROUP.

I. { Cachari or Bodo.
Meh.
{ Hojai.

Tibeto-Burman Group—*continued*.

Gáro.
Pani-Koch.
Deori-Chutia.
Tipura or Mrung.
II. { Tibetan or Bhutia.
Sarpa.
{ Lhopa or Bhutani.
Changlo.
Twang.
III. { Gurung.
Mirmi.
Thaksya.
{ Newar.
{ Pahn.
Magar.
IV. Lepcha.
V. Daphla.
Miri.
Abar.
Bhutia of Lo.
VI. Aka.
VII. Mishmi dialects.
Chulikata.
Tayang or *Digaru*.
Mijhu.
VIII. Dhimial.
IX. Kanawari dialects.
{ *Milchan*.
{ *Tibarskad*.
Sumchu.
X. { Kiranti.
{ Limbu.
Sunwar.
Brämu.
Chepang.
Vayu.
Kusunda.
XI. Naga dialects.
Namsang or *Jänpuria*.
{ *Bantirü* or *Joboka*.
Mitnam.

¹ Brackets refer to dialects that are very closely related; | to languages beyond the circle of the Indian languages. (See list above and on next page.)

Tibeto-Burman Group—continued.		Tibeto-Burman Group—continued.	
	{ <i>Tailung</i> .		{ Banjogi or Lungkhe.
	{ <i>Mulung</i> .		{ Pankho.
XII.	Naga dialects.		Shendu or Poi.
	{ <i>Khar</i> .		Sak.
	{ <i>Naungdon</i> .		Kyau.
	{ <i>Tinza</i> .	XIX.	Karen dialects.
	{ <i>Ithla</i> .		<i>Szau</i> .
XIII.	Naga dialects.		<i>Bghai</i> .
	<i>Angam</i> .		<i>Red Karen</i> .
	<i>Renma</i> .		<i>Pwo</i> .
	{ <i>Arung</i> .		<i>Taru</i> .
	{ <i>Kutcha</i> .		<i>Mogha</i> .
	Lijang or Kareng.		<i>Kay or Gaikho</i> .
	Marám.		<i>Taungthu</i> .
XIV.	Mikir.		†Lisaw.
XV.	{ Singpho.		†Gyarung.
	{ Jili.		†Takpa.
XVI.	Burmese.		†Manyak.
XVII.	Kuki dialects.		†Thochu.
	Khyeng.		†Horpa.
	{ <i>Thodo</i> .		
	{ <i>Lushai</i> .		KHASI.
	<i>Hallami</i> .		Khási.
	Manipur.		
	{ Maring.		TAL.
	{ Khoibu.		{ Siamese or Thai.
	Kupui.		{ Lao.
	Tangkhu.		{ Shan.
	Luhupa.		{ Ahom.
	Khungui.		{ Khamti.
	Phadang.		{ Aiton.
	Champhung.		†Tai Mow or Chinese Shan.
	Kupome.		
	Takaimi.		MON-ANAM.
	Andro and Sengmai.		Mon.
	Chairol.		†Kambojan.
	Anal and Namfau.		†Anamese.
XVIII.	{ Kumi.		†Paloung.
	{ Kami.		
	Mru.		

We discern, therefore, long before the dawn of history, non-Aryan races moving uneasily over India, and violently pushing in among still earlier tribes. They crossed the snows of the Himalayas, and plunged into the tropical forests in search of new homes. Of these ancient races, fragments now exist almost in exactly the same stage of human progress as they were described by Vedic poets more than 3000 years ago. Some are dying out, such as the Andaman islanders, among whom in 1869 only one family had as many as three children. Others are increasing like the Santals, who have doubled themselves under British rule. But they all require special and anxious care in adapting our complex administration to their primitive condition and needs. Taken as a whole, and including certain half-Hinduized branches, they numbered

Recapitulation—
the non-Aryan
races.

17,627,758 in 1872, then about equal to three-quarters of the population of England and Wales. But while the bolder or more isolated of the aboriginal races have thus kept themselves apart, by far the greater portion submitted in ancient times to the Aryan invaders, and now make up the mass of the Hindus.

Distribution of aborigines in India in 1872.

The following table shows the distribution of the aboriginal tribes throughout British India in 1872. But many live in Native States, not included in this enumeration; and the Madras Census of 1872 did not distinguish aborigines from low-caste Hindus. Their total number throughout all India (British and Feudatory) probably exceeded 20 millions in 1872:—

Aboriginal Tribes and Semi-Hinduized Aborigines in 1872.

(Madras Presidency and the Feudatory States not included.)

Bengal,	11,116,883
Assam,	1,490,888
North-Western Provinces,	377,674
Oudh,	90,490
Punjab,	959,720
Central Provinces,	1,669,835
Berar,	103,059
Coorg,	42,516
British Burma,	1,004,991
Bombay,	711,702
	<hr/>
	17,627,758

Aborigines in 1881 and 1891.

As already stated, the Census of 1881 and of 1891 adopted a classification which fails to clearly distinguish the aboriginal elements in the Indian population. In the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab, which returned an aggregate of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of aboriginal or non-Aryan castes or tribes in 1872, no separate return of the aboriginal or non-Aryan element was made in 1881 or in 1891. It was merged by the enumerators in the returns of the Hindu low-castes. The same process has affected the returns of other Provinces. In Madras, for example, 27 castes, formerly included in the list of aboriginal tribes, were transferred in the Census of 1881 to the Hindu section of the population. In Bengal, the Census officers explained that the non-registration of the aboriginal element was in some cases ascribed to 'radical differences in the system upon which the castes, and especially the sub-divisions of castes, were classified in 1872 and in 1881.' In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the special officer stated that his system of classification 'is

Not separately returned.

not compatible with the modern doctrine which divides the population of India into Aryan and aboriginal.¹

Under these circumstances, it would be misleading to attempt a comparison between the returns of the aboriginal or non-Aryan population in 1872 and in 1881 and 1891. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the aboriginal castes and tribes are, in many parts of the country, tending towards Hinduism; and that many of them, as they rise in the scale of civilisation, lose their identity in the Hindu community. On the other hand, it is evident that the decreased returns of the aboriginal tribes and castes in 1881 and 1891 are not entirely, or indeed chiefly, due to this process. It would be erroneous, therefore, to infer that the balance of 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions between the 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions of aborigines returned for British India in 1872 and the 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions nominally returned in 1881, had become Hindus.

A Hinduizing process is going on both among the aboriginal low-castes in Hindu Provinces, and among the aboriginal tribes who border on such Provinces. But the apparent disappearance of nearly 13 millions of aborigines between 1872 and 1881 is due, not so much to this Hinduizing process, as to differences in the system of classification and registration adopted by the Census officers. That the disappearance of the Indian aborigines is apparent and not real, can be proved. The birth-rate among some of the aboriginal races was shown by the Census of 1881 to be unusually high; and, with exceptions, the aboriginal tribes and castes are numerically increasing, although they are partially merging their separate identity in the Hindu community.

In Bengal and Assam, the aboriginal races are divided into nearly 60 distinct tribes.¹ In the North-Western Provinces, 16 tribes of aborigines were enumerated in the Census of 1872. In the Central Provinces they numbered 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions (1872): the ancient race of Gonds, who ruled the central table-land before the rise of the Maráthás, alone amounting to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions. In Lower Burma, the Karens, whose traditions have a singularly Jewish tinge, numbered on the basis of language 356,629 in 1872, 553,348 in 1881, and 665,920 in 1891.

In Oudh, the nationality of the aboriginal tribes has been

¹ Among them may be noted the Santáls, 850,000 under direct British administration, total about a million in 1872; Kols, 300,000; Uraons or Dhangars, 200,000; and Mundas, 175,000—within British territory. In Assam—Cacharis, 200,000; Khásis, 95,000. These figures all refer to 1872, for reasons stated on p. 93.

No com
mon data
for 1872,
1881, and
1891.

Hin-
duizing
tendencies.

Their
principal
habitats
in 1872.

Crushed
tribes.

buried beneath waves of Rájput and Muhammadan invaders. For example, the Bhars, formerly the monarchs of the centre and east of that Province, and the traditional fort-builders to whom all ruins are popularly assigned, were stamped out by Ibráhím Sherkí of Jaunpur, in the 15th century. The Gaulís or ancient ruling race of the Central Provinces, the Ahams of Assam, and the Gonds, Chandelas, and Bundelas of Bundelkhand,¹ are other instances of crushed races. In centres of the Aryan civilisation, the aboriginal peoples have been pounded down in the mortar of Hinduism, into the low-castes and out-castes on which the labour-system of India rests. A few of them, however, still preserve their ethnical identity as wandering tribes of jugglers, basket-weavers, and fortune-tellers. Thus, the Náts, Bediyás, and other gipsy clans, are recognised to this day as distinct from the surrounding Hindu population.

Gipsy
clans.

Aboriginal
criminal
tribes on
the plains.

The aboriginal races on the plains have supplied the hereditary criminal classes, alike under the Hindus, the Muhammadans, and the British. Formerly organized robber communities, they have, under the stricter police of our days, sunk into petty pilferers. But their existence was recognised by the Criminal Tribes Act, passed so lately as 1871, and still enforced within certain localities of Oudh and Northern India.

Predatory
hill races.

The non-Aryan hill races, who appear from Vedic times downwards as marauders, have at length ceased to be a disturbing element in India. But many of them figure as predatory clans in Muhammadan and early British history. They sallied forth from their mountains at the end of the autumn harvest, pillaged and burned the lowland villages, and retired to their fastnesses laden with the booty of the plains. The measures by which these wild races have been reclaimed, form some of the most honourable episodes of Anglo-Indian rule. Cleveland's Hill-Rangers from the outskirts of the Bhágalpur District, in the last century, and the Bhils and Mhairs in more recent times, are well-known examples of how marauding races may be turned into peaceful cultivators and loyal soldiers. An equally salutary transformation has taken place in many a remote forest and hill tract of India. The firm order of British rule has rendered their old plundering life no longer a possible one, and at the same time has opened up to them new outlets for their energies. A similar vigilance

¹ See for the origin of the Bundelas, Mr. J. Beames' *Races of the North-Western Provinces*, vol. i. p. 45, etc. (1869).

is now being extended to the predatory tribes in the Native States. The reclamation of the wild Moghias of Central India, and their settlement into agricultural communities, was effected by British officers as lately as 1886-87.

The hill and forest tribes differ in character from the tamer population of the plains. As a whole, their truthfulness, sturdy loyalty, and a certain joyous bravery, almost amounting to playfulness, appeal in a special manner to the English mind. There is scarcely a single administrator who has ruled over them for any length of time without finding his heart drawn to them, and leaving on record his belief in their capabilities for good. Lest the traditional tenderness of the India Civil Service to the people should weaken the testimony of such witnesses, it may be safe to quote only the words of soldiers with reference to the tribes with which each was specially acquainted.

‘They are faithful, truthful, and attached to their superiors,’ writes General Briggs; ‘ready at all times to lay down their lives for those they serve, and remarkable for their indomitable courage. These qualities have always been displayed in our service. The aborigines of the Kamátik were the sepoys of Clive and of Coote. A few companies of the same stock joined the former great captain from Bombay, and helped to fight the battle of Plassey in Bengal, which laid the foundation of our Indian Empire. They have since distinguished themselves in the corps of pioneers and engineers, not only in India, but in Ava, in Afghánistán, and in the celebrated defence of Jalálábád. An unjust prejudice against them grew up in the Native armies of Madras and Bombay, produced by the feelings of contempt for them existing among the Hindu and Muhammadan troops. They have no prejudices themselves: are always ready to serve abroad and embark on board ship: and I believe no instance of mutiny has ever occurred among them.’ Since General Briggs wrote these sentences, the non-Aryan hill races have supplied some of the bravest and most valued of our Indian regiments, particularly the gallant little Gúrkhas.

Colonel Dixon’s report, published by the Court of Directors, portrays the character of the Mhair tribes with admirable minuteness. He dilates on their ‘fidelity, truth, and honesty,’ their determined valour, their simple loyalty, and an extreme and almost touching devotion when put upon their honour. Strong as is the bond of kindred among the Mhairs, he vouches for their fidelity in guarding even their own relatives

Character
of the
non-Aryan
tribes.

The non-
Aryan hill-
tribes as
soldiers.

Colonel
Dixon
on the
Mhairs.

as prisoners when formally entrusted to their care. For centuries they had been known only as exterminators; but, under the considerate rule of one Englishman, who honestly set about understanding them, they became peaceful subjects and well-disciplined soldiers.

Outram's
work
among the
Bhils.

Sir James Outram, when a very young man, did the same good work for the Bhils of KHANDESH. He made their chiefs his hunting companions, formed the wilder spirits into a Bhil battalion, and laid the basis for the reclamation of this formerly intractable race.¹

Fidelity of
the hill
races.

Every military man who has had anything to do with the aboriginal races acknowledges that once they admit a claim on their allegiance, nothing tempts them to a treacherous or disloyal act. 'The fidelity to their acknowledged chief,' wrote Captain Hunter, 'is very remarkable; and so strong is their attachment, that in no situation or condition, however desperate, can they be induced to betray him. If old and decrepit, they will convey him from place to place, to save him from his enemies.' Their obedience to recognised authority is absolute; and Colonel Tod relates how the wife of an absent chieftain procured for a British messenger safe conduct and hospitality through the densest forests by giving him one of her husband's arrows as a token. The very officers who have had to act most sharply against them speak most strongly, and often not without a noble regret and self-reproach, in their favour. 'It was not war,' Major Vincent Jervis writes of the operations against the Santāls in 1855. 'They did not understand yielding; as long as their national drums beat, the whole party would stand, and allow themselves to be shot down. They were the most truthful set of men I ever met.'

Their
position
in our
modern
Indian
army.

It has been the consistent policy of the Queen's Government of India, from 1858 onwards, to utilise the non-Aryan races as soldiers and frontier police. Indeed, the rural prosperity induced in British India by railways and improved means of communication, increased prices for agricultural produce, and fixity of tenures and of rents, has seriously interfered with the old supply of soldiers from the military races of the plains. The Rājputs of the British Districts and the Sikhs now find themselves so well off on their own homesteads, that regimental pay has ceased to have its former attractions for them. Every decade has seen a larger number of recruits drawn from the

¹ See *inter alia*, article THE DANGS, in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 2nd ed.

non-Aryan races, and from the semi-Aryan (or so-called low) castes of the Hindu population. The splendid services of the Gürkha regiments from the Nepál and Himálayan highlands in Burma form a salient feature in the military history of the past six years. At this moment it is the little Gürkha who is doing the hard work of holding the eastern frontier of India against the predatory Shans and outlying tribes of the Chinese empire and the kingdom of Siam. His struggle for existence in Nepál is still so hard, that the severest military service under the British flag is a rise in life to him. An interesting proposal has lately been made by Sir James Dormer, the Commander-in-Chief in Madras, to put fresh energy into the army of Southern India by recruiting from the non-Aryan race of the Náís. This race represents by its polyandric customs and laws of inheritance one of the most primitive types of Indian mankind.¹ For ages they were hereditary warriors, and they appear as a military nobility in the early Portuguese records of the 15th century. They are now distinguished alike for their success in the intellectual professions, as barristers, judges, and administrators, and for their manly vigour in arms. A scheme for incorporating them largely into the Madras army is now (1893) under consideration, and may possibly be destined to have an important effect on the military organization of Southern India.

Services
of the
Gürkhas.

The Náirs.

We have seen that India may be divided into four regions—the Himálayas on the north: the great River Plains that stretch southward from their foot; the Three-sided Table-land which slopes upwards on the south from the River Plains, and covers the southern half of India; and lastly, Burma. Three of these regions, the Himálayas on the north, the Three-sided Table-land in the south, and Burma, are still the chief habitats of the non-Aryan tribes. The most important region, or the great River Plains, became in very ancient times the theatre on which a nobler race worked out its civilisation.

Ethnical
distribu-
tion of
Indian
races.

¹ *Vide ante*, p. 93, and for fuller details my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xiv.; Index, s.v. Náirs.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARYANS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

THE ARYAN STOCK. THIS nobler race belonged to the ARYAN or Indo-Germanic stock, from which the Bráhmaṇ, the Rájput, and the Englishman alike descend. Its earliest home, visible to history, was in Central Asia. From that common camping-ground, certain branches of the race started for the east, others for the west. One of the western offshoots founded the Persian kingdom; another built Athens and Lacedæmon, and became the Hellenic nation; a third went on to Italy, and reared the City on the Seven Hills, which grew into Imperial Rome. A distant colony of the same race excavated the silver-ores of pre-historic Spain; and when we first catch a sight of ancient England, we see an Aryan settlement fishing in wattle canoes, and working the tin mines of Cornwall. Meanwhile, other branches of the Aryan stock had gone forth from the primitive home in Central Asia to the east. Powerful bands found their way through the passes of the Himálayas into the Punjab, and spread themselves, chiefly as Bráhmaṇs and Rájputs, over India.

Its European branches.

Its Eastern branches.

The Aryans in their primitive home.

We know little regarding these Aryan tribes in their early camping-ground in Central Asia. From words preserved in the languages of their long-separated descendants in Europe and India, scholars infer that they roamed over the grassy steppes with their cattle, making long halts to rear crops of grain. They had tamed most of the domestic animals; were acquainted with a hard metal,¹ probably iron, and silver;² understood the arts of weaving and sewing; wore clothes; and ate cooked food. They lived the hardy life of the temperate zone, and the feeling of cold seems to be one of the earliest common remembrances of the eastern and the western branches of the race. Ages afterwards, when the Vedic

¹ Sanskrit, *ayas*, iron, or in a more general sense, metal, including gold but not copper in Sanskrit: Latin, *aes*, *aeris*, copper, bronze; Gothic, *air*, *eisum*; old German, *er*, iron; modern German, *eisen*.

² Sanskrit, *śubh*, *ar*, silver: Latin, *argentum*; Greek, *ἀργύρος*, *ἀργύρεον*.

singers in hot India prayed for long life, they still asked for 'a hundred winters.' To this day the November rice in the tropical delta of the Ganges is called the *haimántik* (cf. Latin *hiems*), or crop of the 'snowy' season.

The forefathers of the Greek and the Roman, of the Englishman and the Bráhmaṇ, dwelt together in Asia, spoke the same tongue, worshipped the same gods. The languages of Europe and India, although at first sight they seem wide apart, are merely different growths from the original Aryan speech. This is especially true of the common words of family life. The names for *father*, *mother*, *brother*, *sister*, and *widow* (Sanskrit, *vīdhavā*), are the same in most of the Aryan languages, whether spoken on the banks of the Ganges, of the Tiber, or of the Thames. Thus the word *daughter* (Sanskrit, *duhitri*), which occurs in nearly all of them, has been derived from the old Aryan root *dugh*, which in Sanskrit has the form *dūh*, to milk, and perhaps preserves the memory of the time when the daughter was the little milkmaid in the primitive Aryan household.

The words preserved alike by the European and Indian branches of the Aryan race, as heirlooms of their common home in Western Central Asia, include most of the terms required by a pastoral people who had already settled down to the cultivation of the more easily-reared crops. The domestic animals of India and Europe have names derived from the same roots, for cattle, sheep (and wool), goats, swine, dogs, horses, ducks, geese, mice. Their agricultural life has cognate words for corn (although the particular species of the cereal represented by the cognate words varied), for flax or hemp, for ploughing and grinding: their implements have cognate terms for copper or iron, cart or waggon, boat, helm; their household economy and industries have words from the same roots for sewing and weaving, house, garden, yard; also for a place of refuge, for the division of the year into lunar months, and for several of the numerals.

The ancient religions of Europe and India had a similar common origin. They were to some extent made up of the sacred stories or myths which our common ancestors had learned while dwelling together in Central Asia. Certain of the Vedic gods were also the gods of Greece and Rome; and the Deity is still adored by names derived from the same old Aryan root (*dīc*, to shine, hence The Bright One, Indian *Devā*, Latin *Deus*, or Divinity), by Bráhmans in Calcutta, by the Protestant clergy of England, and by Catholic priests in Peru.

The Indo-Aryans on the march, The Vedic hymns exhibit the Indian branch of the Aryans on their march to the south-east, and in their new homes. The earliest songs disclose the race still to the north of the Khāibar Pass, in Kābul; the latest ones bring them as far as the Gangetic basin. Their victorious advance eastward through the intermediate tract can be traced in the Vedic writings almost step by step. One of their famous settlements lay between the two sacred rivers, the Saraswatī, supposed to be the modern Sarsutī near Thaneswar in the Punjab, and the Drishadvatī, or Ghaggar, a day's march from it. This fertile strip of land, not more than 60 miles long by 20 broad, was fondly remembered by the Indo-Aryans as their Holy Land (*Brahmāvartta*), 'fashioned of God, and chosen by the Creator.' As their numbers increased, they pushed eastward along the base of the Himālayas, into what they afterward called the Land of the Sacred Singers (*Brahmarshi-desh*). Their settlements included by degrees the five rivers of the Punjab, together with the upper course of the Jumna and the country bordering on the Ganges.

and in their new settlements.

Function of the rivers.

Recollections of their northern home.

The Rig-Veda.

Insufficient evidence for its supposed date, 3101 B.C. (?) 1400 B.C. (?)

Here the Vedic hymns were composed; and the steady supply of water led the Aryans to settle down from their old life of wandering, half-pastoral, half-cultivating tribes into permanent communities of husbandmen. Their Vedic poets praised the rivers which enabled them to make this great change—perhaps the most important step in the progress of a race. 'May the Indus,' they sang, 'the far-famed giver of wealth, hear us; (fertilizing our) broad fields with water.' The Himālayas, through whose offshoots they had reached India, and at whose southern base they long dwelt, made a lasting impression on their memory. The Vedic singer praised 'Him whose greatness the snowy ranges, and the sea, and the aerial river declare.' In all its long wanderings through India, the Aryan race never forgot its northern home. There dwelt its gods and holy singers; and there eloquence descended from heaven among men; while in the inner lofty regions beyond the mountain-wall lay the paradise of deities and heroes, where the kind and the brave for ever repose.

The Rig-Veda forms the great literary memorial of the early Aryan settlements in the Punjab. The age of this venerable hymnal is unknown. The Hindus believe, without evidence, that it existed 'from before all time,' or at least from 3101 years B.C. nearly 5000 years ago. European scholars have inferred from astronomical data that its composition was going on about 1400 B.C. But these data are

themselves derived from writings of comparatively modern origin, and might have been calculated backwards. We know, however, that the Vedic religion had been at work in India long before the rise of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. The antiquity of the Rig-Veda, although not to be dogmatically expressed in figures, is abundantly established. The earlier hymns exhibit the Aryans on the north-western frontiers of India, just starting on their long journey. Before the embassy of the Greek Megasthenes, at the end of the 4th century B.C., they had spread at least to the verge of the Gangetic delta, 1500 miles distant. At the time of the *Periplus*, *circa* 70 A.D., the southernmost point of India was apparently a seat of their worship. A temple to the queen of their god Siva stood on Cape Comorin, before the end of the first Christian century; and the inferences of European scholarship point to the composition of at least some of the Vedic psalms at a period not later than twelve to sixteen centuries before the commencement of our era.

The Bráhmans declare that the Vedic hymns were directly inspired by God. Indeed, in our own times, the young Theistic Church of Bengal, which rejects Bráhmanical teaching, was split into two sects on the crux of acknowledging or rejecting the divine authority of the Veda. The hymns seem to have been composed by certain families of Rishis or psalmists, some of whose names are preserved. The Rig-Veda is a very old collection of 1017 of these short lyrical poems, chiefly addressed to the gods, and containing 10,580 verses. They show us the Aryans on the banks of the Indus, divided into various tribes, sometimes at war with each other, sometimes united against the 'black-skinned' aborigines. Caste, in its later sense, is unknown. Each father of a family is the priest of his own household. The chieftain acts as father and priest to the tribe; but at the greater festivals he chooses some one specially learned in holy offerings to conduct the sacrifice in the name of the people. The chief, although hereditary, seems to have been partly elected; and his title of Vis-pati, 'Lord of the Settlers,' survives in the old Persian Vis-paiti, and as the Lithuanian Wiész-patis in east-central Europe at this day. Women enjoyed a high position, and some of the most beautiful hymns were composed by ladies and queens. Marriage was held sacred. Husband and wife were both 'rulers of the house' (*dampati*); and drew near to the gods together in prayer. The burning of widows on the husbands' funeral pile was unknown; and the verses in the

Neverthe-
less of
great anti-
quity.

Inspira-
tion of the
Veda.

The Rig-
Veda :
1017
hymns,
10,580
verses.

Caste not
known to
Rig-Veda,

not
widow-
burning.

Veda, which the Bráhmans afterwards distorted into a sanction for the practice, have the very opposite meaning. 'Rise, woman,' says the sacred text to the mourner; 'come to the world of life. Come to us. Thou hast fulfilled thy duties as a wife to thy husband.'

Aryan
civilisation
in the
Veda.

The Aryan tribes in the Veda are acquainted with most of the metals. They have blacksmiths, copper-smiths, and gold-smiths among them, besides carpenters, barbers, and other artisans. They fight from chariots, and freely use the horse, although not yet the elephant, in war. They have settled down as husbandmen, till their fields with the plough, and live in villages or towns. But they also cling to their old wandering life, with their herds and 'cattle-pens.' Cattle, indeed, still form their chief wealth—the coin (Latin, *pecunia*) in which payments or fines are made; and one of their words for war literally means 'a desire for cows.' They have learned to build 'ships,' perhaps large river-boats; and have seen or heard something of the sea. Unlike the modern Hindus, the Aryans of the Veda ate beef; used a fermented liquor or beer, made from the *soma* plant; and offered the same strong meat and drink to their gods. Thus the stout Aryans spread eastward through Northern India; pushed on from behind by later arrivals of their own stock; and driving before them, or reducing to vassalage, the earlier 'black-skinned' races, but sometimes leaving them unsubdued. They marched in whole communities from one river valley to another; each house-father a warrior, husbandman, and priest; with his wife, and his little ones, and cattle.

Spread of
the Aryans
eastward.

The gods
of the
Veda.

These free-hearted tribes had a great trust in themselves and in their gods. Like other conquering races, they believed that both themselves and their deities were altogether superior to the people of the land and to their poor rude objects of worship. Indeed, this noble self-confidence is a great aid to the success of a nation. Their divinities—*devas*, literally 'The Shining Ones,' from the Sanskrit root *dī*, 'to shine'—were the great powers of nature. They adored the Father-heaven, *Dyaush-pitar* in Sanskrit, the *Dies-piter* or *Jupiter* of Rome, the *Zeus* of Greece, the Low German *Duus*, and, through the old French god-demon *Dus-ius*, probably the *Deuce* of English slang; together with Mother-Earth; also the Encompassing Sky, *Varuna* in Sanskrit, *Uranus* in Latin. *Ouranos* in Greek. The Sarameyas, or two children of Indra's watchdog, the messengers of death, are compared with the Greek Hermeias (Hermes), the conductor of the dead. Such common

ideas and names penetrate deeply into the mythology of the ancient world, although they have sometimes been made the basis for exaggerating the concord between the religious concepts of primitive Europe and India. Jupiter *Feretrius*, for whom the Romans invented conflicting derivations, may possibly be the *Vritra-han*, or destroyer of the old Aryan demon Vritra. On the coins of the Roman Republic, Juno *Sospita* is represented with a skin and horns over her. General Cunningham suggests that her epithet represents the Sanskrit Saspatnī (*Sasī*), a name for the moon, so called from the marks on the moon being supposed to resemble a hare (*sasa*).

Indra, or the Aqueous Vapour that brought the precious rain on which plenty or famine depended each autumn, received the largest number of hymns. By degrees, as the settlers realized more and more keenly the importance of the periodical rains to their new life as husbandmen, he became the chief of the Vedic gods. 'The gods do not reach unto thee, O Indra, or men; thou overcomest all creatures in strength.' Agni, the God of Fire (Latin, *igni-s*), ranks next to Indra in the number of hymns in his honour as the friend of man, the guide of the people, the lord and giver of wealth.

Judging, indeed, from the preponderance of ancient invocations to Agni, and from the position which the corresponding deity holds in Iranian mythology, it might appear as if Agni and not Indra had been the chief god of the race, while the Indian and old Persian branches still dwelt together. Among the colder heights and on the uplands of Central Asia, to the north-west of the Himālayas, Heat was the great factor of fertility, the giver of human comfort, and the ripener of the crops. When the eastern offshoots of the Aryans descended upon the plains of India, they found, as they advanced southward, that heat was an element of productiveness which might be taken for granted, a constant factor in the husbandry of the Indus and Jumna valleys. Here it was upon moisture rather than on heat that their harvest depended. To the left of their line of march across the five rivers of the Punjab, a rather narrow tract stretched to the foot of the Himālayas, with an ample rainfall, now averaging 35 inches a year. But on the broad plains on their right, the water-supply was less abundant and more capricious. At the present day the tract immediately to the south of the ancient Aryan route across the Punjab receives only 20 to 30 inches per annum, diminishing through successive belts of rainfall down to 10 inches.

Influence
of the
rainy
season on
Aryan
mytho-
logy.

Indra and
Agni.

Moisture
v. Heat.

As the Aryan immigrants spread south, therefore, it was no longer so necessary to pray for heat, and it became more necessary to pray for moisture. Agni, the heat-giving god, without being discredited, became less important, and receded in favour of Indra, the rain-bringing deity. In the settlements of the Punjab, Indra may have thus advanced to the first place among the Vedic divinities. He is the Cloud-Compeller, dropping bountiful showers, filling the dried-up rivers from the Himālayas, and bringing the rain-storms. His voice is the thunder; with his spear of lightning he smites open the black clouds, and rends the black bodies of the demons who have drunk up the wished-for rains. He makes the sun to shine forth again. 'I will sing of the victories of Indra, of the victories won by the God of the Spear,' chanted the Rîg-Vedic psalmist. 'On the mountains he smote the demon of drought (Ahi); he poured out the waters and let the river flow from the mountains: like calves to cows, so do the waters hasten to the sea.' 'Thou hast broken open the rain-prisons¹ rich in cattle. The bonds of the streams hast thou burst asunder.'²

As the Aryans pushed forward into the middle and lower valley of the Ganges, they found themselves in a region of copious rainfall brought by the unfailing monsoons. The rainstorms of Indra thus became less important. His water-spouts, although well worth praying for in the Punjab, evidently belonged to an inferior grade of divine energy than that which presided over the irresistible, majestically ordered advance of the periodical rains in Bengal. Indra, the Cloud-Compeller, seems to have shared in his turn the fate of Agni, the God of Heat. He gave way to three deities on a scale commensurate with the vaster forces of nature in the Lower Gangetic valley. We shall see how the abstract but potent conception of divine energy embodied in the Brâhmanical Triad of the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer took the place alike of Agni and of Indra, and of the other Vedic gods. But meanwhile, Indra, the Giver of Rain, was the most important deity to the Aryan settlers in the Punjab. He stands forth in the Veda as the foremost Shining One.

The Maruts were the Vedic Storm-Gods, 'who make the

¹ Literally, 'Thou hast broken the cave of Vritra,' the demon who imprisons the rain and causes drought, with whom Indra is constantly waging victorious war.

² The Rîg-Vedic attributes of Indra are well summarized by Professor Max Duncker, *Ancient History of India*, pp. 47-49 (ed. 1881), following Roth and Benfey; and are detailed with completeness by Muir, *Sanskrit Text*, pp. 76-139, vol. v. (1872).

rocks to tremble, who tear in pieces the forest.' Ūshas, 'the High-born Dawn' (Greek *Eos*), 'shines upon us like a young wife, rousing every living being to go forth to his work.' The Aswins, the 'Horsemen' or Fleet Outriders of the Dawn, are the first rays of sunrise, 'Lords of Lustre.' The Solar Orb (Sūrya, Savitri), the Wind (Vāyu), the Sunshine or Friendly Day (Mitra), the animating fermented juice of the Sacrificial Plant (Soma), and many other Shining Ones, are invoked in the Veda; in all, about thirty-three gods, 'who are eleven in heaven, eleven on earth, and eleven dwelling in glory in mid-air.'

The terrible blood-drinking deities of modern Hinduism are scarcely known in the Veda. Buffaloes are indeed offered, and a hymn points to a symbolism based on human sacrifices; but actual human sacrifices, if they ever formed part of the primitive Aryan worship, were apparently extinct before the time of the Vedic singers. The Great Horse-Sacrifice (*Asvamedha*) seems, in some of its aspects, a substitution for the flesh and blood of a man. But, as a whole, the hymns are addressed to bright, friendly gods. Rudra, who was destined to develop into the Siva of the Hindus, and the third person or Destroyer in their Triad, is only the God of Roaring Tempests in the Veda. Vishnu, the second person or Preserver in the Hindu Triad, is but slightly known to the Vedic singers as the deity of the Shining Firmament; while Brahmā, as the first person, or Creator, has no separate existence in their simple hymns. The names of the dreadful Mahadeva, Durga, Kālī, and of the gentler but intensely human Krishna and Rama, are alike unknown.

The Aryan settlers lived on excellent terms with their bright gods. They asked for protection with an assured conviction that it would be granted. 'Give me cows, or land, or long life, in return for this hymn or offering; 'slay my enemy, scatter the black-skin, and I will sacrifice to thee,'—such is the ordinary frame of mind of the singer to his gods. But, at the same time, he was deeply stirred by the glory and mystery of the earth and the heavens. Indeed, the majesty of nature so filled his mind, that often when he praises any one of his Shining Gods he can think of none other for the time being, and adores him as the Supreme Ruler. Verses of the Veda may be quoted declaring each of the greater deities to be the One Supreme: 'Neither gods nor men reach unto thee, O Indra.' Soma is 'king of heaven and earth, the conqueror of all.' To Varuna also it is said, 'Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth; thou art king of all those who are

gods, and of all those who are men.' Agni is likewise addressed as the mightiest and as the most beloved of the gods: 'No one can approach thy darting, strong, terrible flames: burn thou the evil spirits, and every enemy.' The more spiritual of the Vedic singers, therefore, may be said to have worshipped One God, although not One Alone.

Higher
concep-
tions of the
Deity in
the Veda.

Some beautiful souls among them were filled not only with the splendours of the visible universe, but with the deeper mysteries of the Unseen, and the powerlessness of man to search out God.

A Vedic
hymn.

'In the beginning there arose the Golden Child. He was the one born lord of all that is. He established the earth and this sky. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

'He who gives life, He who gives strength; whose command all the Bright Gods revere; whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

'He who, through his power, is the one king of the breathing and awakening world. He who governs all, man and beast. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

'He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm; He through whom the heaven was established, nay, the highest heaven; He who measured out the light and the air. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

'He who by his might looked even over the water-clouds, the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice; He who alone is God above all gods. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?'¹

'The
Better
Land.'

The yearning for rest in God, that desire for the wings of a dove, so as to fly away and be at rest, with which noble hearts have ached in all ages, breathes in several exquisite hymns of the Rig-Veda: 'Where there is eternal light, in the world where the sun is placed,—in that immortal, imperishable world, place me, O Soma! Where life is free, in the third heaven of heavens, where the worlds are radiant,—there make me immortal! Where there is happiness and delight, where joy and pleasure reside, where our desires are attained,—there make me immortal.'²

The sense
of sin and
need of
forgive-
ness.

Nor was the sense of sin, and the need of pardon, absent from the minds of these ancient psalmists. As a rule, an honourable understanding seems to have existed between the

¹ Rig-Veda, x. 121; translated by Prof. Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 569: *Chips*, vol. i. p. 29 (ed. 1867), abbreviated.

² Rig-Veda, iv. 113. 7, Max Müller's translation.

Vedic sacrificer and his bright god: the god being equitably pledged to the fulfilment of the sacrificer's prayer in return for the offering, although the wisest might leave it to Indra himself to decide what was best to bestow. But even the cheerful worshippers of the Veda at times felt deeply the sinfulness of sin, and the fear of the sins of the father being visited upon the children. 'What great sin is it, O Varuna,' says a hymn of the Rig-Veda, 'for which thou seekest to slay thy worshipper and friend?' 'Absolve us from the sins of our fathers and from those which we committed in our own persons.' 'It was not our own will that led us astray, O Varuna, it was necessity (or temptation); wine, anger, dice, or thoughtlessness. The stronger perverts the weaker. Even sleep bringeth sin.'¹ 'Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god,' says another hymn to Varuna, 'have I gone wrong: have mercy, almighty, have mercy. I go along trembling like a cloud driven before the wind: have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Through want of power (to do right) have I transgressed, O bright and mighty god: have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Whenever we men, O Varuna, commit an offence before the heavenly host, whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness, have mercy, almighty, have mercy.'²

The very ancient Aryans in Central Asia buried their dead, although cremation seems also to have been resorted to. In Iran the custom of burial eventually gave place to that of exposing the corpse on a mountain to the birds of heaven; a custom still practised in the Pârsi Towers of Silence at Bombay and elsewhere. We have seen that Agni, god of heat, appears to have been the chief deity of the Aryan race in Iran; and fire was regarded by the ancient Persian as too sacred an element to be polluted by a human corpse. The Aryan settlers in India for a time retained the custom of burial. 'Let me not, O Varuna, go to the house of clay,' says one hymn of the Rig-Veda.³ 'O earth, be not too narrow for him,' says another hymn: 'cover him like the mother who folds her son in her garment.'⁴ But in time the Indo-Aryans substituted the fire for the grave: and the burning of the

Prayers for
pardon.

Primitive
Aryan
burial.

¹ Rig-Veda, vii. 86: translated in Muir's *Sanskrit Text*, vol. v. p. 66 (1872).

² Rig-Veda, vii. 89. Max Muller's beautiful translation is reproduced by Professor Duncker, *Ancient History of India*, p. 53 (1881). See also Muir's translation, *Sanskrit Text*, vol. v. p. 67 (1872).

³ Rig-Veda, vii. 89. 1. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. p. 67 (1872).

⁴ Rig-Veda, x. 18. Roth's rendering in Duncker, *Ancient History of India*, p. 63 (1881).

corpse became a distinctive feature of the race, as contrasted with the ruder and more primitive peoples whom they found in the Punjab.

Burning of the dead. While most of the aboriginal tribes buried their dead under rude stone monuments, the Aryan—alike in India, in Greece, and in Italy—made use of the funeral-pyre as the most solemn method of disposing of the mortal part of man. As the Indo-Aryan derived his natural birth from his parents: and a partial regeneration, or second birth, from the performance of his religious duties; so the fire, by setting free the soul from the body, completed the third or heavenly birth. His friends stood round the pyre as round a natal bed, and commanded his eye to go to the sun, his breath to the wind, his limbs to the earth, the water and plants whence they had been derived. But ‘as for his unborn part, do thou, Lord (Agni), quicken it with thy heat; let thy flame and thy brightness quicken it: convey it to the world of the righteous.’

Aryan legend of King Yama, or Death. For the lonely journey of the soul after its separation from the body, the Aryans, both in Asia and Europe, provided faithful guides (the *Sárameyas* in Sanskrit, *Herméas* in Greek). According to the Zend or old Aryan legend in Persia, Yama was a monarch in the old time, when sorrow and sickness were unknown. By degrees sin and disease crept into the world: the slow necessity of death hastened its step; and the old king retired, with a chosen band, from the polluted earth into a better country, where he still reigns. The Indian version of the story makes Yama to be the first man who passed through death into immortality. Having discovered the way to the other world, he leads men thither. He became the *nekropompos*, or guide of the Aryan dead. Meanwhile his two dogs (*Sárameyas*)—‘black and spotted,’ ‘broad of nostril,’ and ‘with a hunger never to be satisfied’—wander as his messengers among men. ‘Worship with an offering King Yama, the Assembler of Men, who departed to the mighty waters, who found out the road for many.’¹

The Vedic farewell to the dead. Several exquisite verses bid farewell to the dead:—‘Depart thou, depart thou by the ancient paths to the place whither our fathers have departed. Meet with the Ancient Ones; meet with the Lord of Death. Throwing off thine imperfections, go

¹ Rig-Veda, x. 14. 1. See Dr. John Muir’s *Sanskrit Texts*, and his essay on ‘Yama,’ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, part ii., 1865, whence many of the above quotations are derived. See also Max Müller’s essay on the ‘Funeral Rites of the Brāhmins,’ on which the following paragraph is chiefly based.

to thy home. Become united with a body ; clothe thyself in a shining form.' 'Let him depart to those for whom flow the rivers of nectar. Let him depart to those who, through meditation, have obtained the victory ; who, by fixing their thoughts on the unseen, have gone to heaven. Let him depart to the mighty in battle, to the heroes who have laid down their lives for others, to those who have bestowed their goods on the poor.' The doctrine of transmigration was unknown. The circle round the funeral-pile sang with a firm hope that their friend went direct to a state of blessedness and reunion with the loved ones who had gone before. 'Do thou conduct us to heaven,' says a hymn of the later Atharva-Veda ; 'let us be with our wives and children.' 'In heaven, where our friends dwell in bliss,—having left behind the infirmities of the body, free from lameness, free from crookedness of limb.—there let us behold our parents and our children.' 'May the water-shedding spirits bear thee upwards, cooling thee with their swift motion through the air, and sprinkling thee with dew.' 'Bear him, carry him ; let him, with all his faculties complete, go to the world of the righteous. Crossing the dark valley which spreadeth boundless around him, let the unborn soul ascend to heaven. Wash the feet of him who is stained with sin ; let him go upwards with cleansed feet. Crossing the gloom, gazing with wonder in many directions, let the unborn soul go up to heaven.'

Vedic
concep-
tions of
immor-
tality.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda were composed, as we have seen, by the Aryans in their colonies along the Indus, and on their march eastward towards the Jumna and Upper Ganges. The growing numbers of the settlers, and the arrival of fresh Aryan tribes from behind, still compelled them to advance. From 'The Land of the Sacred Singers,' in the Eastern Punjab (*Brahmarshi-desha*, ante, p. 118), Manu describes them as spreading through 'The Middle Land' (*Madhya-desha*). This comprised the river-system of the Ganges as far east as Oudh and Allahábád, with the Himálayas as its northern, and the Vindhya ranges as its southern boundary.

The
Aryans
advance
into the
Middle
Land.

The Ganges is only twice mentioned, and without special emphasis, in the Rig-Veda. The advance into the Middle Land seems, therefore, not to have commenced till the close of the Rig-Vedic era. It must have been the work of many generations, and it will be referred to when we come to examine the historical significance of the two great Sanskrit epics. Between the time when the Aryans descended from

The
Ganges.

Slow
advance
into the
Middle
Land.

Central Asia upon the plains of the Indus and the age when they passed the Ganges, they had conquered many of the aboriginal races, left others behind on their route, and had begun to wage inter-tribal wars among themselves, under rival Aryan heroes and rival Vedic priests. During this advance, the simple faith of the Rig-Vedic singers was first adorned with stately rites, and then extinguished beneath them. The Aryans in India had progressed from a loose confederacy of tribes into several well-knit nations, each bound together by the strong central force of kingly power, directed by a powerful priesthood, and organized on a firm basis of caste.

The Aryan
tribes
organized
into
kingdoms.

Whence arose this new constitution of the Aryan tribes into nations, with castes, priests, and kings? We have seen that although in their earlier colonies on the Indus each father was priest in his family, yet the Chieftain, or Lord of the Settlers, called in some man specially learned in holy offerings to conduct the greater tribal sacrifices. Such men were highly honoured, and the famous quarrel which runs throughout the whole Veda sprang from the claims of two rival sages, Vasishtha and Viswámitra, to perform one of these ceremonies. The art of writing was unknown, and the hymns and sacrificial formulæ had to be handed down by word of mouth from father to son.

Origin of
priestly
families.

It thus came to pass that the families who knew these holy words by heart became the hereditary owners of the liturgies required at the most solemn offerings to the gods. Members of such households were chosen again and again to conduct the tribal sacrifices, to chant the battle-hymn, to implore the divine aid, or to pray away the divine wrath. Even the early Rig-Veda recognises the importance of these sacrifices. 'That king,' says a verse, 'before whom marches the priest, he alone dwells well established in his own house; to him the people bow down. The king who gives wealth to the priest, he will conquer; him the gods will protect.' The tribesmen first hoped, then believed, that a hymn or prayer which had once acted successfully, and been followed by victory, would again produce the same results. The hymns or Vedic prayers thus became a valuable family property for those who had composed or learned them. The Rig-Veda tells how the prayer of Vasishtha prevailed 'in the battle of the ten kings,' and how that of Viswámitra 'preserves the tribe of the Bhárats.' The potent prayer was termed *brahman* (from the root *brih* = *erih*, to increase), and eventually the class who offered it took the patronymic form of Bráhmans. Woe to him who despised either! The term Bráhman, in this class-signification, which just

makes its appearance in the Rig-Veda, becomes hardened and set in the prose literature of the immediate *post*-Vedic period.

Certain families thus came to have not only a hereditary claim to conduct the great sacrifices, but also the exclusive knowledge of the ancient hymns, or at any rate of the traditions which explained their symbolical meaning. They naturally tried to render the ceremonies solemn and imposing. By degrees a vast array of ministrants grew up around each of the greater sacrifices. There were first the officiating priests and their assistants, who prepared the sacrificial ground, dressed the altar, slew the victims, and poured out the libations; second, the chanters of the Vedic hymns; third, the reciters of other parts of the service; fourth, the superior priests, who watched over the whole, and corrected mistakes.¹

The entire service was derived from the Veda, or 'inspired knowledge,' an old Aryan word which appears in the Latin *vid-ere*, 'to see or perceive;' in the early Greek *feid-enai*, infinitive of *oida*, 'I know;' in the Old English, *I wit*; in the modern German and English, *wissen*, *wisdom*, etc. The Rig-Veda exhibits the hymns in their simplest form, arranged in ten 'circles,' according to the families of their composers, the Rishis. Some of the hymns are named after individual minstrels.

But as the sacrifices grew more elaborate, the hymns were also arranged in four collections (*sanhitās*) or service-books for the ministering priests. Thus, the second, or Sāma-Veda, was made up of extracts from the Rig-Vedic hymns used at the Soma sacrifice. Some of its verses stamp themselves, by their antiquated grammatical forms, as older than their rendering in the Rig-Veda itself. The third, or Yajur-Veda, consists not only of Rig-Vedic verses, but also of prose sentences, to be used at the sacrifices of the New and Full Moon; and at the Great Horse-Sacrifice, when 609 animals of various kinds were offered, perhaps in substitution for an earlier Man-Sacrifice, which is also mentioned in the Yajur-Veda. The Yajur-Veda is divided into two editions, the Black and the White Yajur; both belonging to a more modern period than either the Rig or the Sāma Vedas, and composed after the Aryans had spread far to the east of the Indus.

The fourth, or Atharva-Veda, was compiled from the least ancient hymns of the Rig-Veda in the tenth book; and from

¹ The following pages are largely indebted to Professor Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (Trubner, 1878),—a debt very gratefully acknowledged.

the still later songs of the Brāhmanas, after they had established their priestly power. It supplies the connecting link between the simple Aryan worship of the Shining Ones exhibited in the Rig-Veda, and the complex Brāhmanical system which followed. It was only allowed to rank as part of the Veda after a long struggle.

The four Vedas become insufficient.

The Brāhmanas compiled.

Śruti, or Revealed Truth.

The Śūtras, or Sacred Traditions ;

Smṛiti ; not 'revealed.'

Their subject-matter.

The four Vedas thus described, namely, the Rig-Veda, the Sāma, the Yajur, and the Atharva, formed an immense body of sacrificial poetry. But as the priests grew in number and power, they went on elaborating their ceremonies, until even the four Vedas became insufficient guides for them. They accordingly compiled prose treatises, called Brāhmanas, attached to each of the four Vedas, in order to more fully explain the functions of the officiating priests. Thus the Brāhmana of the Rig-Veda deals with the duties of the Reciter of the Hymns (*hotar*) ; the Brāhmana of the Sāma-Veda, with those of the Singer at the Soma sacrifice (*udgātār*) ; the Brāhmana of the Yajur-Veda, with those of the actual performer of the sacrifice (*adhvaryu*) ; while the Brāhmana of the Atharva-Veda is a medley of legends and speculations, having but little direct connection with the Veda whose name it bears. All the Brāhmanas, indeed, besides explaining the ritual, lay down religious precepts and dogmas. Like the four Vedas, they are held to be the very Word of God. The Vedas and the Brāhmanas form the *Śruti*, the things literally *heard* from God, or the Revealed Scriptures of the Hindus ; the Vedas supplying their divinely-inspired psalms, and the Brāhmanas their divinely-inspired theology or body of doctrine.

Even this ample religious literature failed in time to suffice. The priests composed a number of new works, called Śūtras, which elaborated still further their system of sacrifice, and which asserted still more strongly their own claims as a separate and superior caste. They alleged that these Śūtras, although not directly revealed by God, were founded on the inspired Vedas and Brāhmanas. They had therefore a lesser divine authority as sacred traditions or *Smṛiti*, literally the things *remembered*. The Śūtras, literally 'strings' of aphorisms, were composed in the form of short sentences, for the sake of brevity, and in order that their vast number might be the better remembered in an age when writing was little practised, or unknown. Some of them, such as the Kalpa-Śūtras, deal with the ritual and sacrifices ; others, like the 'Household' or Grihyā-Śūtras, prescribe the ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death ; a still larger class of Śūtras treat of

the doctrines, duties, and privileges of the priests. The Sūtras thus became the foundation of the whole legislation and philosophy of the Brāhmins in later times. They exhibit the Brāhmins no longer as the individual sacrificers of the Vedic period, but as a powerful hereditary caste, claiming supremacy alike over king and people. The Brahman caste fully formed.

Meanwhile, other castes had been gradually formed. As the Aryans moved eastward from the Indus, some of the warriors were more fortunate than others, or received a larger share of the conquered lands. Such families had not to till their fields with their own hands, but could leave that work to be done by the aboriginal races whom they subdued. In this way there grew up a class of warriors, freed from the labour of husbandry, who surrounded the chief or king, and were always ready for battle. It seems likely that these kinsmen and companions of the king formed an important class among the early Aryan tribes in India, as they certainly did among the mediæval branches of the Aryan race in Europe, and still do at the petty courts of India. Their old Sanskrit names, *Kṣhattriya*, *Rājanya*, and *Rājansi*, mean 'connected with the royal power,' or 'of the royal line;' their usual modern name *Rājput* means 'of royal descent.' In process of time, when the Aryans settled down, not as mere fighting clans, but as powerful nations, in the Middle Land along the Jumna and Ganges, this warrior class grew in numbers and in power. The black non-Aryan races had to a large extent been reduced to serfdom, or driven back towards the Himalayas and the Vindhya, on the north and on the south of the central tract. The incessant fighting, which had formed the common lot of the Aryan tribes on their actual migration eastward from the Indus, now ceased.

A section of the people accordingly laid aside their arms, and, devoting themselves to agriculture or other peaceful pursuits, became the *Vaisyas*. The sultry heats of the Middle Land must have abated their old northern energy, and inclined them to repose. Those who, from hereditary family usage or from personal inclination, preferred a soldier's life, had to go beyond the frontier to find an enemy. Distant expeditions of this sort could be undertaken much less conveniently by the general body of tribesmen, chiefly husbandmen, than in the ancient time, when the Aryan settlements lay on the very border of the enemy's country, and had just been wrested from it. Such distant expeditions required and probably developed a military class; endowed with lands, and with serfs. The cultivating caste (Vaiśyas).

to till the soil during the master's absence at the wars. The old companions and kinsmen of the king formed a nucleus round which gathered the more daring spirits. They became in time a distinct military caste.

The four
castes :
(1) Brāh-
mans,
(2) Kshat-
triyas,
(3) Vais-
ya.

The Aryans on the Ganges, in the 'Middle Land,' thus found themselves divided into three classes—first, the priests, or Brāhmans; second, the warriors and king's companions, called in ancient times Kshattriyas, at the present day Rājputs; third, the husbandmen, or agricultural settlers, who retained the old name of Vaisyas, from the root *vās*, which in the Vedic period had included the whole 'people.' These three classes gradually became separate castes; intermarriage between them was forbidden, and each kept more and more strictly to its hereditary employment. But they were all recognised as belonging to the 'Twice-born,' or Aryan race; they were all present at the great national sacrifices; and all worshipped the same Bright Gods.

(4) Sūdras. Beneath them was a fourth or servile class, called Sūdras, the remnants of the vanquished aboriginal tribes whose lives had been spared. These were 'the slave-bands of black descent,' the Dāsas of the Veda. They were distinguished from their 'Twice-born' Aryan conquerors as being only 'Once-born,' and by many contemptuous epithets. They were not allowed to be present at the great national sacrifices, or at the feasts which followed them. They could never rise out of their servile condition; and to them was assigned the severest toil in the fields, and all the hard and dirty work of the village community.

The Brāh-
mans,
Kshat-
triyas, and
Sūdras
increase.

Of the four Indian castes, three had a tendency to increase. As the Aryan conquests spread, more aboriginal tribes were reduced to serfdom, or to lowest caste of Sūdras. The warriors, or Kshattriyas, would constantly receive additions from wealthy or enterprising members of the cultivating class. When an expedition or migration went forth to subdue new territory, the whole colonists would for a time lead a military life, and their sons would probably all regard themselves as Kshattriyas. In ancient times, entire tribes, and at the present day the mass of the population throughout large tracts, thus claim to be of the warrior or Rājput caste. Moreover, the kings and fighting-men of aboriginal races, who, without being conquered by the Aryans, entered into alliance with them, would probably assume for themselves the warrior or Kshattriya rank. We see this process going on at the present day among many of the aboriginal peoples.

The Brahmins, in their turn, appear at first to have received into their body distinguished families of Kshatriya descent. In later times, too, we find that sections of aboriginal races were also 'manufactured' wholesale into Brāhmins. Unmistakable cases of such 'manufactures' or ethnical syncretisms are recorded; and besides the upper-class agricultural Brāhmins, there are throughout India many local castes of Brāhmins who follow the humble callings of fishermen, blacksmiths, ploughmen, and potato-growers.¹

The Vaisya or cultivating class did not tend, in this manner, ^{The} to increase. No one felt ambitious to win his way into it, ^{Vai-syas diminish.} except perhaps the enslaved Sūdras, to whom any change of condition was forbidden. The Vaisyas themselves tended in early times to rise into the more honourable warrior class; and at a later period, to be mingled with the labouring multitude of Sūdras, or with the castes of mixed descent. In many Provinces they have now almost disappeared as a distinct caste. In ancient India, as at the present day, the three conspicuous castes, besides a multitude of mixed descent, were (1) the priests and (2) warriors of Aryan birth, and (3) the serfs or Sūdras, the remnants of earlier races. The Sūdras had no rights, and, once conquered, ceased to struggle against their fate. But a long contest raged between the priests and warriors for the chief place in the Aryan commonwealth.

In order to understand this contest, we must go back to ^{Struggle between priestly and warrior castes.} the time when the priests and warriors were simply fellow-tribesmen. The Brāhman caste seems to a large extent to have grown out of the families of Rishis who composed the Vedic hymns, or who were chosen to conduct the great tribal sacrifices. It seems probable also that entire waves or sets of the Aryan invaders formed tribal communities who were recognised as Brāhmins. In after times, indeed, the whole Brāhman population of India pretended to trace their descent from the Seven Rishis, heads of the seven priestly families to whom the Vedic hymns were assigned. But the composers of the Vedic hymns were sometimes kings, or distinguished warriors, rather than priests; indeed, the Veda itself speaks of these Royal Rishis (*Rājārshis*). When the Brāhmins put ^{Rising pretension of the} forward their claim to the highest rank, the warriors or ^{Brāhmins.} Kshatriyas were slow to admit it; and when the Brāhmins went a step further, and declared that only members of their families could be priests, or gain admission into the

¹ See my *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 239-264 (ed. 1872).

priestly caste, the warriors seem to have disputed their pretensions. In later ages, the Bráhmans, having the exclusive keeping of the sacred traditions and writings, effaced from them, as far as possible, all traces of their struggle with the Kshattriyas. The Bráhmans taught that their caste had come forth from the mouth of God, divinely ordained to the priesthood from the beginning of time. Nevertheless, the Vedic and Sanskrit texts record a long contest, perhaps representing a difference in race or separate waves of Aryan migrations.

Viswamitra and Vasishtha.

The quarrel between the two sages Viswamitra and Vasishtha, which, as has been mentioned, runs through the whole Veda, is typical of this struggle. Viswamitra stands as a representative of the royal warrior rank, who claims to perform a great public sacrifice. The white-robed Vasishtha represents the Bráhmans or hereditary priesthood, and opposes the warrior's claim. In the end, Viswamitra established his title to conduct the sacrifice; but the Bráhmans explain this by saying that his virtues and austerities won admission for him into the priestly family of Bhrigu. He thus became a Bráhman, and could lawfully fill the priestly office. Viswamitra serves as a typical link, not only between the priestly and the worldly castes, but also between the sacred and the profane sciences. He was the legendary founder of the art of war, and his equally legendary son Susruta is quoted as the earliest authority on Indian medicine. These two sciences of war and medicine, together with music and architecture, form *upa-Vedas*, or supplementary sections of the divinely-inspired knowledge of the Bráhmans.

Other cases of Kshattriyas attaining to Bráhmanhood.

Another famous Royal Rishi, Vítahavya, 'attained the condition of Bráhmanhood, venerated by mankind,' by a word of the saintly Bhrigu. Parasu-Ráma, the Divine Champion of the Bráhmans, was of warrior descent by his mother's side. Manu, their legislator, sprang from the warrior caste; and his father is expressly called 'the seed of all the Kshattriyas.' But when the Bráhmans had firmly established their supremacy, they became reluctant to allow the possibility of even princes finding an entrance into their sacred order. King Ganaka was more learned than all the Bráhmans at his court, and performed terrible penances to attain to Bráhmanhood. Yet the legends leave it doubtful whether he gained his desire. The still more holy, but probably later, Matanga, wore his body to skin and bone by a thousand years of austerities, and was held up from falling by the hand of the god Indra himself. Nevertheless, he could not attain to Bráhmanhood. Gautama

Buddha, who in the 6th century before Christ overthrew the Brāhman supremacy, and founded a new religion, was a prince of warrior descent; perhaps born in too late an age to be adopted into, and utilized by, the Brāhman caste.

Among some of the Aryan tribes the priests apparently failed to establish themselves as an exclusive order. Indeed, the four castes, and especially the Brāhman caste, seem only to have obtained their full development amid the fertile valleys of the Middle Land (*Madhya-desh*), watered by the Jumna and the Ganges. The early Aryan settlements to the west of the Indus long remained outside the caste system; the later Aryan offshoots to the south and east of the Middle Land only partially carried that system with them. But in the Middle Land itself, with Delhi as its western capital, and the great cities of Ajodhya (Oudh) and Benares on its eastern frontier, the Brāhmans grew by degrees into a compact, learned, and supremely influential body, the makers of Sanskrit literature. Their language, their religion, and their laws, became in after times the standards aimed at throughout all India. They naturally denounced all who did not submit to their pretensions, and they stigmatised the other Aryan settlements who had not accepted their caste system as lapsed tribes or outcasts (*Vrishalas*). Among the lists of such fallen races we read the name afterwards applied to the Ionians or Greeks (*Yavanas*). The Brāhmans of the Middle Land had not only to enforce their supremacy over the powerful warriors of their own kingdoms; they had also to extend it among the outlying Aryan tribes who had never fully accepted their caste system. This must have been a slow work of ages, and it seems to have led to bitter feuds.

There were moments of defeat, indeed, when Brāhman leaders acknowledged the superiority of the warrior caste. 'None is greater,' says the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, 'than the Kshattriya: therefore the Brāhman, under the Kshattriya, worships at the royal sacrifice (*rajasuya*).'¹ It seems likely

¹ It is easy to exaggerate the significance of this passage, and dangerous to generalize from it. The author has to thank Prof. Cowell and the late Dr. John Muir for notes upon its precise application. Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 54 (1878), describes the *rajasuya* as 'the consecration of the king.' The author takes this opportunity of expressing his many obligations to Dr. John Muir, his first teacher in Sanskrit. Dr. Muir, after an honourable career in the Bengal Civil Service, devoted the second half of his life to the study of ancient Indian literature; and his five volumes of *Original Sanskrit Texts* form one of the most valuable and most permanent contributions to Oriental learning made in our time.

The Middle Land, the focus of Brāhmanism.

Aryan tribes beyond the Brāhmanical pale.

Brāhman discomfitures.

that numbers of the Vaisyas or cultivators would take part with the Kshattriyas, and be admitted into their caste. That the contest was not a bloodless one is attested by many legends, especially that of Parasu-Rāma, or 'Rama of the Axe.' This hero, who was divinely honoured as the sixth Incarnation of Vishnu, appeared on the scene after alternate massacres by Brāhman and Kshattriyas had taken place. He fought on the Brāhman side, and covered India with the carcases of the warrior caste. 'Thrice seven times,' says the Sanskrit epic, 'did he clear the earth of the Kshattriyas,' and so ended in favour of the Brāhman the long struggle.

The
Brāhman
supremacy
estab-
lished.

They
make a
wise use
of it.

It is vain to search into the exact historical value of such legends. They suffice to indicate an opposition among the early Aryan kingdoms to the claims of the Brāhman, and the mingled measures of conciliation and force by which that opposition was overcome. The Brāhman caste, having established its power, made a wise use of it. From very ancient times its leaders recognised that if they were to exercise spiritual supremacy, they must renounce earthly pomp. In arrogating the priestly function, they gave up all claim to the royal office. They were divinely appointed to be the guides of nations and the counsellors of kings, but they could not be kings themselves. As the duty of the Sūdra was to serve, of the Vaisya to till the ground and follow middle-class trades or crafts, so the business of the Kshattriya was with the public enemy, and that of the Brāhman with the national gods.

Four
stages of a
Brāhman's
life.

First-stage:
The
Learner
(*brāhma-
chārya*).

(2) The
House-
holder
(*gṛhastha*).

While the Brāhman leaders thus organized the occupations of the commonwealth, they also laid down strict rules for their own caste. They felt that as their functions were mysterious and above the reach of other men, so also must be their lives. Each day brought its hourly routine of ceremonies, studies, and duties to the Brāhman. His whole life was mapped out into four clearly-defined stages of discipline. For his existence, in its full religious significance, commenced not at birth, but on being invested at the close of childhood with the sacred thread of the Twice-Born. His youth and early manhood were to be spent in learning by heart from some Brāhman sage the inspired Scriptures, tending the sacred fire, and serving his preceptor. Having completed his long studies, the young Brāhman entered on the second stage of his life, as a householder. He married and commenced a course of family duties. When he had reared a family, and gained a practical

knowledge of the world, he retired into the forest as a recluse, (3) The Forest-Recluse and practising his religious rites with increased devotion. The (4) The fourth stage was that of the ascetic or religious mendicant, (5) The Ascetic (6) The wholly withdrawn from earthly affairs, and striving to attain a condition of mind which, heedless of the joys, or pains, or wants of the body, is intent only on its final absorption into the deity. The Bráhmaṇ, in this fourth stage of his life, ate nothing but what was given to him unasked, and abode not more than one day in any village, lest the vanities of the world should find entrance into his heart. Throughout his whole existence he practised a strict temperance ; drinking no wine, using a simple diet, curbing the desires, shut off from the tumults of war, and his thoughts fixed on study and contemplation. 'What is this world?' says a Bráhmaṇ sage. 'It is even as the bough of a tree, on which a bird rests for a night, and in the morning flies away.'

It may be objected that so severe a life of discipline could never be led by any large class of men. And no doubt there have been at all times worldly Bráhmaṇs ; indeed, the struggle for existence in modern times has compelled the great majority of the Bráhmaṇs to betake themselves to secular pursuits. But the whole body of Sanskrit literature bears witness to the fact that this ideal life was constantly before their eyes, and that it served to the whole caste as a high standard in its two really essential features of self-culture and self-restraint. Incidents in the history of Buddha, in the 6th century before Christ, show that numbers of Bráhmaṇs at that time lived according to this rule of life. Three hundred years later, the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes, found the Bráhmaṇs discoursing in their groves, chiefly on life and death. The Chinese travellers, down to the 10th century A.D., attest the survival of the Bráhmaṇical pattern of the religious life. The whole monastic system of India, and those vast religious revivals which have given birth to the modern sects of Hinduism, are based on the same withdrawal from worldly affairs. At this day, Bráhmaṇ colleges, called *śāls*, are carried on without fees on the old model, at Nadiyá in Bengal, and elsewhere. As a frequent visitor to these retreats, I can testify to the stringent self-discipline, and to the devotion to learning for its own sake, often protracted till past middle life, and sometimes by grey-haired students.

The Bráhmaṇs, therefore, were a body of men who, in an early stage of this world's history, bound themselves by a rule of life.

of life the essential precepts of which were self-culture and self-restraint. As they married within their own caste, begat children only during their prime, and were not liable to lose the finest of their youth in war, they transmitted their best qualities in an ever-increasing measure to their descendants.

Its hereditary results on the caste.

The Bráhmans of the present day are the result of probably 3000 years of hereditary education and self-restraint; and they have evolved a type of mankind quite distinct from the surrounding population. Even the passing traveller in India marks them out, alike from the bronze-cheeked, large-limbed, leisure-loving Rájput or warrior caste of Aryan descent; and from the dark-skinned, flat-nosed, thick-lipped low-castes of non-Aryan origin, with their short bodies and bullet heads. The Bráhman stands apart from both; tall and slim, with finely modelled lips and nose, fair complexion, high forehead, and somewhat cocoa-nut shaped skull—the man of self-centred refinement. He is an example of a class becoming the ruling power in a country, not by force of arms, but by the vigour of hereditary culture and temperance. One race has swept across India after another, dynasties have risen and fallen, religions have spread themselves over the land and disappeared. But since the dawn of history, the Bráhman has calmly ruled; swaying the minds and receiving the homage of the people, and accepted by foreign nations as the highest type of Indian mankind.

The Bráhman type.

The work done by the Bráhmans for India.

The paramount position which the Bráhmans won, resulted in no small measure from the benefits which they bestowed. For their own Aryan countrymen, they developed a noble language and literature. The Bráhmans were not only the priests and philosophers; they were also the lawgivers, the statesmen, the administrators, the men of science, and the poets of their race. Their influence on the aboriginal peoples, the hill and forest races of India, was not less important. To these rude remnants of the flint and bronze ages they brought in ancient times a knowledge of the metals and of the gods. Within the historical period, the Bráhmans have incorporated the mass of the backward races into the social and religious organization of Hinduism. Such a religious organization, and indeed any well-devised and firmly-accepted system of worship, is a great comfort to a tropical people, hemmed in by the uncontrolled forces of nature, as it teaches them how to propitiate those mysterious powers, and so tends to liberate their minds from the terrors of the unseen.

The reflective life of the Middle Land (*Madhya-desh*) led

the Bráhmans to see that the old gods of the Veda were in reality not supreme beings, but poetic fictions. For when they came to think the matter out, they found that the sun, the aqueous vapour, the encompassing sky, the wind, and the dawn, could not each be separate and supreme creators, but must have all proceeded from one First Cause. They did not shock the religious sense of the less speculative castes by any public rejection of the Vedic deities. They accepted the old 'Shining Ones' of the Veda as beautiful manifestations of the divine power, and continued to decorously conduct the sacrifices in their honour. But among their own caste, the Bráhmans distinctly enunciated the unity of God. To the Veda, the Bráhmanas, and the Sûtras, they added a vast body of theological literature, which the inferences of modern scholarship assign to a prolonged period between 800 B.C. and 1000 A.D. The Upanishads, meaning, according to their great Bráhman expounder, 'The Science of God,' and His 'identity with the soul;' the Aranyakas, or 'Tracts for the Forest-Recluse;' together with the epic and religious poems, the law-codes, and the much later Puránas, or 'Traditions from of Old,'—contain mystic and beautiful doctrines inculcating the unity of God and the immortality of the soul, mingled with less noble dogmas, a vast accumulation of legendary lore, popular tales, and superstitions. The mass of the people were left to believe in four castes, four Vedas, and many deities. But the higher thinkers among the Brahmanas recognised that in the beginning there was but one caste, one Veda, and one God.

The old 'Shining Ones' of the Vedic singers were, indeed, no longer suitable deities, either for the life which the Aryans led after they advanced into Southern Bengal, or for the country in which they lived. The Vedic gods were the good 'friends' of the free-hearted wandering tribes in Northern India, settled on the banks of fordable streams or of not overpowering rivers. In Central and South-Eastern Bengal, the Bráhmans required deities whose nature and attributes would satisfy profoundly reflective minds, and at the same time would be commensurate with the stupendous forces of nature amid which they dwelt. The storm-gods (*Maruts*) of the Veda might suffice to raise the dust-whirlwinds of the Punjab, but they were evidently deities on a smaller scale than those which wielded the irresistible cyclones of Bengal. The rivers, too, had ceased to be merely bountiful givers of wealth, as in the north. Their accumulated waters came down in floods, which buried cities and drowned provinces: wrenching away the villages on their banks, de-

Bráhman
theology.

Its esoteric
and exo-
teric sides.

Rise of the
post-Vedic
gods.

The vast
forces of
nature,

in Bengal.

stroying and reproducing the land with an equal balance. The High-born Dawn, the Genial Sun, the Friendly Day, and the kindly but confused old groups of Vedic deities, accordingly gave place to the conception of one god in his three solemn manifestations as Brahmá the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer and Reproducer.

The Hindu Triad: Each of these three highly-elaborated gods had his prototype among the Vedic deities, and they remain to this hour the Brahmá; three persons of the Hindu Triad. Brahmá, the Creator, was too abstract an idea to make a popular god: and, in a journey through India, the traveller comes on only one great seat of his worship at the present day, on the margin of the sacred lake PUSHKARA, near Ajmere. A single day of Brahmá is Vishnu; 2160 millions of man's years. Vishnu, the Preserver, was a more useful and practical deity. In his ten incarnations, especially in his seventh and eighth, as Ráma and Krishna, under many names and in varied forms, he took the place of the bright Vedic gods. Siva, the third person of the Triad, embodied, as Destroyer and Reproducer, the profound Bráhmanical conception of death at once as a change of state and an entry into new life. He thus obtained, on the one hand, the special reverence of the mystic and philosophic sects among the Bráhmans; while, on the other, his terrible aspects associated him alike with the Rudra, or 'God of Roaring Tempests' of the Veda, and with the blood-loving deities of the non-Aryan tribes. Vishnu and Siva, in their diverse male and female shapes, now form, for practical purposes, the gods of the Hindu population.

Bráhman
philo-
sophy.

The truth is, that the Aryans in India worshipped—first, as they feared; then, as they admired; and finally, as they reasoned. Their earliest Vedic gods were the stupendous phenomena of the visible world; these deities became divine heroes in the epic legends; and they were spiritualized into abstractions by the philosophical schools. From the Vedic era downward—that is to say, during a period which cannot be estimated at less than 3000 years—the Bráhmans have slowly elaborated the forces and splendid manifestations of nature into a harmonious godhead, and constructed a system of belief and worship for the Indian people. They also pondered deeply on the mysteries of life. Whence arose this fabric of the visible world, and whence came we ourselves—we who with conscious minds look out upon it? It is to these questions that philosophy has, among all races, owed her birth; and the Bráhmans arranged their widely diverse answers to them

in six great systems or *darsanas*, literally 'mirrors of knowledge.'

The present sketch can only touch upon the vast body of speculation which thus grew up at least 500 years before Christ. The universal insoluble problems of thought and being, of mind and matter, and of soul as apart from both, of the origin of evil, of the *summum bonum* of life, of necessity and free-will, and of the relations of the Creator to the creature, are in the six schools of Bráhmānical philosophy endlessly discussed.

The Sāṅkhya system of the sage Kapila explains the visible world, by assuming the existence of a primordial matter from all eternity, out of which the universe has, by successive stages, evolved itself. The Yoga school of Patanjali assumes the existence of a primordial soul, anterior to the primeval matter, and holds that from the union of the two the spirit of life (*mahān-ātmā*) arose. The two Vedānta schools ascribe the visible world to a divine act of creation, and assume an omnipotent god as the cause of the existence, the continuance, and the dissolution of the universe. The Nyāya or logical school of Gautama enunciates the method of arriving at truth, and lays special stress on the sensations as the source of knowledge. It is usually classed together with the sixth school, the Vaiśeṣhika, founded by the sage Kanāda, which teaches the existence of a transient world composed of eternal atoms. All the six schools had the same starting-point, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Their sages, as a rule, struggled towards the same end, namely, the liberation of the human soul from the necessity of existence and from the chain of future births, by its absorption into the Supreme Soul, or primordial Essence of the universe.¹

The Bráhmāns, therefore, treated philosophy as a branch of religion. The more practical functions of religion are to lay down a rule of conduct for this life, and to supply some guide to the next. The Bráhmān solutions to the problems of practical religion were self-discipline, alms, sacrifice to and contemplation of the deity. But besides the practical questions of the spiritual life, religion has also intellectual problems, such as the compatibility of evil with the goodness of God, and the unequal distribution of happiness and misery in this life. Bráhmān

¹ Any attempt to fuse into a few lines the vast conflicting masses of Hindu philosophical doctrines must be unsatisfactory. Objections may be taken to compressing the endless sub-divisions and branching doctrines of each school into a single sentence. But space forbids a more lengthy disquisition. The foregoing paragraphs endeavour to fairly condense the accounts which H. H. Wilson, Albrecht Weber, Professor Dowson, and the Rev. K. M. Banarjī give of the six *Darsana* or Schools.

The six
darsanas,
or schools;

(1) The
Sāṅkhya;

(2) The
Yoga;

(3, 4) The
Vedāntas;

(5) The
Nyāya;

(6) The
Vaiśe-
shika.

Summary
of Bráh-
man
religion.

philosophy exhausted the possible solutions of these difficulties, and of most of the other great problems which have since perplexed Greek and Roman sage, mediæval schoolman, and modern man of science. The various hypotheses of Creation, Arrangement, and Development were each elaborated; and the views of physiologists at the present day are a return, with new lights, to the evolution theory of Kapila. His Sankhya system is held by Weber to be the oldest of the six Brāhman schools, and certainly dates from not later than 500 B.C. The works on religion published in the native languages in India in 1877 numbered 1192, besides 56 on Mental and Moral Philosophy. In 1882, the totals had risen to 1698 on Religion and Philosophy; and to 1958 in 1890 in the Native languages, besides 70 in English.

Brāhman science.	The Brāhman had also a circle of sciences of their own. The Science of Language, indeed, had been reduced in India to fundamental principles at a time when the grammarians of the West still treated it on the basis of accidental resemblances; and modern philology dates from the study of Sanskrit by European scholars. Pānini was the architect of Sanskrit grammar; but a long succession of grammarians must have laboured before he reared his enduring fabric. The date of Pānini has been assigned by his learned editor Bohtlingk to about 350 B.C. Weber, reasoning from a statement made (long afterwards) by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, suggests that it may have been later. The grammar of Pānini stands supreme among the grammars of the world, alike for its precision of statement, and for its thorough analysis of the roots of the language and of the formative principles of words. By employing an algebraic terminology it attains a sharp succinctness unrivalled in brevity, but at times enigmatical. It arranges, in logical harmony, the whole phenomena which the Sanskrit language presents, and stands forth as one of the most splendid achievements of human invention and industry. So elaborate is the structure, that doubts have arisen whether its complex rules of formation and phonetic change, its polysyllabic derivatives, its ten conjugations with their multiform aorists and long array of tenses, could ever have been the spoken language of a people. This will be discussed in the chapter on the modern vernaculars of India.
Sanskrit grammar.	
Pānini.	
Sanskrit and Prakrit speech.	

It is certain that a divergence had taken place before the time of Pānini (350 B.C.), and that the spoken language, or *Prākṛita-bhāṣā*, had already assumed simpler forms by the

assimilation of consonants and the curtailment of terminals. The *Sanskrita-bhāṣā*, literally the 'perfected speech,' which Pāṇini stereotyped by his grammar, developed the old Aryan tendency to the accumulation of consonants in words, with an undiminished, or perhaps an increased, array of inflections. In this highly elaborated Sanskrit the Brāhmins wrote. It became the literary language of India,—isolated from the spoken dialects, but prescribed as the vehicle for philosophy, science, and all poetry of serious aim or epic dignity. As the Aryan race mingled with the previous inhabitants of the land, the spoken Prakrits adopted words of non-Aryan origin, and severed themselves from Sanskrit, which for at least 2000 years has been unintelligible to the common people of India. The old synthetic spoken dialects, or Prakrits, gradually underwent in their turn the same decay as Latin did, into analytic vernaculars, and about the same time. The noble parent-languages, alike in India and in Italy, died; but they gave birth to families of vernaculars which can never die.

An intermediate stage of the process may be traced in the Hindu drama, in which persons of good birth speak in Prakritized Sanskrit, and the low-castes in a *bhāṣā*, or patois, between the old Prakrit and the modern dialects. It is chiefly under the popularizing influences of British rule that the Indian vernaculars have become literary languages. Until the last century, Sanskrit, although as dead as Latin so far as the mass of the people were concerned, was the vehicle for all intellectual and artistic effort among the Hindus, their local ballads and the writings of religious reformers excepted. In addition, therefore, to other sources of influence, the Brāhmins were the interpreters of a national literature written in a language unknown to the people.

The priceless inheritance thus committed to their charge they handed down, to a great extent, by word of mouth. Partly from this cause, but chiefly owing to the destructive climate of India, no Sanskrit manuscripts of remote antiquity exist. A fairly continuous series of inscriptions on rocks, pillars, and copper-plates, enable us to trace back the Indian alphabets to the 3rd century B.C. But even the ancient class of existing Sanskrit manuscripts are only four hundred years old, very few have an age exceeding five centuries, and only two date as far back as 1132 and 1008 A.D.¹ The earliest Indian ms.

¹ Footnote 198a to Weber's *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 182 (1878), quoting the report of Rājendrarā Lālā Mitra (1874), and Dr. Rost's letter (1875). Mr. R. Cust, in a note for *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, assigns the year 883

1008 A.D. (1008 A.D.) comes from the cold, dry highlands of Nepál.¹ In Kashmir, birch-bark was extensively used: a substitute for paper also employed in India before 500 A.D., and still surviving in the amulets with verses on them which hang round the neck of Hindus.² Indeed, I have seen birch-bark at this day used by native merchants in the Simla Hills for their account books.

Palm-leaf
MSS. of
Japan.

The palm-leaf was, however, the chief writing material in ancient and mediæval India. Two Sanskrit manuscripts on this substance have been preserved in the Monastery of Horiūzi in Japan since the year 609 A.D. It seems probable that these two strips of palm-leaf were previously the property of a Buddhist monk who migrated from India to China in 520 A.D.³ At any rate, they cannot date later than the first half of the 6th century; and they are the oldest Sanskrit manuscripts yet discovered. They were photographed in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1884.

The
Indian
Alphabets.

With regard to the origin of the Indian alphabets, the evidence is still too undigested to safely permit of cursory statement. Of the two characters in which the Asoka inscriptions were written (250 A.D.), the northern variety, or Ariano-Pāli, is now admitted to be of Phœnician, or at any rate of non-Indian, parentage. The southern variety, or Indo-Pāli, is believed by some scholars to be of Western origin, while others hold it to be an independent Indian alphabet. An attempt has even been made to trace back its letters to an indigenous system of picture-writing, or hieroglyphs, in pre-historic India.⁴

A.D. as the date of the earliest existing Sanskrit MS. at Cambridge. But this remains doubtful. For very interesting information regarding the age of Indian MSS., see the official reports of the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras; particularly Dr. G. Bühler's (extra number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. xxxiv.A, vol. xii. 1877), and Professor P. Peterson's (extra numbers of the same *Journal*, xli. 1883, and xlv. 1884).

¹ The present author has printed and sent to the India Office Library, for public reference, a catalogue of the 332 Sanskrit Buddhist MSS. collected by Mr. B. H. Hodgson in Nepál.

² Dr. Bühler's *Tour in Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, *Journal Bombay Asiatic Society*, xxxiv.A, p. 29, and footnote. 1877.

³ *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, p. 64, vol. i. Part III. (1884.) See also Part I. of the volume, and pp. 3, 4 of Part III.

⁴ By General Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, pp. 52 *et seq.* The attempt cannot be pronounced successful. Dr. Burnell's *Paleogeography of Southern India* exhibits the successive developments of the Indian alphabet. For the growth of the Indian dialects, see Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*; Dr. Rudolph Hearnle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*; two excellent

Quintus Curtius mentions that the Indians wrote on leaves in the time of Alexander (326 B.C.).¹ They do so to this hour. Few, if any, Indian manuscripts on paper belong to a period anterior to the 16th century A.D. The earliest Indian writings are on copper or stone; the mediæval ones generally on strips of palm-leaves. General Cunningham possesses a short inscription, written with ink in the inside of a lid made of soapstone, dating from the time of Asoka, or 256 B.C. The introduction of paper as a writing material may be studied in the interesting collection of Sanskrit manuscripts at the Deccan College, Poona.

Sanskrit literature was the more easily transmitted by word of mouth, from the circumstance that it was almost entirely written in verse. A prose style, simple and compact, had grown up during the early age following that of the Vedic hymns. But Sanskrit literature begins with the later, although still ancient, stage of Aryan development, which superseded the Vedic gods by the Brâhmanical Triad of Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva. When Sanskrit appears definitively on the scene in the centuries preceding the birth of Christ, it adopted once and for all a rhythmic versification alike for poetry, philosophy, science, law, and religion, with the exception of the Beast Fables and the almost algebraic strings of aphorisms in the Sûtras. The Buddhist teachers and authors adhered more closely to the spoken dialects of ancient India, *Prâkrita-bhâshâ*; and they also have retained a prose style. But in classical Sanskrit literature, prose became an arrested development: the *shloka* or verse reigned supreme; and nothing can be clumsier than the attempts at prose in later Sanskrit romances and commentaries. Prose-writing was practically a lost art in India during eighteen hundred years.

Sanskrit dictionaries are written in verse, without alphabetical arrangement, and form a more modern product than Sanskrit grammars. The oldest Indian lexicographer whose work survives, Amara-Sinha, ranked among the 'Nine Gems' at the court of Vikramâditya, one of several monarchs of the same name—assigned to various periods from 56 B.C. to 1050 A.D. The particular Vikramâditya under whom the 'Nine Gems' are said to have flourished, appears from evidence in Hiuen

papers, by Mr. E. L. Brandheht, on the Gaudian Languages, in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* vols. xi. xii.; and Mr. R. N. Cust's *Lingui tic and Oriental Essays*, pp. 144-171, Trubner. For a compendious view of the Indian alphabets, see Faulmann's *Buch der Schrift*, 119-158, Vienna, 1850.

¹ *Alexander in India*, lib. viii. cap. 9, v. 15.

The
Amara-
kosha,
550 A.D. (?)

Tsiang's travels to have lived about 500 to 550 A.D. A well-known memorial verse makes Amara-Sinha a contemporary of Varāha-Mihira, the astronomer, 504 A.D. The other Sanskrit lexicons which have come down belong to the 11th, 12th, and subsequent centuries A.D. Those centuries, indeed, seem to mark an era of industry in Sanskrit dictionary-making; and there is little inherent evidence in Amara-Sinha's work (the Amara-kosha) to show that, in its present form, it was separated from them by any wide interval. The number of works on Language published in 1877 in the Indian tongues, was 604. in 1882, 738; and in 1890, 1039.

Brāhman
astronomy.

Independent
period, to
500 B.C.

The astronomy of the Brāhmans has formed alternately the subject of excessive admiration and of misplaced contempt. The truth is, that there are three periods of Sanskrit astronomy (*Jyoti-sāstra*). The first period belongs to Vedic times, and has left a moderate store of independent observations and inferences worked out by the Brāhmans. The Vedic poets had arrived at a tolerably correct calculation of the solar year, which they divided into 360 days, with an intercalary month every five years. They were also acquainted with the phases of the moon; they divided her pathway through the heavens into 27 or 28 lunar mansions; and they had made observations of a few of the fixed stars. The order in which the lunar mansions are enumerated is one which must have been established 'somewhere between 1472 and 536 B.C.' (Weber). The planets were also an independent, although a later, discovery, bordering on the Vedic period. At first seven, afterwards nine in number, they bear names of Indian origin; and the generic term for planet, *graha*, the seizer, had its source in primitive Sanskrit astrology. The planets are mentioned for the first time, perhaps, in the Taittiriya-Aryanaka. The Laws of Manu, however, are silent regarding them; but their worship is inculcated in the later code of Yājñavalkya. The zodiacal signs and the Jyotisha, or so-called Vedic Calendar, —with its solstitial points referring to 1181 B.C., or to a period still more remote,—seem to have been constructed, or at any rate completed, in an age long subsequent to the Veda. The influence of the Chinese observers upon Indian astronomy, especially with regard to the lunar mansions, is an undecided but a pregnant question.

Second
period;
Greek
influences,
327 B.C. to
150 A.D.

The second period of Brāhman astronomy dates from the Greek and Greco-Bactrian invasions of India, during the three centuries before Christ. The influence of Greece infused new life into the astronomy of the Hindus. The Indian astrono-

mers of this period speak of the Yavanas, or Greeks, as their instructors; and one of their five systems is entitled the Romaka-Siddhānta.¹ Their chief writer in the 6th century, Varāha-Mihira, 504 A.D., gives the Greek names of the planets side by side with their Indian appellations; and one of his works bears a Greek title, Horá-Sāstra (ὥρη). The Greek division of the heavens into zodiacal signs, decani, and degrees, enabled the Brāhmins to cultivate astronomy in a scientific spirit; and they elaborated a new system of their own. They rectified the succession of the Sanskrit lunar mansions, which had ceased to be in accordance with the actual facts, transferring the last two of the old order to the first two places in the new.

In certain points the Brāhmins advanced beyond Greek astronomy. Their fame spread throughout the West, and found entrance into the Chronicon Paschale (commenced about 330 A.D.; revised, under Heraclius, 610–641 A.D.). In the 8th and 9th centuries, the Arabs became their disciples, borrowed the lunar mansions in the revised order from the Hindus, and translated the Sanskrit astronomical treatises *Siddhāntas* under the name of *Sindhends*. The Brāhmin astronomer of the 6th century, Varāha-Mihira, was followed by a famous sage, Brahma-gupta, in the 7th (664 A.D.); and by a succession of distinguished workers, ending with Bhāskara, in the 12th (1150 A.D.).

Best age of Brāhmin astronomy.

6th century A.D.

The Muhammadan conquest of India then put a stop to further independent progress. After the death of Bhāskara, Indian astronomy gradually declined, and owed any occasional impulse of vitality to Arabic science. Hindu observers of note arose at rare intervals. In the 18th century (1710–1735), Rājā Jai Singh II. constructed a set of observatories at his capital Jaipur, and at Delhi, Benares, Muttra, and Ujjain. His observations enabled him to correct the astronomical tables of De la Hire, published in 1702, before the French accepted the Newtonian Astronomy. The Rājā left, as a monument of his skill, lists of stars collated by himself, known as the Tij Muhammad Shāhi, or Tables of Muhammad Shāh, the Emperor of Delhi, by whose command he undertook the reformation of the Indian Calendar. His observatory at Benares survives to this day; and elsewhere, his huge astronomical structures testify, by their ruins, to the ambitious character of his observations.

Third period: decline under Muhammadan rule—1150–1800 A.D.

Jai Singh's observatories, 1728.

Rājā of Jaipur's observatories, 1728.

¹ That is, the Grecian Siddhānta. Another, the Paulisa-Siddhānta, is stated by Al Biruni to have been composed by Paulus al Yunāni, and is probably to be regarded, says Weber, as a translation of the Εἰρηγωγῆ of Paulus Alexandrinus. But see Weber's own footnote, No. 277, p. 253. *Hist. Ind. Lit.* (1878).

Nevertheless, Hindu astronomy steadily declined. From Vedic times it had linked omens and portents with the study of the heavens. Under the Muhammadan dynasties it degenerated into a tool of trade in the hands of almanac-makers, genealogists, astrologers, and charlatans. It is doubtful how far even Rājā Jai Singh's observations were conducted by native astronomers. It is certain that the Catholic missionaries contributed greatly to his reputation; and that since the 16th century the astronomy of the Hindus, as of the Chinese, is deeply indebted to the science of the Jesuits.

Brāhman
mathe-
matics.

In algebra and arithmetic, the Brāhmins attained to a high degree of proficiency independent of Western aid. To them we owe the invention of the numerical symbols on the decimal system: the Indian figures 1 to 9 being abbreviated forms of the initial letters of the numerals themselves,¹ and the zero, or 0, representing the first letter of the Sanskrit word for empty (*śūnya*). The correspondence of the numeral figures with the initial letters of their Indian names can be clearly traced in the Lūndi character, a cursive form of writing still used in the Punjab, especially among the hereditary trading castes. The Arabs borrowed these figures from the Hindus, called them the 'Indian cyphers,' and transmitted them to Europe. The Arabian mathematicians, indeed, frequently extol the learning of the Indians; and the Sanskrit term for the apex of a planet's orbit seems to have passed into the Latin translations of the Arabic astronomers.² The works on Mathematics and Mechanical Science, published in the native languages in India in 1877, numbered 89; in 1882, 166; and 225 in 1890, besides 35 in English.

Brāhman
medicine.

The medical science³ of the Brāhmins was also an independent development. The national astronomy and the national medicine of India alike derived their first impulses from the exigencies of the national worship. Observations of the heavenly bodies were required to fix the dates of the recurring festivals; anatomical knowledge took its origin in the dissection of the victim at the sacrifice, with a view to dedicating the different parts to the proper gods. The Hindus ranked their medical science as an *upā-veda*, or a supplementary revelation, under the title of Ayur-Veda, and ascribed it to the gods.

Its inde-
pendent
develop-
ment, 4th
century
B.C. to 8th
century
A.D.:

¹ Dr. Burnell, however, questioned this generally accepted view, and suggested that the old cave numerals of India are themselves of Greek origin.

² The Sanskrit *nūna* has become the *aux* (gen. *augis*) of the Latin translators (Reinaud, p. 525; Weber, p. 237).

³ For authorities on this subject, see footnote, p. 152.

But their earliest medical authorities belong to the Sūtra period, or later scholastic development, of the Yājur-Veda. The specific diseases whose names occur in Pāṇini's Grammar indicate that medical studies had made progress before his time (350 B.C.). The chapter on the human body in the earliest Sanskrit dictionary, the Amara-kosha (*circa* 550 A.D.), presupposes a systematic cultivation of the science. The works of the great traditional Indian physicians, Charaka and Susruta, were translated into Arabic not later than the 8th century.

Unlike the astronomical treatises of the Brāhmanas, the Hindu medical works never refer to the Yavanas, or Greeks, as authorities; and, with one doubtful exception, they contain no names which point to a foreign origin. The chief seat of the science was at Benares, far to the east of Greek influence in India. Indeed, Indian pharmacy employed the weights and measures of Provinces still farther to the south-east, namely, Magadha and Kalinga. Arabic medicine was founded on the translations from the Sanskrit treatises, made by command of the Kaliphs of Bagdad, 750-960 A.D. European medicine, down to the 17th century, was based upon the Arabic; and the name of the Indian physician Charaka repeatedly occurs in the Latin translations of Avicenna (Ibn Sina), Rhazes (Al Rasi), and Serapion (Ibn Serabi).

Indian medicine dealt with the whole area of the science. It described the structure of the body, its organs, ligaments, muscles, vessels, and tissues. The *materia medica* of the Hindus embraces a vast collection of drugs belonging to the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, many of which have been adopted by European physicians. Their pharmacy contained ingenious processes of preparation, with elaborate directions for the administration and classification of medicines. Much attention was devoted to hygiene, to the regimen of the body, and to diet.

The surgery of the ancient Indian physicians appears to have been bold and skilful. They conducted amputations, arresting the bleeding by pressure, a cup-shaped bandage, and boiling oil. They practised lithotomy; performed operations in the abdomen and uterus: cured hernia, fistula, piles; set broken bones and dislocations; and were dexterous in the extraction of foreign substances from the body. A special branch of surgery was devoted to rhinoplasty, or operations for improving deformed ears and noses, and forming new ones: a useful operation in a country where mutilation formed part of the

becomes
the basis
of Arabic
and
European
medicine.

Scope of
Indian
medicine.

Indian
surgery.

Nose-
making

judicial system, and one which European surgeons have borrowed. It is practised with much success in the Residency Hospital at Indore, Holkar's capital; as jealous husbands in Native States still resort, in spite of more humane laws, to their ancient remedy against a suspected or unfaithful wife. This consists in throwing the woman violently down on the ground and slashing off her nose. I have seen a woman in hospital under the process of new nose-making, and other successful examples of the operation when completed.

Operation
for neur-
algia.

The ancient Indian surgeons also mention a cure for neuralgia, analogous to the modern cutting of the fifth nerve above the eyebrow. They devoted great care to the making of surgical instruments, and to the training of students by means of operations performed on wax spread out on a board, or on the tissues and cells of the vegetable kingdom, and upon dead animals. They were expert in midwifery, not shrinking from the most critical operations; and in the diseases of women and children. Their practice of physic embraced the classification, causes, symptoms, and treatment of diseases,—diagnosis and prognosis. The maladies thus dealt with have been arranged into 10 classes, namely—those affecting (1) the humours; (2) the general system, including fevers; (3 to 9) the several organs and parts of the body; and (10) trivial complaints. Considerable advances were also made in veterinary science, and monographs exist on the diseases of horses and elephants.

Veterinary
surgery.

Best age
of Indian
medicine,
250 B.C. to
750 A.D.

The best era of Indian medicine was contemporary with the ascendancy of Buddhism (250 B.C. to 750 A.D.), and did not long survive it. The science was studied in the chief centres of Buddhist civilisation, such as the great monastic university of Nalanda, near Gayá. The ancient Bráhmans may have derived the rudiments of anatomy from the dissection of the sacrifice; but the public hospitals which the Buddhist princes established in every city were probably the true schools of Indian medicine. A large number of cases were collected in them for continuous observation and treatment; and they supplied opportunities for the study of disease similar to those which the Greek physicians obtained at their hospital camps around the mineral springs. Hippocrates was a priest-physician, indeed the descendant of a line of priest-physicians, practising at such a spring; and the traditional Charaka was in many ways his Indian counterpart. To the present day, works on Hindu medicine frequently commence their sections with the words, 'Charaka says.' This half-mythical authority, and Susruta,

Buddhist
public
hospitals.

furnish the types of the ancient Indian physician, and probably belong, so far as they represent real personages, to about the commencement of the Christian era. Both appear as Brāhmanas: Susruta being, according to tradition, the son of the sage Visvāmitra (p. 134); and Charaka, of another 'Veda-learned Muni.'

As Buddhism passed into modern Hinduism (750-1000 A.D.), and the shackles of caste were reimposed with an iron rigour, the Brāhmanas more scrupulously avoided contact with blood or morbid matter. They withdrew from the medical profession, and left it entirely in the hands of the Vaidyas, a lower caste, sprung from a Brāhman father and a mother of the Vaisya or cultivating class. These in their turn shrank more and more from touching dead bodies, and from those ancient operations on 'the carcase of a bullock,' etc., by which alone surgical skill could be acquired. The abolition of the public hospitals, on the downfall of Buddhism, must also have proved a great loss to Indian medicine. The series of Muhammadan conquests, commencing about 1000 A.D., brought in a new school of foreign physicians, who derived their knowledge from the Arabic translations of the Sanskrit medical works of the best period. These Musalmān doctors, or *hakims*, monopolized the patronage of the Muhammadan princes and nobles of India. The decline of Hindu medicine went on until it has sunk into the hands of the village *kābirāj*, whose knowledge consists of jumbled fragments of the Sanskrit texts, and a by no means contemptible pharmacopœia; supplemented by spells, fasts, and quackery. While the dissection of the human body under Vesalius and Fabricius was giving birth to modern medicine in the 17th century, the best of the Hindu physicians were working upon the recollections of a long past age without any new lights.

On the establishment of medical colleges in India by the British Government, in the middle of the present century, the Muhammadan youth took advantage of them in disproportionately large numbers. But the Brāhmanas and intellectual classes of the Hindus soon realized that those colleges were the doors to an honourable and a lucrative career. Having accepted the change, they strove with their characteristic industry and acuteness to place themselves at the head of it. In 1879, of the 1661 students in British medical schools throughout India, 950 were Hindus and 284 were Muhammadans, while the remaining 427 included Native Christians, Pārsis, Eurasians, Europeans, and all others. In 1891, these numbers had increased to 1677 Hindus, 336 Muhammadans.

Decline of
Hindu
medicine;

750 to
1850 A.D.

The
village
kābirāj.

English
medical
colleges,
in India.

Revival of
medicine
in India

and 538 Native Christians, Parsis, Eurasians, Europeans, and others; total, 2551, in 1891, for British India alone. Of three Indian youths studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh when I visited that city, one belonged to the Káyasth or Hindu writer caste, another to the Vaidya or hereditary physician caste, and the third was a Brāhman. The number of medical works¹ published in the native languages of India in 1877 amounted to 130; in 1882 to 212, besides 87 on Natural Science, not including Mathematics and Mechanics; and in 1890 to 228, besides 117 on Natural Science: total, 345.

Hindu art
of war.

The Brāhman regarded not only medicine, but also the arts of war, music, and architecture, as *upa-vedas*, or supplementary parts of their divinely-inspired knowledge. Viswāmitra, the Vedic sage of royal warrior birth, who in the end attained to Brāhmanhood (p. 134), was the first teacher of the art of war (*dhanur-veda*). The Sanskrit epics prove that strategy had attained to the position of a recognised science before the birth of Christ, and the later Agni Purāna devotes long sections to its systematic treatment.

Indian
music.

The Indian art of music (*gāndhārva-veda*) was destined to exercise a wider influence. A regular system of notation had been worked out before the age of Pānini (350 B.C.), and the seven notes were designated by their initial letters. This notation passed from the Brāhman through the Persians to Arabia, and was thence introduced into European music by Guido d'Arezzo at the beginning of the 11th century.² Some, indeed, suppose that our modern word *gamut* comes, not from

¹ For monographs on this interesting branch of Indian science, see the articles of Dr. E. Haas, 'Ueber die Ursprünge der Indischen Medizin. mit besonderem Bezug auf Su-ruta,' and 'Hippokrates und die Indische Medizin des Mittelalters,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1876, p. 617, and 1877, p. 647; the 'Indische Medizin, Karaka,' of Professor Roth in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for 1872, p. 441; the *Review of the History of Medicine among the Asiatics*, by T. A. Wise, M.D., 2 vols., 1867; H. H. Wilson's little essay, *Works*, iii. 269 (ed. 1864); the excellent summary in Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, Trübner, 1878; Dr. Watt's *Dist. Economic Products of India* (Calcutta, 1885, *et seq.*); and Dr. Allan Webb's *Lecture on The Historical Relations of Ancient Hindu with Greek Medicine* (Calcutta, 1850). The Calcutta editions of Susruta by Madhusūdana Gupta (in 1835-36 and 1868), and of Charaka by Gangādhara Kavirijā (1868, *et seq.*), contain the original materials.

² Von Bohlen, *Das Alte Indien*, ii. 195 (1830); Benfey's *Indien* (Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*, xvii. 1840); quoted by Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 272, footnote 315 (1878).

the Greek letter gamma, but from the Indian *gāma* (in Prākṛit; in Sanskrit, *grāma*), literally 'a musical scale.'

Hindu music, after a period of excessive elaboration, sank under the Muhammadans into a state of arrested development. Of the 36 chief musicians in the time of Akbar, only 5 were Hindus. Not content with tones and semi-tones, the Indian musicians employ a more minute sub-division, together with a number of sonal modifications, which the Western ear neither recognises nor enjoys. Thus they divide the octave into 22 sub-tones, instead of the 12 tones and semi-tones of the European scale. This is one of several fundamental differences, but it alone suffices to render Indian music barbaric to us; giving it the effect of a Scotch ballad in a minor key, sung intentionally a little out of tune.

Melodies which the Indian composer pronounces to be the perfection of harmony, and which have for ages touched the hearts and fired the imagination of Indian audiences, are condemned as discord by the European critic. The Hindu ear has been trained to recognise modifications of sound which the European ear refuses to take pleasure in. Our ears, on the other hand, have been taught to expect harmonic combinations for which Indian music substitutes different combinations of its own. The Indian musician declines altogether to be judged by the few simple Hindu airs which the English ear can appreciate. It is, indeed, impossible to adequately represent the Indian system by the European notation; and the full range of its effects can only be rendered by Indian instruments — a vast collection of sound-producers, slowly elaborated during 2000 years to suit the special requirements of Hindu music. The complicated structure of its musical modes (*rāgs*) rests upon three separate systems, one of which consists of five, another of six, and the other of seven notes. It preserves in a living state some of the early forms which puzzle the student of Greek music, side by side with the most complicated developments.

Patriotic Hindus have of late endeavoured to bring about a musical revival upon the old Sanskrit basis. About the year 1870, Rājā Sir Surendra Mohan Tagore of Calcutta commenced a long series of interesting works on Indian music in the English tongue, adopting as far as possible the European notation. He has trained an orchestra to illustrate the art; and presented complete collections of Hindu instruments to the Conservatoire at Paris, and to other institutions in Europe. One of the earliest subjects which the new movement took as

Its peculiarities.

Revival of
Hindu
music.

its theme, was the celebration of the Queen of England and her ancestors, in a Sanskrit volume entitled the *Victoria-Gîtika* (Calcutta, 1875). No Englishman has yet brought an adequate acquaintance with the *technique* of Indian instrumentation to the study of Hindu music. The art still awaits investigation by some eminent Western professor; and the contempt with which Europeans in India regard it, merely proves their ignorance of the system on which Hindu music is built up.

Indian
architec-
ture.

Indian architecture (*artha-sâstra*¹), although also ranked as an *upa-veda* or supplementary part of inspired learning, derived its development from Buddhist rather than from Brâhmanical impulses. A brick altar sufficed for the Vedic ritual. The Buddhists were the great stone-builders of India. Their monasteries and shrines exhibit the history of the art during twenty-two centuries, from the earliest cave structures and rock-temples, to the latest Jain erections, dazzling in stucco and overloaded with ornament. It seems probable that our Christian churches owe their steeples indirectly to the Buddhist topes. The Greco-Bactrian kingdom profoundly influenced architecture and sculpture in Northern India; the Musalmân conquerors brought in new forms and requirements of their own. Nevertheless, Hindu art powerfully asserted itself in the imperial works of the Mughals, and has left memorials which extort the admiration and astonishment of our age.

Greco-
Bactrian
and

Muham-
madan
influences.

The Hindu builders derived from the Muhammadans a lightness of structure which they did not formerly possess. The Hindu palace-architecture of Gwalior, the Indian-Muhammadan mosques and mausoleums of Agra and Delhi, with several of the older Hindu temples of Southern India, stand unrivalled for grace of outline and elaborate wealth of ornament. The Tâj-Mahal at Agra justifies Heber's exclamation, that its builders had designed like Titans, and finished like jewellers. The open-carved marble windows and screens at Ahmadâbâd, which look like open lace-work in marble, furnish examples of the skilful ornamentation which beautifies every Indian building, from the cave monasteries of the Buddhist period downward. They also show with what plasticity the Hindu architects adapted their Indian ornamentation to the structural requirements of the Muhammadan mosque.

A beautiful example of Indian domestic architecture and interior decoration, the Darbâr Room in the new wing of Osborne, has just been finished for Her Majesty by Râm Singh, a native of the Punjab, entirely from his own designs (1892).

¹ Specifically, *nirmâna-sûtram*, or *nirmâna-vidyâ*.

English decorative art in our day has borrowed largely from Indian forms and patterns. The exquisite scrolls on the rock-^{Indian decorative art.} temples at Karli and Ajanta, the delicate marble tracery and flat wood-carving of Western India, the harmonious blending of forms and colours in the fabrics of Kashmir, have contributed to the restoration of taste in England. Indian art-work, when faithful to native designs, still obtains the highest honours at the international exhibitions of Europe. In pictorial art, the Hindus never made much progress, except in miniature-painting, for which perspective is not required. But some of the book-illustrations, executed in India under Persian ^{Indian painting.} impulses, are full of spirit and beauty. The Royal library at Windsor contains the finest existing examples in this by-path of art. The noble manuscript of the *Sháh Jahán Námah*, purchased in Oudh for £1200 in the last century, and now in possession of Her Majesty, will itself amply repay a visit. I have also seen a fine example of a profusely illustrated manuscript (*Timúr's Biography*) at Montreal, the seat of Earl Amherst in Kent. The specimens at the South Kensington Museum do not adequately represent Indian painting. But they are almost everything that could be desired as regards Indian ornamental design, including Persian bookbinding, and several of the minor arts.¹

'In India,' writes Sir George Birdwood,² 'the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, Ráma and Sitá. Hanumán and Rávana, Vishnu and the Garuda, Krishna and Rádha, and the Kauravas and Pándavas are everywhere—in sculptured stone about the temples, and on the carved woodwork of houses; on the graven brass and copper of domestic utensils, or painted in fresco on walls: Ráma, like Vishnu, dressed in yellow, the colour of joy; Lakshmana in purple, Bharata in green, and Satrugna in red. The figures carved on the ivory combs used by the women, and painted on the back of their looking-

¹ I gladly take this opportunity of recommending *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (Quaritch, London) to all who desire to study the best examples of Indian art, or to accumulate a delightful collection of Indian art-illustrations. Sir George Birdwood's two monographs are still the standard works on Indian art-work, namely: (1) *Hindúism to the Indian Court of the British Section of the Universal Exhibition of Paris, 1878*; by George C. M. Birdwood, M.D., C.S.I. Published by the British Royal Commission, Canada Buildings, London; and 40 Avenue de Suffren, Paris, 1878. (2) *The Industrial Arts of India*; by George C. M. Birdwood, M.D., C.S.I. Published for the Committee of the Council on Education, by Messrs. Chapman & Hall, 1880.

² MS. kindly furnished to me from *The Industrial Art of India*, p. 32.

glasses, or wrought in their jewelry, and bed-coverings, and robes, are all illustrations of characters, scenes, and incidents, from one or other of these heroic histories. From them the later dramatists and poets have taken all their stories and songs, the historians their family genealogies, and the Brahmins their popular polytheism and moral teaching. They contain and show in a poetical form the whole political, religious, and social life of India, past and present.

Brāhman law.

While the Brāhmins claimed religion, theology, and philosophy as their special domain, and the chief sciences and arts as supplementary sections of their divinely-inspired knowledge, they secured their social supremacy by codes of law. Their

Grihyā-Sūtras, 500 B.C. (?)

earliest Dharma-sāstras, or legal treatises, belong to the Grihyā-Sūtra period, a scholastic outgrowth from the Veda. But their two great digests, upon which the fabric of Hindu jurisprudence has been built up, are of later date. The first of these, the

The code of Manu.

code of Manu, is separated from the Vedic era by a series of Brāhmanical developments, of which we possess only a few of the intermediate links. It is a compilation of the customary law, current probably about the 5th century B.C., and exhibits the social organization which the Brāhmins, after their successful struggle for the supremacy, had established in the Middle Land of Bengal. The Brāhmins, indeed, claim for their laws a divine origin, and ascribe them to the first Manu or Aryan man, 30 millions of years ago. But as a matter of fact, the laws of Manu are the result of a series of attempts to codify the usages of some not very extensive centre of Brāhmanism in Northern India. They form a metrical digest of local customs, condensed by degrees from a legendary mass of 100,000 couplets (*ślokas*) into 2685. They may possibly have been reduced to a written code with a view to securing the system of caste against the popular movement of Buddhism; and they seem designed to secure a rigid fixity for the privileges of the Brāhmins.

The age of Manu.

The date of the code of Manu has formed a favourite subject for speculation from the appearance of Sir William Jones' translation¹ downwards. The history of those speculations is typical of the modernizing process which scholarship has applied to the old pretensions of Indian literature. I have refrained from anything approaching to dogmatic assertion in regard to the dates assigned to Vedic and Sanskrit works.

¹ Calcutta, 1794; followed by Hattner's translation into German 1797.

as such assertions would involve disquisitions quite beyond the scope of this volume.

It may therefore be well to take the code of Manu as a single instance of the uncertainty which attaches to the date of one of the best known of Indian treatises. Sir William Jones accepted for it a remote antiquity of 1250 B.C. to 500 B.C. Schlegel was confident that it could not be later than 1000 B.C. Professor Monier Williams puts it at 500 B.C., and Johaentgen assigns 350 B.C. as the lowest possible date. Dr. Burnell, in his posthumous edition of the code,¹ discusses the question with admirable learning, and his conclusions must, for the present, be accepted as authoritative. As already pointed out, the code of Manu, or Mánava-Dharmasāstra, is not in its existing metrical form an original treatise, but a versified recension of an older prose code. In its earlier shape it belonged to the Sūtra period, probably extending from the 6th to the 2nd century B.C. Dr. Burnell's investigations indicate that our present code of Manu was a popular work intended for princes or Rājās, and their officials, rather than a technical treatise for the Brāhmins. He shows that the present code must have been compiled between 100 and 500 A.D.; and he thinks the latter date the more probable one, viz. 500 A.D. 'It thus appears,' concludes Dr. Burnell, 'that the text belongs to an outgrowth of the Brāhmanical literature, which was intended for the benefit of the kings, when the Brāhmanical civilisation had begun to extend itself over the south of India.'²

The second great code of the Hindus, called after Vājñavalkya, belongs to a period when Buddhism had established itself, and probably to a territory where it was beginning to succumb to the Brāhmanical reaction. It represents the Brāhmanical side of the long religious controversy (although a section of it deals with the organization of Buddhist monasteries), refers to the execution of deeds on metal plates, and altogether marks an advance in legal precision. It is based more specially on the customs and state of society in the kingdom of Mithila, now the Tirhut and Purniah Districts, after the Aryans had securely settled themselves in the Gangetic Provinces to the east and south-east of their old Middle Land of Bengal. The Mitāksharā commentary of the law which bears the name of Vājñavalkya is in force over almost all India

¹ *The Ordinances of Manu*, by the late Arthur Coke Burnell, Ph.D., C.I.E., of the Madras Civil Service. Trübner, 1884. Pp. xv.-xlvii.

² *Idem*, xxvii.

except Lower Bengal proper : and the Hindus, as a whole, allow to Yājñavalkya an authority only second to that of Manu. Yājñavalkya's code was compiled apparently not later than the 6th or 7th century A.D. (although a well-known recension is ascribed to the 11th century). It is right again to mention that much earlier periods have been assigned to Yājñavalkya (as to Manu) than those adopted here. Duncker still accepts the old date of 600 B.C. as that at which Manu's code 'must have been put together and written down.'¹

Scope of
Hindu
law.

These codes deal with Hindu law in three branches, namely—(1) domestic and civil rights and duties ; (2) the administration of justice ; (3) purification and penance. They stereotyped the unwritten usages which regulated the family life and social organization of the old Aryan communities in and around the Middle Land of Bengal. They did not pretend to supply a body of law for all the numerous races of India, but only for Hindu communities of the Brāhmanical type. It is doubtful whether they correctly represented the actual customary law even among the Hindu communities in the Middle Land of the Ganges. For they were evidently designed to assert and maintain the special privileges of the Brāhmins. This they effected by a rigid demarcation of the employments of the people, each caste or division of a caste having its own hereditary occupation assigned to it ; by stringent rules against the intermingling of the castes in marriage ; by forbidding the higher castes, under severe penalties, to eat or drink or hold social intercourse with the lower ; and by punishing the lower castes with cruel penances, for defiling by their touch the higher castes, or infringing on their privileges.

Its rigid
caste
system.

Legal
division of
the people.

They exhibit the Hindu community in the four ancient classes of priests, warriors, cultivators, and serfs (*Sūdras*). But they disclose that this old Aryan classification failed to represent the actual facts even among the Aryan communities in Northern India. They admit that the mass of the people did not belong to any one of the four castes, and they very inadequately ascribe it to concubinage or illicit connections.

The actual
division of
the people.

The ancient Brāhmanical communities in Northern India, as revealed by the law-codes, consisted—First, of an Aryan element divided into priests, warriors, and cultivators, all of whom bore the proud title of the Twice-Born, and wore the sacred thread. Second, the subjugated races, 'the once-born' Sūdras. Third, a vast residue termed the Varna-sankara, literally the 'mingled colours ;' a great but uncertain number

¹ *Ancient History of India*, by Professor Max Duncker, p. 195, ed. 1881.

of castes, exceeding 300, to whom was assigned a mixed descent from the four recognised classes. The Census of India proves that the same division remains the fundamental one of the Hindu community to this day.

When the Bráhmans spread their influence eastward and southward from the Middle Land of Bengal, they carried their laws with them. The number of their sacred law-books (Dharma-sástras) amounted to at least fifty-six, and separate schools of Hindu law sprang up. Thus the *Dáyabhága* version of the Law of Inheritance prevails in Bengal; while the *Mitákshará* commentary on *Yājñavalkya* is current in Madras and throughout Southern and Western India. But all modern recensions of Hindu law rest upon the two codes of Manu or of *Yājñavalkya*; and these codes, as we have seen, only recorded the usages of certain Bráhmanical centres in the north, and perhaps did not fairly record even them.

As the Bráhmans gradually moulded the population of India into Hinduism, such law-codes proved too narrow a basis for dealing with the rights, duties, and social organization of the composite people. Later Hindu legislators accordingly inculcated the recognition of the local usages or land-law of each part of the country, and of each class or tribe. While binding together and preserving the historical unity of the Aryan twice-born castes by systems of law founded on their ancient codes, they made provision for the customs and diverse stages of civilisation of the ruder peoples of India, over whom they established their ascendancy. By such provisions, alike in religion and in law, the Bráhmans incorporated the Indian races into that loosely coherent mass known as the Hindu population.

It is to this plastic element that Hinduism owes its success; and it is an element which English administrators have sometimes overlooked. The races of British India exhibit many stages of domestic institutions, from the polyandry of the Náirs to the polygamy of the Kulin Bráhmans. The structure of their rural organization varies, from the nomadic husbandry of the hillmen, to the long chain of tenures which in Bengal descends from the landlord through a series of middle men to the actual tiller of the soil. Every stage in industrial progress is represented; from the hunting tribes of the Central Plateau to the strong trade-guilds of Gujarát. The Hindu legislators recognised that each of these diverse stages of social development had its own usages and unwritten law. Even the code of Manu acknowledged custom as a source of law.

Incor-
poration
of local
customs
into
Hinduism.

and admitted its binding force when not opposed to express law. Vrihaspati says, 'The laws (*dharma*) practised by the various countries, castes, and tribes, they are to be preserved; otherwise the people are agitated.' Devala says, 'What gods there are in any country, . . . and whatsoever be the custom and law anywhere, they are not to be despised there: the law there is such.' Varāha-Mihira says, 'The custom of the country is first to be considered: what is the rule in each country, that is to be done.' A learned English judge in Southern India thus summed up the texts: 'By custom only can the Dharma-sāstra [Hindu law] be the rule of others than Brāhmins [who form only about one-thirtieth of the population of the Madras Presidency]; and even in the case of Brāhmins it is very often superseded by custom.'¹

Perils of
modern
codifica-
tion.

The English, on assuming the government of India, wisely declared that they would administer justice according to the customs of the people. But our High Courts enforce the Brāhmanical codes with a comprehensiveness and precision unknown in ancient India. Thus in Bengal, the non-Hindu custom of *sagai*, by which deserted or divorced wives among the lower castes marry again, was lately tried according to 'the spirit of Hindu law;' while in Madras, judges have pointed out a serious divergence between the Hindu law as now administered, and the actual usages of the people. Those usages are unwritten and uncertain. The Hindu law is printed in many accessible forms;² and Hindu barristers are ever pressing its principles upon our courts. The Hindu law is apt to be applied to non-Hindu, or semi-Hindu, castes; and to override their non-Hindu or only semi-Hinduized customs.

Efforts at comprehensive codification in British India are thus surrounded by special difficulties. For it would be improper to give the fixity of a code to all the unwritten half-fluid usages current among the 300 unhomogeneous castes of Hindus; while it might be fraught with future injustice

¹ Dr. Burnell's *Dāya-vibhāṣā*, Introd. p. xv. See also *Hindu Law as administered by the High Court of Judicature at Madras*, by J. Nelson, M.A., District Judge of Cuddapah, chaps. iii. and iv. (Madras, 1877); and *Journal Roy. As. Soc.* pp. 208-236 (April 1881).

² For the latest treatment of Hindu law from the philosophical, scholarly, and practical points of view, see the third edition of West and Buhler's *Digest of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, Partition, and Adoption*. 2 vols. Bombay, 1884. From the writings of Mayne, Burnell, and Nelson in Madras, and those of Sir Raymond West and Dr. Buhler in Bombay, a new and more just conception of the character of Hindu law and of its relations to Indian custom may be said to date.

to exclude any of them. Each age has the gift of adjusting its institutions to its actual wants, especially among tribes whose customs have not been reduced to written law. Many of those customs will, if left to themselves, die out. Others of them, which prove suited to the new social developments under British rule, will live. A code should stereotype the survival of the fittest: but the process of natural selection must be the work of time, and not an act of express legislation.

This has been recognised from time to time by the ablest of Anglo-Indian codifiers. They restrict the word code to the systematic arrangement of the rules relating to some well-marked section of juristic rights, or to some executive department of the administration of justice. 'In its larger sense,' write the Indian Law Commissioners in 1879, 'of a general assemblage of all the laws of a community, no attempt has yet been made in this country to satisfy the conception of a code. The time for its realization has manifestly not arrived.' The number of works on Law, published in the native languages of India in 1877, was 165; in 1882, 181; and 117 in 1890, besides 77 in English, total, 194.

The Bráhmans were not merely the depositaries of the sacred books, the philosophy, the science, and the laws of the ancient Hindu commonwealth; they were also the creators and custodians of its secular literature. They had a practical monopoly of Vedic learning, and their policy was to trace back every branch of knowledge and of intellectual effort to the Veda. In this policy they were aided by the divergence which, as we have seen, arose at a very early date between the written and spoken languages of India. Sanskrit literature, apart from religion, philosophy, and law, consists mainly of two great epics, the drama, and a vast body of legendary, erotic, and mystical poetry.

The venerable epic of the Mahábhárata ranks first. The orthodox legend ascribes it to the sage Vyása, who, according to Bráhman chronology, compiled the inspired hymns into the four Vedas, nearly five thousand years ago (3101 B.C.). But one beauty of Sanskrit is that every word discloses its ancient origin in spite of mediæval fictions, and Vyása means simply the 'arranger,' from the verb 'to fit together.' No fewer than twenty-eight Vyásas, incarnations of Brahmá and Vishnu, came down in successive astronomical eras to arrange and promulgate the Vedas on earth. Many of the legends in

the Mahābhārata are of Vedic antiquity, and the main story deals with a period assigned, in the absence of conclusive evidence, to about 1200 B.C.; and certainly long anterior to the time of Buddha, 543 B.C. But its compilation into its present form seems to have taken place many centuries later.

Its date : Pāṇini (350 B.C.) makes no clear reference to it. The inquisitive Greek ambassador and historian, Megasthenes, does not appear to have heard of it during his stay in India, 300 B.C. Dion Chrysostomos supplies the earliest external evidence of the existence of the Mahābhārata, *circa* 75 A.D. The arrangement of its vast mass of legends must probably have covered a long period. Indeed, the present poem bears traces of three separate eras of compilation; during which its collection of primitive folk-tales grew from 8800 *ślokas* or couplets, into a cyclopædia of Indian mythology and legendary lore extending over eighteen books and 220,000 lines. The twenty-four books of Homer's *Iliad* comprise only 15,693 lines; the twelve books of Virgil's *Æneid*, only 9868.

Its growth. . .

Central Story of the Mahābhārata. The central story of the Mahābhārata occupies scarcely one-fourth of the whole, or about 50,000 lines. It narrates a pre-historic struggle between two families of the Lunar race for a patch of country near Delhi. These families, alike descended from the royal Bharata, consisted of two brotherhoods, cousins to each other, and both brought up under the same roof. The five Pāṇdavas were the miraculously born sons of King Pāṇdu, who, smitten by a curse, resigned the sovereignty to his brother Dhṛita-rāshtra, and retired to a hermitage in the Himālayas, where he died. The ruins of his capital, Hastināpura, or the 'Elephant City,' are pointed out beside a deserted bed of the Ganges, 57 miles north-east of Delhi, at this day. His brother Dhṛita-rāshtra ruled in his stead, and to him one hundred sons were born, who took the name of the Kauravas from an ancestor, Kuru. Dhṛita-rāshtra acted as a faithful guardian to his five nephews, the Pāṇdavas, and chose the eldest of them as heir to the family kingdom. His own sons resented this act of supersession; and so arose the quarrel between the hundred Kauravas and the five Pāṇdavas which forms the main story of the Mahābhārata. The nucleus of the legend probably belongs to the period when the Aryan immigrants were settling in the upper part of the triangle of territory between the Jumna and the Ganges, and before they had made any considerable advances to the east of the latter river. It is not unreasonable to assign this period to about the 12th century B.C.

12th
century
B.C. (?)

The hundred Kauravas forced their father to send away its outline. their five Pándava cousins into the forest. The Kauravas then tried to destroy the five Pándavas by burning down the woodland hut in which the Pándava brethren dwelt. The five escaped, however, and wandered in the disguise of Bráhmans to the court of King Draupada, who had proclaimed a *Swayam-vara*, or maiden's-choice,—a tournament at which his daughter would take the victor as her husband. Arjuna, one of the Pándavas, bent the mighty bow which had defied the strength of all the rival chiefs, and so obtained the fair princess Draupadí, who became the common wife of the five brethren. Their uncle, the good Dhrita-ráshtra, recalled them to his capital, and gave them one-half of the family territory towards the Jumna, reserving the other half for his own sons.

The Pándava brethren hived off to their new settlement, Indra-prastha, afterwards Delhi, clearing the jungle, and driving out the Nágas or forest-races. For a time peace reigned; but the Kauravas tempted the eldest of the Pándavas, Yudishthira, 'firm in fight,' to a gambling match, at which he The gambling match. lost his kingdom, his brothers, himself, and last of all his wife. Their father, however, forced his sons to restore their wicked gains to their cousins. But Yudishthira was again seduced by the Kauravas to stake his kingdom at dice, again lost it, and had to retire with his wife and brethren into exile for twelve years. Their banishment ended, the five Pándavas returned at the head of an army to win back their kingdom. Many battles followed. Other Aryan tribes between the Jumna and Final overthrow of the 100 Kauravas. the Ganges, together with their gods and divine heroes, joined in the struggle, until at last all the hundred Kauravas were slain, and of the friends and kindred of the Pándavas only the five brethren remained.

Their uncle, Dhrita-ráshtra, made over to them the whole Reign of the five Pándavas. kingdom; and for a long time the Pándavas ruled gloriously, celebrating the *Asra-medha*, or 'Great Horse-Sacrifice,' in token of their holding imperial sway. But their uncle, old and blind, ever taunted them with the slaughter of his hundred sons, until at last he crept away, with his few surviving ministers, his aged wife, and his sister-in-law the mother of the Pándavas, to a hermitage, where the worn-out band perished in a forest fire. The five brethren, smitten by remorse, gave up their kingdom; and, taking their wife Draupadí and a faithful dog, they departed to the Himalayas to seek the Their pilgrimage to heaven. heaven of Indra on Mount Meru. One by one the sorrowful pilgrims died upon the road, until only the eldest brother,

Yudishthira, and the dog reached the gate of heaven. Indra invited him to enter, but he refused, if his lost wife and brethren were not also admitted. The prayer was granted, but he still declined, unless his faithful dog might come in with him. This could not be allowed, and Yudishthira, after a glimpse of heaven, was thrust down to hell, where he found many of his old comrades in anguish. He resolved to share their sufferings rather than enjoy paradise alone. But, having triumphed in this crowning trial, the whole scene was revealed to be *māyā* or illusion, and the reunited band entered into heaven, where they rest for ever with Indra.

Slow
growth of
the central
story.

Even this story, which forms merely the nucleus of the Mahābhārata, is the collective growth of far-distant ages. For example, the last two books, the 17th and 18th, which narrate 'the Great Journey' and 'the Ascent to Heaven,' are the product of a very different epoch of thought from the early ones, which portray the actual life of courts and camps in ancient India. The *Saṃyam-vāra* or husband-choosing of Draupadī is a genuine relic of the tournament age of Aryan chivalry. Her position as the common wife of the five brethren preserves a trace of even more primitive institutions—institutions still represented by the polyandry of the Nāirs and Himālayan tribes, and by domestic customs which are survivals of polyandry among the Hinduized low-castes all over India. Thus, in the Punjab, among Jāt families too poor to bear the marriage expenses of all the males, the wife of the eldest son has sometimes to accept her brothers-in-law as joint husbands. The polyandry of the Ghakkars, the brave people of Rāwal Pindi District, was one of their characteristics which specially struck the advancing Muhammadans in 1008 A.D. The Kārakat Vellālers of Madura, at the opposite extremity of the peninsula, no longer practise polyandry; but they preserve a trace of it in their condonement of cohabitation with the husband's kindred, while adultery outside the husband's family entails expulsion from caste.

The poly-
andry of
Draupadī.

Such polyandric customs became abhorrent to the Brāhmins. The Brāhmins justify Draupadī's position, however, on the ground that as the five Pāndava brethren were divinely begotten emanations from one deity, they formed in reality only one person, and could be lawfully married to the same woman. No such afterthought was required to uphold the honour of Draupadī in the age when the legend took its rise. Throughout the whole Mahābhārata she figures as the type of a high-born princess, and a chaste, brave, and faithful wife. She shares

in every sorrow and triumph of the five brethren ; bears a son to each ; and finally enters with the true-hearted band into the glory of Indra. Her five joint husbands take a terrible vengeance on insult offered to her, and seem quite unaware that a later age would deem her position one which required explanation.¹

The struggle for the kingdom of Hastinápura forms, however, only a fourth of the Mahābhārata. The remainder consists of later additions. Some of these are legends of the early Aryan settlements in the Middle Land of Bengal, tacked on to the central story ; others are mythological episodes, theological discourses, and philosophic disquisitions, intended to teach the military caste its duties, especially its duty of reverence to the Brāhmins. Taken as a whole, the Mahābhārata may be said to form the cyclopædia of the Heroic Age in Northern India, with the struggle of the Pāndavas and Kauravas as its original nucleus, and the submission of the military power to priestly domination as its later didactic design.

The rest of
the Mahā-
bhārata

The second great Indian epic, the Rāmāyana, recounts the advance of the Aryans into Southern India. Unlike the Mahābhārata, its composition is assigned not to a compiler (*Vyāsa*) in the abstract, but to a named poet, Vālmīki. On the other hand, the personages and episodes of the Rāmāyana have an abstract or mythological character, which contrasts with the matter-of-fact stories of the Mahābhārata. The heroine of the Rāmāyana, Sītā, is literally the 'field-furrow,' to whom the Vedic hymns and early Aryan ritual paid divine honour. She represents Aryan husbandry, and has to be defended against the raids of the aborigines by the hero Rāma, an incarnation of the Aryan deity Vishnu, and born of his divine nectar. Rāma is regarded by Weber as the analogue of Balarāma, the 'Ploughbearer' (*Halabhrīt*). From this abstract point of view, the Rāmāyana exhibits the progress of Aryan plough-husbandry among the mountains and forests of Central and Southern India ; and the perils of the agricultural settlers from the non-ploughing nomadic cultivators and hunting tribes.

The
Rama-
yana.

Its alle-
gorical
character

The abduction of Sītā by an aboriginal or demon prince, who carried her off to Ceylon ; her eventual recovery by Rāma ; and the advance of the Aryans into Southern India, form the

Its central
idea,

¹ The beautiful story of Savitri, the wife faithful to the end, is told in the Mahābhārata by the sage Markandeya in answer to Yashodhara's question whether any woman so true and noble as Draupadī had ever been known. Savitri, on the loss of her husband, dogged the steps of Yama, King of Death, until she wrung from him, one by one, many blessings for her family, and finally the restoration of her husband to life from the reluctant god.

Later than
the Mahā-
bhārata
Legend.

central story of the Rāmāyana. It differs, therefore, from the central legend of the Mahābhārata, as commemorating a period when the main arena of Aryan enterprise had extended itself far beyond their ancient settlements around Delhi; and as a product of the Brāhman tendency to substitute abstract personifications for human actors and mundane events. The nucleus of the Mahābhārata is a legend of ancient life; the nucleus of the Rāmāyana is an allegory. Its most modern form, the Adhyātma Rāmāyana, still further spiritualizes the story, and elevates Rāma into a saviour and deliverer, a god rather than a hero.¹

Vālmiki.

Its reputed author, Vālmiki, is a conspicuous figure in the epic, as well as its composer. He takes part in the action of the poem, receives the hero Rāma in his hermitage, and afterwards gives shelter to the unjustly banished Sītā and her twin sons, nourishing the aspirations of the youths by tales of their father's prowess. These stories make up the main part of the Rāmāyana, and refer to a period which has been loosely assigned to about 1000 B.C. But the poem could not have been put together in its present shape many centuries, if any, before our era. Parts of it may be earlier than the Mahābhārata, but the compilation as a whole apparently belongs to a later date. The Rāmāyana consists of seven books (*Kāndas*) and 24,000 *ślokas*, or about 48,000 lines.

Outline of
the Rāmā-
yana.

As the Mahābhārata celebrates the Lunar race of Delhi, so the Rāmāyana forms the epic chronicle of the Solar race of Ajodhya or Oudh. The two poems thus preserve the legends of two renowned Aryan kingdoms at the two opposite, or eastern and western, borders of the Middle Land of Northern India (*Madhya-desha*). The opening books of the Rāmāyana recount the wondrous birth and boyhood of Rāma, eldest son of Dasaratha, King of Ajodhya: his marriage with Sītā, as victor at her *Śivayam-vāra*, or tournament, by bending the mighty bow of Siva in the public contest of chiefs for the princess; and his appointment as heir-apparent to his father's kingdom. A *śatānā* intrigue ends in the youngest wife of Dasaratha obtaining this appointment to the royal succession for her own son, Bharata, and in the exile of Rāma, with his bride Sītā, for fourteen years to the forest. The banished pair wander south to Prayāg (Allahābād), already a place of

The local
legend.

¹ The allegorical character of the Rāmāyana has allowed scope for various speculations as to its origin. Such speculations have been well dealt with by the Honourable Mr. Justice Kāshināth Trimbak Telang in his essay, *Was the Rāmāyana copied from Homer?* (Bombay, 1873.)

sanctity; and thence across the river to the hermitage of Vālmiki, among the Bānda jungles, where a hill is still pointed out as the scene of their abode. Meanwhile Rāma's father, the king, dies, and the loyal youngest brother, Bharata, although the lawful successor, refuses to enter on the inheritance, but goes in quest of Rāma to bring him back as rightful heir. A contest of fraternal affection takes place. Bharata at length returns to rule the family kingdom in the name of Rāma, until the latter shall come to claim it at the end of the fourteen years of banishment appointed by their late father.

So far, the Rāmāyana merely narrates the local chronicles of the court of Ajodhya. In the third book the main story begins. Rāvana, the demon or aboriginal king of the far south, smitten by the fame of Sītā's beauty, seizes her at the hermitage while her husband is away in the jungle, and flies off with her in a magical chariot through the air to Lanka or Ceylon. The next three books (4th, 5th, and 6th) recount the expedition of the bereaved Rāma for her recovery. He makes alliances with the aboriginal tribes of Southern India, under the names of monkeys and bears, and raises a great army. The Monkey general, Hanumān, jumps across the straits between India and Ceylon, discovers the princess in captivity, and leaps back with the news to Rāma. The Monkey troops then build a causeway across the narrow sea,—the Adam's Bridge or line of submarine rocks well known to modern geography,—by which Rāma marches across, and, after slaying the monster Rāvana, delivers Sītā. The rescued wife proves her unbroken chastity, during her stay in the palace of Rāvana, by the ancient ordeal of fire. Agni, the god of that element, himself conducts her out of the burning pile to her husband; and, the fourteen years of banishment being over, Rāma and Sita return in triumph to Ajodhya. There they reigned gloriously; and Rāma celebrated the Great Horse-Sacrifice (*Aśva-medha*) as a token of his imperial sway over India. But a famine having smitten the land, Rāma regarded it as a judgment of heaven on some secret guilt in the royal family, and doubts arose in his heart as to his wife's purity while in her captor's power at Ceylon. He banishes the faithful Sita, who wanders forth again to Vālmiki's hermitage, where she gives birth to Rāma's two sons. After sixteen years of exile, she is reconciled to her repentant husband, and Rāma and Sita and their children are at last reunited.¹

¹ Respectful mention should here be made of Gruebe's translation of the Hindi version of the *Rāmāyana* by Tulsī Dās. (420. Allahabad, 1883.)

Later
Sanskrit
epics.

The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, however overlaid with fable, form the chronicles of the kings of the Middle Land of the Ganges, their family feuds, and their national enterprises. In the later Sanskrit epics, the legendary element is more and more overpowered by the mythological. Among them the Raghu-vansa and the Kumāra-sambhava, both assigned to Kālidāsa, take the first rank. The Raghu-vansa celebrates the Solar line of Raghu, King of Ajodhya; more particularly the ancestry and the life of his descendant Rāma. The Kumāra-sambhava recounts the birth of the War-god.¹ It is still more didactic and allegorical, abounding in sentiment and in feats of prosody. But it contains passages of exquisite beauty of style and elevation of thought. From the astrological data which these two poems furnish, Jacobus infers that they cannot have been composed before 350 A.D.

Raghu-
van-sa.

Kumāra-
sambhava.

Kālidāsa.

The name of Kālidāsa has come down, not only as the composer of these two later epics, but as the father of the Sanskrit drama. According to Hindu tradition, he was one of the 'Nine Gems' or distinguished men at the court of Vikramāditya. This prince is popularly identified with the King of Ujjain who gave his name to the *Samvat* era, commencing in the year 57 B.C. But, as Holtzmann points out, it may be almost as dangerous to infer from this latter circumstance that Vikramāditya lived in 57 B.C., as to place Julius Cæsar in the first year of the so-called Julian Calendar, namely, 4713 B.C. Several Vikramādityas figure in Indian history. Indeed, the name is merely a title, 'A very Sun in Prowess,' which has been borne by victorious monarchs of many of the Indian dynasties. The date of Vikramāditya has been variously assigned from 57 B.C. to 1050 A.D.; and the 550 A.D. (?) works of the poets and philosophers who formed the 'Nine Gems' of his court, appear from internal evidence to have been composed at intervals during that long period. The Vikramāditya under whom Kālidāsa and the 'Nine Gems' are traditionally said to have flourished, ruled over Mālwa probably about 500 to 550 A.D.

King Vik-
ramāditya.

550 A.D. (?)

Age of the
Sanskrit
drama.

In India, as in Greece and Rome, scenic representations seem to have taken their rise in the rude pantomime of a very early time, possibly as far back as the Vedic ritual; and the

¹ Translated into spirited English verse by Mr. Ralph T. H. Griffith, M.A., who is also the author of a charming collection of 'Idylls from the Sanskrit,' based on the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Raghu-vansa, and Kālidāsa's Seasons.

Sanskrit word for the drama, *nāṭaka*, is derived from *nata*, a dancer. But the Sanskrit dramas of the classical age belong to the period between the 1st century B.C. and the 8th century A.D., and as far down as the 11th and 12th. They make mention of Greek (or Bactrian) slaves, are acquainted with Buddhism in its full development, and disclose a wide divergence between Sanskrit and the dialects used by the lower classes. The *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* appear in the Sanskrit drama as part of the popular literature,—in fact, as occupying very much the same position which they still hold. No dramas are known among the works which the Indians who emigrated to Java, about 500 A.D., carried with them to their new homes. Nor have any dramas been yet found among the Tibetan translations of the Sanskrit classics.

The most famous drama of Kālidāsa is *Sakuntalā*, or the *Sakuntalā*. ‘Lost Ring.’ Like the ancient epics, it divides its action between the court of the king and the hermitage in the forest. Prince Dushyanta, an ancestor of the noble Lunar race, weds by an irregular marriage a beautiful maiden, *Sakuntalā*, at her father’s hermitage in the jungle. Before returning to his capital, he gives his bride a ring as a pledge of his love. Smitten by a curse from a holy man, she loses the ring, and cannot be recognised by her husband till it is found. *Sakuntalā* bears a son in her loneliness, and sets out to claim recognition for herself and child at her husband’s court. But she is as one unknown to the prince, till, after many sorrows and trials, the ring comes to light. She is then happily reunited with her husband, and her son grows up to be the noble Bharata, the chief founder of the Lunar dynasty whose achievements form the theme of the *Mahābhārata*. *Sakuntalā*, like *Sītā*, is the type of the chaste and faithful Hindu wife; and her love and sorrow, after forming the favourite romance of the Indian people for perhaps eighteen hundred years, have furnished a theme for the great European poet of our age. ‘Wouldst thou,’ says Goethe.

‘Wouldst thou the young year’s blossoms, and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O *Sakuntalā*! and all at once is said.

Sakuntalā has had the good fortune to be translated by Sir O. Jones (1789), and to be sung by Goethe. But other dramas of the Hindu dramas and domestic poems are of almost equal interest and beauty. As examples of the classical period.

Sanskrit. may be taken the *Mrichchakatī*, or 'Toy Cart,' a drama in ten acts, on the old theme of the innocent cleared and the guilty punished; and the poem of *Nala and Damayantī*, or the 'Royal Gambler and the Faithful Wife.' Such plays and poems frequently take an episode of the *Mahābhārata* or *Rāmāyana* for their subject; and in this way the main incidents in the two great epics have been gradually dramatized or reduced to the still more popular form of household song. The modern and modern drama was one of the first branches of Hindu secular literature which accepted the spoken dialects; and the native theatre forms the best, indeed almost the only, school in which an Englishman can acquaint himself with the in-door life of the people.

Recent dramatic revival. In our own day there has been a great dramatic revival in India: new plays in the vernacular tongues issue rapidly from the press; and societies of patriotic young natives form themselves into dramatic companies, especially in Calcutta and Bombay. Many of the pieces are vernacular renderings of stories from the Sanskrit epics and classical dramas. Several have a political significance, and deal with the phases of development upon which India has entered under the influence of British rule. One Bengali play, the *Nil-darpan*,¹ or the 'Indigo Factory,' became the subject of a celebrated trial in Calcutta: while others—such as *Ekī ki bālē Sabh-jatī?* 'Is this what you call civilisation?'—suggest many serious thoughts to a candid English mind. In 1877, 102 dramas were published in India in the native tongues; in 1882, 245; and 263 in 1890, besides 6 in English.

The Hindu novel. Closely allied to the drama is the prose romance. In 1823, Dr. H. H. Wilson intimated that Hindu literature contained collections of domestic narrative to an extent surpassing those of any other people. The vast growth of European fiction since that date renders this statement no longer accurate. But Wilson's translations from the *Vrihat-kathā* may still be read with interest,² and the Sanskrit Beast-stories now occupy an even more significant place in the history of Indo-European literature than they did then. Many fables of animals familiar to the Western world, from the time of *Æsop* downwards, had their original home in India. The relation between the fox and the lion in the Greek versions has no reality in nature. It was based, however, upon the actual relation between the

¹ Literally, 'The Mirror of Indigo.'

² *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, Calcutta, March 1824, pp. 63-77. Al-o vol. iii. of Wilson's *Collected Works*, pp. 156-268. London, 1864.

lion or the tiger, and his follower the jackal, in the Sanskrit stories.¹ Weber thinks that complete cycles of Indian fables may have existed in the time of Pāṇini (350 B.C.). The Sanskrit Panchatantra, or Book of Beast Tales, was translated into the ancient Persian as early as the 6th century A.D., and from that rendering all the subsequent versions in Asia Minor and Europe have been derived. The most ancient animal fables of India are at the present day the nursery stories of England and America. The graceful Hindu imagination delighted also in fairy tales; and the Sanskrit compositions of this class are the original source of many of the fairy tales of Persia, Arabia, and Christendom. The works of fiction published in the native languages in India in 1877 numbered 196; in 1882, 237; and 296 in 1890, besides 12 in English. their spread westward.

In mediæval India, a large body of poetry, half-religious, half-amorous, grew up around the legend of the youthful Krishna (the eighth incarnation of Vishnu) and his loves with the shepherdesses, the playmates of his sweet pastoral life. Kālidāsa, according to Hindu tradition, was the father of the erotic lyric, as well as a great dramatic and epic poet. In his *Megha-dūta* or 'Cloud Messenger,' an exile sends a message by a wind-borne cloud to his love, and the countries beneath its long aerial route are made to pass like a panorama before the reader's eye. The *Gita Govindā*, or Divine Herdsman of Jayadeva, is a Sanskrit 'Song of Solomon' of the 12th century A.D. A festival once a year celebrates the birthplace of this mystical love-poet, in the Birbhum District of Lower Bengal; and many less famous compositions of the same class now issue from the vernacular press throughout India. In 1877, no fewer than 697 works of poetry were published in the native languages in India; in 1882, 834; and in 1890, 1228. Sanskrit lyric poetry.

The mediæval Brāhmins displayed a marvellous activity in the theological as well as in lyric poetry. The Purāṇas, literally 'The Ancient Writings,' form a collection of religious and philosophical treatises in verse, of which the principal ones number eighteen. The whole Purāṇas are said to contain 1,600,000 lines. The really old ones have either been lost Purāṇas, 8th to 16th century A.D.

¹ See, however, Weber's elaborate footnote, No. 221, for the other view. *Hitt. Ind. Lit.* p. 211. Max Müller's charming essay on the Migration of Fables (*Châtes*, vol. iv, pp. 145-269, Feb. 1875) traces the retail steps of a well-known story from the East to the West.

Contents
of the
Puranas.

or been incorporated in new compilations; and the composition of the existing Purānas probably took place from the 8th to the 16th century A.D. As the epics sang the wars of the Aryan heroes, so the Purānas recount the deeds of the Brāhman gods. They deal with the creation of the universe; its successive dissolutions and reconstructions; the stories of the deities and their incarnations; the reigns of the divine Manus; and the chronicles of the Solar and Lunar lines of kings, who ruled, the former in the east and the latter in the west of the Middle Land (Madhya-desha).

Their
sects.

The Purānas belong to the period after the mass of the people had split up into their two existing divisions, as worshippers of Vishnu or of Siva, about or after 700 A.D. They are devoted to the glorification of one or other of these two rival gods, and thus embody the sectarian theology of Brāhmanism. While claiming to be founded on Vedic inspiration, they practically superseded the Veda, and have formed during ten centuries the sacred literature on which Hinduism rests.¹

Their
influence.

Indian
works
published
in 1877.

in 1882,

and in
1890.

An idea of the literary activity of the Indian mind at the present day, may be formed from the fact that 4890 works were published in India in 1877, of which 4346 were in the native languages. Only 436 were translations, the remaining 4454 being original works or new editions. The number of Indian publications constantly increases. In 1882, 6198 works were published in India, 5543 being in the native languages. The translations numbered 505, and the original works, including new editions, 5693. In 1890, the number of publications registered in India (and for which the details are available) had risen to 7885, of which 7217 were in the Indian languages. Only 756 of them were translations. These figures show the publications officially registered under the Act. A large number of unregistered pamphlets or brochures must be added, together with the daily and weekly issue of vernacular newspapers. A general return gives the grand total of Indian publications in 1890 at 9725. In 1890, there were also 558 newspapers circulating in 16 different languages (vernacular, classical, and English) in India. The largest circulation of any vernacular daily journal was

¹ The foregoing pages have very briefly reviewed the most important branches of Sanskrit Literature; the influence of that literature upon Hinduism, and on the modern races and vernaculars of India, will be dealt with in chapters viii. and xiii.

returned at 1500, and of any weekly at 20,000 copies. Both of these widely circulated papers were in the Bengali tongue.

This chapter has attempted to trace the intellectual and religious development of the early Aryans in India, and their constitution into castes and communities. Regarding their territorial history, it has said almost nothing. It has, indeed, indicated their primeval line of march from their Holy Land among the seven rivers of the Punjab, to their Land of the Sacred Singers between the upper courses of the Jumna and the Ganges; and thence to their more extensive settlements in the Middle Land of Bengal (*Madhya-desh*) stretching to beyond the junction of these two great rivers. It has also told very briefly the legend of their advance into Southern India, in the epic rendering of the *Rāmāyana*. But the foregoing pages have refrained from attempts to fix the dates or to fill in the details of these movements. For the territorial extension of the Aryans in India is still a battle-ground of inductive history.

Even for a much later period of Indian civilisation, the data continue under keen dispute. This will be amply apparent in the following chapters.¹ These chapters will open with the great upheaval of Buddhism against Brāhmanism in the 6th century before Christ. They will summarize the struggles of the Asiatic races in India during a period of twenty-three hundred years. They will close with the great military revival of Hinduism under the Marāthā Brāhmans in the 18th century of our era. An attempt will then be made, from the evidence of the vernacular literature and languages, to present a view of Indian thought and culture, when the European nations came in force upon the scene.

Meanwhile, the history of India, so far as obscurely known to us before the advent of the Greeks, 327 B.C., is essentially a literary history, and the memorials of its civilisation are mainly literary or religious memorials. The more practical aspects of those long ages, which were their real aspects to the people, found no annalist. From the commencement of

¹ Namely, on Buddhism, the Greeks in India, the Scythic Inroad, the Rise of Hinduism, Early Muhammadan Rulers, the Mughal Empire, and the Marāthā Power. We still await the complete evidence of coins and inscriptions: although valuable materials have been already obtained from these precious memorials of the past. Mr. Justice Telang's *Introduction to the Mudharāśhasa*, with Appendix, shows what can be gathered from a minute and critical examination of the historical data incidentally contained in the Hindu drama.

the post-Vedic period, the Brāhmins strove with increasing success to bring their metrical descriptions of the life and civilisation of India more and more into accord with their own priestly ideas.

In order to understand the long domination of the Brāhmins, and the influence which they still wield, it is necessary also to keep in mind their position as the great literary caste. Their priestly supremacy has been repeatedly assailed, and was during a space of nearly a thousand years rivalled and for a time overpowered by Buddhism. But throughout twenty-two centuries the Brāhmins have been the counsellors of Hindu princes and the teachers of the Hindu people. The Brāhmins still represent the early Aryan civilisation of India. Indeed, the essential history of India is a narrative of the extension of their civilisation throughout India, and of attacks on its continuity,—that is to say, of the extension of, and the attacks upon, the Brāhmanical system of the Middle Land, and of the modifications and compromises to which that system has had to submit.

The six attacks on Brāhmanism, 6th century B.C. to 19th century A.D.

(1) Buddhism.

Those attacks mark out six epochs. First, the religious uprisings of the non-Aryan and the partially Brāhmanized Aryan tribes on the east of the Middle Land of Bengal; initiated by the preaching of Buddha in the 6th century B.C., culminating in the Buddhist kingdoms about the commencement of our era, and melting into modern Hinduism about the 8th century A.D.

(2) Greeks and Scythians.

Second, warlike inroads of non-Brāhmanical Aryans and Scythic races from the north-west; strongly exemplified by the Greek invasions in the 4th century B.C., and continuing under the Greco-Bactrian empire and its Scythic rivals to probably the 5th century A.D.

(3) Non-Aryan tribes.

Third, the influence of the so-called aborigines or non-Aryan tribes of India and of the non-Aryan low-castes incorporated into the Hindu community; an influence ever at work—indeed, by far the most powerful agent in dissolving Brāhmanism into Hinduism, and specially active after the decline of Buddhism about the 7th century A.D.

(4) Hindu sects.

Fourth, the reaction against the low beliefs, priestly oppression, and bloody rites which resulted from this compromise between Brāhmanism and aboriginal worship. The reaction received an impetus from the preaching of Sankara Achārya, who founded his great Sivaite sect in the 8th century A.D. It obtained its full development under a line of ardent Vishnuite reformers from the 12th to the 16th centuries A.D.

(5) Muhammadans.

The fifth solvent of the ancient Brāhmanical civilisation of India will be found

in the Muhammadan invasions and the rule of Islām, 1000 to 1765 A.D. The sixth, in the English supremacy, and in the popular upheaval which it has produced in the 18th and 19th centuries. Each of these six epochs will, so far as space permits, receive separate treatment in the following chapters.

CHAPTER V.

BUDDHISM IN INDIA (543 B.C. TO 1000 A.D.).

Buddhism. THE first great solvent of Brāhmanism was the teaching of Gautama Buddha. The life of this celebrated man has three sides,—its personal aspects, its legendary developments, and its religious consequences upon mankind. In his own person, Buddha appears as a prince and preacher of ancient India. In the legendary developments of his story, Buddha ranks as a divine teacher among his followers, as an incarnation of Vishnu among the Hindus, and as a saint of the Christian church, with a day assigned to him in both the Greek and Roman calendars. As a religious founder, he left behind a system of belief which has gained more disciples than any other creed in the world; and which is now more or less accepted by 500 millions of people, or nearly one-half the human race. According to the Pāli texts, Buddha was born 622 B.C., and died 543 B.C.¹ Modern calculations fix his death about 478 B.C.²

Gautama
Buddha.

The story
of Buddha,
modelled
on the
epic type.

The story of Buddha's earthly career is a typical one. It is based on the old Indian ideal of the noble life which we have seen depicted in the Sanskrit epics. Like the Pāndavas in the Mahābhārata, and like Rāma in the Rāmāyana, Buddha is the miraculously born son of a king, belonging to one of the two great Aryan lines, the Solar and the Lunar; in Buddha's case, as in Rāma's, to the Solar. His youth, like that of the epic heroes, is spent under Brāhman tutors, and, like the epic heroes, he obtains a beautiful bride after a display of unexpected prowess with the bow; or, as the northern Buddhists relate, at an actual *Swayam-vara*, by a contest in arms for the princess. A period of voluntary exile follows an interval of

¹ Childers' *Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, s.v. Buddhō, p. 96. The accepted traditional dates of Indian Buddhism are followed in this chapter.

² General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. vii.; Oldenberg's *Buddha, sein Leben*, etc. (Hoey's excellent translation, p. 197). *Ibid post*, p. 198.

married happiness, and Buddha retires like Ráma to a Bráhma's hermitage in the forest.

The sending back of the charioteer to the bereaved father's capital forms an episode in the story of both the young princes. Buddha and Ráma. As in the Rámáyana, so in the legend of Buddha, it is to the jungles on the south of the Ganges, lying between the Aryan settlements and the aboriginal races, that the royal exile repairs. After a time of seclusion, the Pándavas, Ráma, and Buddha alike emerge to achieve great conquests; the two former by force of arms, the last by the weapons of the Spirit. The Indian legend. Up to this point the outline of the three stories has followed the same type; but henceforth it diverges. The Sanskrit epics depict the ideal Aryan man as prince, hermit, and hero. In the legend of Buddha, that ideal has developed into prince, hermit, and saint.

Gautama, afterwards named Buddha, 'The Enlightened,' and Siddhártha, 'He who has fulfilled his end,' was the only son of Suddhodana, King of Kapilavastu. This prince, the chief of the Sakya clan, ruled over an outlying Aryan settlement on the north-eastern border of the Middle Land, about a hundred miles to the north of Benares, and within sight of the snow-topped Himálayas. A Gautama Rájput of the noble Solar line, he wished to see his son grow up on the warlike model of his race. But the young prince shunned the sports of his playmates, and retired to solitary day-dreams in nooks of the palace garden. The king tried to win his son to a practical career by marrying him to a beautiful and talented girl; and the youthful Gautama unexpectedly proved his manliness by a victory over the flower of the young chiefs at a tournament. For a while he forgot his solemn speculations on the unseen, in the sweet realities of early married life. Parentage of Gautama Buddha. 622 B. C.

But in his drives through the city he deeply reflected on the types of old age, disease, and death which met his eye; and he was powerfully impressed by the calm of a holy man, who seemed to have raised his soul above the changes and sorrows of this world. After ten years, his wife bore to him an only son; and Gautama, fearing lest this new tie should bind him too closely to the things of earth, retired about the age of thirty to a cave among the forest-clad spurs of the Vindhya. The story of how he turned away from the door of his wife's lamp-lit chamber, denying himself even a parting caress of his newborn babe lest he should wake the sleeping mother, and galloped off into the darkness, is one of the many tender episodes in his life. After a gloomy night ride, he sent back His lonely youth, *cc.* 1-19.

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his one companion, the faithful charioteer, with his horse and jewels to his father. Having cut off his long Rājput locks, and exchanged his princely raiment for the rags of a poor passer-by, he went on alone a homeless beggar. This abandonment of earthly pomp and power, and of loved wife and newborn son, is the Great Renunciation which forms a favourite theme of the Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese. It has furnished, during twenty centuries, the type of self-sacrifice which all Indian reformers must follow if they are to win the trust of the people.

Buddha's
forest life,
cf. 30-36
or 29-34.

For a time Buddha studied under two Brāhman recluses, near RAJAGRIHA, in Patná District, learning from them that the path to divine knowledge and tranquillity of soul lies through the subjection of the flesh. He then buried himself deeper in the south-eastern jungles, which at that time covered Gayá District, and during six years wasted himself by austerities in company with five disciples. The temple of BUDDHA-GAYA¹ marks the site of his long penance. But instead of earning peace of mind by fasting and self-torture, he reached a crisis of religious despair, during which the Buddhist scriptures affirm that the enemy of mankind, Māra, wrestled with him in bodily shape. Torn with doubts as to whether, after all his penance, he was not destined to perdition, the haggard ascetic, in a final paroxysm, fell senseless to the earth.

543 B.C.

His
spiritual
crisis.

When he recovered, the mental struggle had passed. He felt that the path to salvation lay not in self-torture in a mountain cave, but in preaching a higher life to his fellow-men. His five disciples, shocked by his giving up penance, forsook him; and Buddha was left in solitude to face the question whether he alone was right and all the devout minds of his age were wrong. The Buddhist scriptures depict him as sitting serene under a fig-tree, while the great Enemy and his crew whirled round him with flaming weapons. 'When the conflict began between the Saviour of the World and the Prince of Evil,' says one of their sacred texts,² 'the earth shook, the sea uprose from her bed, the rivers turned back to the mountains, the hill-tops fell crashing to the plains, the sun was darkened, and a host of headless spirits rode upon the tempest.'

His tempta-
tion.

¹ The magnificent volume by General Sir A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi, or, the Great Buddhist Temple at Buddha-Gayā* (W. H. Allen & Co., 1892), and *Buddha-Gayā, the Hermitage of Śākya Muni*, by Rājendralāla Mitra (Calcutta, 1878), are the two standard works on this venerable seat of Buddhism.

² The Madhurāttha-Vikisini. *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. vii. p. 812. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 36.

From his temptation in the wilderness the ascetic emerged with his doubts for ever laid at rest, seeing his way clear, and henceforth to be known as Buddha, literally 'the Enlightened.' His 'Enlightenment.'

This was Buddha's second birth; and the *pīṭal* fig or Bo (Bodhi), literally 'The Tree of the Enlightenment,' under whose spreading branches its pangs were endured, has become the sacred tree of 500 millions of mankind. It is the *Ficus religiosa* of Western science. The idea of a second birth was familiar to the twice-born Aryan castes of ancient India, and was represented by their race-ceremony of investing the boy at the close of childhood with the sacred thread. In this, as in its other features, the story of Buddha adheres to ancient Aryan types, but gives to them a new spiritual significance. His story follows the old Aryan types. Having passed through the three prescribed stages of the Aryan saintly life,—as learner, householder, and forest recluse,—he now entered on its fourth stage as a religious mendicant. But he developed from the old Brāhmanical model of the wandering ascetic, intent only on saving his own soul, the nobler type of the preacher, striving to bring deliverance to the souls of others.

Two months after his temptation in the wilderness, Buddha commenced his public teaching in the Deer-Forest, on the outskirts of the great city of Benares. Public teaching of Buddha. *ibid.* 36-80 Unlike the Brāhmins, he addressed himself, not to one or two disciples of the sacred caste, but to the mass of the people. His first converts were laymen, and among the earliest were women. After three months of ministry, he had gathered around him sixty disciples, whom he sent forth to the neighbouring countries with these words: 'Go ye now and preach the most excellent Law.' He sends forth the sixty. The essence of his teaching was the deliverance of man from the sins and sorrows of life by self-renunciation and inward self-control. While the sixty disciples went on their missionary tour among the populace, Buddha converted certain celebrated hermits and fire-worshippers by an exposition of the philosophical side of his doctrine. With this new band he journeyed on to Rājāgrha, where the local king and his subjects joined the faith, but where also he first experienced the fickleness of the multitude. Two-thirds of each year he spent as a wandering preacher. The remaining four months or the rainy season he abode at some fixed place, often near Rājāgrha, teaching the people who flocked around his little

¹ According to the Ceylonese texts, Buddha 'obtained Buddhahood' on 588 B.C. This would make him thirty-four, not thirty-six years of age Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. Buddha.

He converts the people,

dwelling in the bamboo grove. His five old disciples, who had forsaken him in the time of his sore temptation in the wilderness, penitently rejoined their Master. Princes, merchants, artificers, Bráhmans and hermits, husbandmen and serfs, noble ladies and repentant courtesans, were yearly added to those who believed.

in the Gangetic valley.

Buddha preached throughout a large part of Behar, Oudh, and the adjacent Districts in the North-Western Provinces. In after ages monasteries marked his halting-places; and the principal scenes of his life, such as AJODHYA, BUDDHA-GAYA, SRAVASTI, the modern SAHET MAHET, RAJAGRIHA, etc., became the great places of pilgrimage for the Buddhist world. His visit to his aged father at Kapilavastu, whence he had gone forth as a brilliant young prince, and to which he returned as a wandering preacher, in dingy yellow robes, with shaven head, and the begging bowl in his hand, is a touching episode which appeals to the heart of universal mankind. The old king heard him with reverence. The son, whom Buddha had left as a new-born babe, was converted to the faith; and his beloved wife, from the threshold of whose chamber he had ridden away into the darkness, became one of the first of Buddhist nuns.

Buddha converts his own family.

He prophesies his death.

The Great Renunciation took place, according to the traditional dates of Indian Buddhism, in the twenty-ninth year of the life of the Master. After about seven years of self-preparation, his public ministry commenced in his thirty-sixth, and during forty-four years he preached to the people. In prophesying his death, he said to his followers: 'Be earnest, be thoughtful, be holy. Keep steadfast watch over your own hearts. He who holds fast to the law and discipline, and faints not, he shall cross the ocean of life and make an end of sorrow.' He spent his last night in preaching, and in comforting a weeping disciple; his latest words, according to one account, were, 'Work out your salvation with diligence.' He died calmly, at the age of eighty,¹ under the shadow of a fig-tree, at Kusinagara, the modern KASIA, in Gorakhpur District.

Buddha's last words, 543 B.C.

Different versions of the Legend.

Such is the story of Gautama Buddha's life derived from Indian sources, a version of the story which has the value of gospel truth to about 35 millions of devout believers, in British India and Burma, Ceylon, Siam, and Anam. These 35 millions represent the followers of the Southern Canon of Buddhism. But the two branches even of Indian or Southern

¹ According to some accounts; according to others, at about seventy. But the chronology of Buddha's life is legendary.

Buddhism have each their own version, and the Buddha of the Burmese differs in important respects from the Buddha of the Ceylonese.¹ Still wider is the divergence which the Northern or Tibetan Buddhists give to the legend of the life and to the teaching of their Master. The Southern texts dwell upon the early career of Buddha up to the time of his Enlightenment in his thirty-fourth or thirty-sixth year. The incidents of that period have a peculiar pathos, and appeal to the most sacred experiences of humanity in all ages. They form the favourite episodes of European works on Buddhism. But such works are apt to pay perhaps too little attention to the fact that the first thirty-four years of Buddha's life were only a self-preparation for a social and religious propaganda prolonged to an extreme old age.

The forty-six years of intense personal labour, during which Buddha traversed wide regions, converted nations, withstood kings, eluded assassins, and sifted out false disciples, receive more attention in the Northern legends. These legends have lately been compiled from the Tibetan texts into a work which furnishes a new and most interesting view of Buddha's life.² The best authority on the Southern Buddhism of Burma states that the history of the Master 'offers an almost complete blank

Later
years of
Buddha

¹ The original Pāli text of the *Commentary of the Jātakkas* is assigned to Ceylonese scribes, *cir.* 450 A.D. The first part of it was published by Fausboll in 1875 (Copenhagen); and Mr. Rhys Davids' translation, with valuable introduction and notes, appeared under the title of *Buddhist Birth Stories* in 1880 (Trübner, London). Mr. Childers' *Dictionary of the Pāli Language* is a storehouse of original materials from Ceylonese sources, and has been used for verifying all statements in the present chapter. A compendious view of Southern Buddhism, ancient and modern, will be found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, translated from Singalese mss. The Burmese branch of Southern Buddhism is well represented by Bishop Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gautama* (third edition, 2 vols., Trübner, 1880), and by Mr. Alabaster's *The Wheel of the Law*, a translation or paraphrase of the Siamese *Pat'ama Samvathiyin*. Mr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism* and his *Hubert Lectures* give an excellent summary of the faith. The French works, the original authorities in Europe, have (in some respects) been superseded by Oldenberg's *Buddha, sein Leben*, etc.

² *The Life of the Buddha, and the Early History of his Order, derived from Tibetan Works in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur*, translated by W. Woodville Rockhill, Second Secretary to the United States Legation in China (Trübner & Co., London, 1884). Mr. Beal's *Si-yu-t'u, or Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hsuen Tsiang, throws curious side-lights upon the traditions which the Chinese Pilgrim brought with him or heard in India regarding the local incidents of Buddha's life.

as to what regards his doings and preachings during a period of nearly twenty-three years.¹

Northern
Texts.

The
Indian
epic type.

The
Tibetan
type.

The texts of the Northern Buddhists fill up this blank. Southern Buddhism modelled its biographies of the Master upon the Indian epic type. Such biographies, as I have already mentioned, reproduce the three stages in the life of an Aryan hero, depicted by the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana: except that the three ideal stages have developed from those of prince, hermit, and warrior, to those of prince, hermit, and saint. In the Northern conditions of China and Tibet, Buddha appears by no means as an Aryan hero. He is rather the representative of a race with birth-customs and death-rites of its own—of a race dwelling amid the epic Aryan kingdoms of India, but with traces of a separate identity in the past. He is a Sakya (perhaps a Scythic) prince, whose clan had settled to the south of the Himālayas, and preserved relics of a non-Aryan type. From this point of view the function of Buddhism in incorporating the various races of India, Aryan and non-Aryan, emerges into a strong light. Buddhism did for ancient India somewhat the same service which we shall find Hinduism doing for mediæval and modern India. It created a religious community, in which all tribes and castes might find entrance. In the case of Buddhism, the bond of union was a spiritual one, and the admission to the common body was complete. In the case of Hinduism, we shall see that the bond of union is one of ritual and the acceptance of priestly guidance, which has but partially succeeded in creating a common religion for the Indian peoples, and which has stereotyped the wide diversities of the Indian races in the lesser, although still strong, distinctions of the Indian castes.

The philo-
sophical
type

of the
Southern
Buddha.

The artificial character which the Southern legends give to the life of Buddha, arose from their tendency to assimilate him to epic Indian types. It was intensified by the equally Indian tendency to convert actual facts into philosophical abstractions. Gautama or Sakya-Muni became only a link in a long series of just men made perfect. According to the Ceylonese texts, a Buddha is a human being who has obtained perfect self-control and infinite knowledge. Having attained Enlightenment himself, he spends the rest of his life in preaching the truth to others. At his death he is re-absorbed into the Divine Essence, and his religion flourishes for a certain period until it dies out, and a new Buddha appears to preach anew the

¹ From the fifty-sixth to the seventy-ninth year of his life. Bishop Ingarden's *Life or Legend of Gautama*, vol. i. p. 260, and footnote.

lost truth. The attainment of Buddhahood is the final result of virtue and self-sacrifice during many previous lives. Innumerable Buddhas have been born in this world; 24 of whom are separately named. Gautama was only the latest Buddha, and, according to the Ceylonese scriptures, his doctrine is destined to give place to the Metteya Buddha, or Buddha of Kindness, who is next to come.¹

The Buddha of the Northern legends is a reformer of a more The Northern concrete type. concrete type. The Tibetan texts give prominence to the political aspects of his Reformation. Incidentally, indeed, they amplify several of the touching episodes familiar to Southern Buddhism. The 'great Fear' which impelled the young prince forth from his palace into the darkness to seek a higher life; the dirt and stones thrown at the wanderer by the village girls; the parables of the Mango-tree, the Devout Slave, and many others; the rich young man who left all for the faith and was *not* exceeding sorry; and Buddha's own retirement from Benares to avoid the gifts and honours which were being thrust upon him,—receive fresh illustration from the Tibetan texts.²

But it is from the political and historical aspects that the Political life of Buddha. Tibetan life of Buddha possesses its special value. We learn from them that Buddhism was in its origin only one of many conflicting sects; indeed, that alike to its royal patrons and opponents it appeared at first as a new religious Order rather than in the light of a new faith.³ The early struggles of Buddhism were neither with the old Aryan gods, nor with the Bráhmans as a caste; but with rival orders of philosophers or ascetics, and with schismatics among its own followers. In the Tibetan scriptures, the gods of the Veda, Brahmá, Indra, and the Shining Ones, appear in friendly relations with Buddha, and attend upon him in more than one crisis of his life. The Bráhmans were no longer a caste altogether devoted to a spiritual life. The Tibetan texts disclose them as following partly religious, partly secular avocations, and as among 'the great nobles' of an Indian kingdom. The Bráhman attitude to the new faith was by no means one of confederate hostility. The main body of Brahman continued non-Buddhistic, and taught their doctrines at royal courts. But many conspicuous converts were drawn from

¹ Mr. Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, p. 96. Sanskrit, *Mahāyāna*.

² The materials for the following paragraphs are derived mainly from Mr. Rockhill's work (1884), already cited.

³ Rockhill, *op. cit.* Also Rhys Davids' *First Four Lectures*, p. 156.

among them, and the Tibetan texts almost uniformly speak of Brāhmans with respect.

Buddha's
real op-
ponents.

The opponents of the Buddha, according to the Tibetan sacred books, were rival sects whom he found in possession of the field, and the false brethren who arose among his own disciples. The older hostile sects were confuted, sometimes by fair discussion, but more often by miracles or superior magical feats. Indeed, transformations and wonders seem for a time to have furnished the most potent arguments of the new faith. But eventually Buddha forbade resort to such testimonies, and magic became to the orthodox Buddhist an unholy art. In his later years, Buddha more than once insists that his doctrine is essentially one to be understood of the people; that he was keeping back no secret for an initiated few; and that he was the preacher of a strictly popular religion without any esoteric side.

His
magical
arts.

Wholesale
Sakya con-
version.

It was from among his own disciples that his bitterest enemies came. The Sakya race of Kapilavastu had adopted his teaching as a nation, without much pretence of individual conversion. Buddha's modest beginnings, first with the five followers, then with the sixty, then with the thousand, now took a national development. In the fervour of the new movement, the Sakyas proclaimed that one man out of every family must enter the Buddhist mendicant order; and it was from this ordinance, to which Buddha was compelled to give a reluctant assent, that the troubles of his later life arose. I beg it to be borne in mind that the picture of early Buddhism in this and the following paragraphs is derived from the Tibetan texts or Northern Canon.

Schism of
Devadatta.

The discontent among the forced disciples found a leader in Buddha's own cousin, Devadatta, who aspired by superior asceticism to the headship. For the schism which he created, Devadatta won the support of the Heir-apparent of Magadha. A struggle, partly religious, partly political, ensued. Devadatta was for a time triumphant. He abetted the murder of the Magadha king, the father of his ally; forced the aged Buddha into retirement; and plundered and oppressed the people. The miraculous deliverances of 'the Blessed One' from the catapult, and from the wild elephant let loose against him in a narrow street, mark, however, the turning-point in the fortunes of the schism. Devadatta was confuted by magical arts, and his royal patron was converted to the true faith. The traitor disciple having thus failed to usurp the spiritual leadership of the Sakyas, attempted to seduce the wife whom Buddha had

left in solitude. The apostate hoped with her aid to stand forth as the king or temporal leader of the Sakya race. His contemptuous rejection by the loyal Sakya princess, his acts of despairing cruelty, and his fall into hell with a lie in his mouth, fitly close the career of the first great schismatic. His fall into hell.

Throughout the Tibetan texts, Buddha figures as a typical Sakya; first as a young Kshattriya or prince of the royal line, and then as a saintly personage who turns back an army sent against his nation by the force of his piety alone. Such spiritual weapons, however, proved a feeble defence in early India. Eventually, the Sakya capital was attacked by overwhelming numbers. For a time the enemy were repulsed without the Buddhists incurring the sin of taking life. But their firm adherence to their Master's commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill,' in the end decided the fate of the Sakya city. Some escaped into exile, and founded settlements in distant parts as far as the other side of the Punjab frontier. The fall of the city ended in the slaughter of 77,000 Sakyas, and in the dispersion of the remnants of the race. The story of the five hundred Sakya youths and five hundred Sakya maidens who were carried into captivity is a pathetic one. The five hundred youths were massacred in cold blood; and the faithful Sakya maidens, having refused to enter the harem of their conqueror, were exposed to the populace with their hands and feet chopped off. How Buddha came to them in their misery, dressed their wounds, and comforted them with the hope of a better life, 'so that they died in the faith,' is affectingly told. Buddha, the Sakya prince.
Disasters of his race.

The foregoing narrative touches only on one or two aspects of the Tibetan texts. It suffices to show the characteristic divergences between the Northern and the Southern legend. In the Northern, there is a gradually developed contrast between two main figures, the traitor Devadatta and his brother Ananda, the Beloved Disciple. The last year of Buddha's ministry is dwelt on by both. But its full significance and its most tender episodes are treated with special unction in the Northern version of the Book of the Great Decease. The *Fo-wei-kian-king*,¹ or 'Dying Instruction of Buddha,' translated into Chinese between 397 and 415 A.D. from a still earlier Sanskrit text, gives to the last scene a peculiar beauty. 'It was now in the middle of the night,' it says, 'perfectly Other aspects of the Tibetan Legend.

¹ Translated in Appendix to the Catalogue of the Manuscripts presented by the Japanese Government to the Secretary of State for India, and now in the India Office.—Concluding letter of Mr. Beal to Dr. Ross dated 1st September 1874, sec. 5.

Chinese
text of
Buddha's
dying dis-
course.

The
doctrines
of Buddha.

Law of
Karma.

quiet and still ; for the sake of his disciples, he delivered a summary of the law.' After laying down the rules of a good life, he revealed the inner doctrines of his faith. From these a few sentences may be taken. 'The heart is lord of the senses : govern, therefore, your heart ; watch well the heart. 'Think of the fire that shall consume the world, and early seek deliverance from it.' 'Lament not my going away, nor feel regret. For if I remained in the world, then what would become of the church ? It must perish without fulfilling its end. From henceforth all my disciples, practising their various duties, shall prove that my true Body, the Body of the Law (*Dharmakaya*), is everlasting and imperishable. The world is fast bound in fetters ; I now give it deliverance, as a physician who brings heavenly medicine. Keep your mind on my teaching ; all other things change, this changes not. No more shall I speak to you. I desire to depart. I desire the eternal rest (*Nirvāna*). This is my last exhortation.'

The secret of Buddha's success was that he brought spiritual deliverance to the people. He preached that salvation was equally open to all men, and that it must be earned, not by propitiating imaginary deities, but by our own conduct. His doctrines thus cut away the religious basis of caste, impaired the efficiency of the sacrificial ritual, and assailed the supremacy of the Brāhmins as the mediators between God and man. Buddha taught that sin, sorrow, and deliverance, the state of a man in this life, in all previous and in all future lives, are the inevitable results of his own acts (*Karma*). He thus applied the inexorable law of cause and effect to the soul. What a man sows, he must reap.

As no evil remains without punishment, and no good deed without reward, it follows that neither priest nor God can prevent each act bearing its own consequences. Misery or happiness in this life is the unavoidable result of our conduct in a past life ; and our actions here will determine our happiness or misery in the life to come. When any creature dies, he is born again in some higher or lower state of existence, according to his merit or demerit. His merit or demerit, that is, his character, consists of the sum-total of his actions in all previous lives.

By this great law of *Karma*, Buddha explained the inequalities and apparent injustice of man's estate in this world as the consequence of acts in the past ; while Christianity compensates those inequalities by rewards in the future. A system in which our whole well-being, past, present, and to

come, depends on ourselves, theoretically leaves little room for the interference, or even existence, of a personal God.¹ But the atheism of Buddha was a philosophical tenet, which, so far from weakening the sanctions of right and wrong, gave them new strength from the doctrine of *Karma*, or the Metempsychosis of Character.

To free ourselves from the thralldom of desire and from the fetters of selfishness, was to attain to the state of the perfect disciple, *Arahat*, in this life, and to the everlasting rest after death, *Nirvāna*. Some Buddhists explain *Nirvāna* as absolute annihilation, when the soul is blown out like the flame of a lamp. Others hold that it is merely the extinction of the sins, sorrows, and selfishness of individual life. The fact is, that the doctrine underwent processes of change and development, like all theological dogmas. 'But the earliest idea of *Nirvāna*,' says one of the greatest authorities on Chinese Buddhism, 'seems to have included in it no more than the enjoyment of a state of rest consequent on the extinction of all causes of sorrow.'² The great practical aim of Buddha's teaching was to subdue the lusts of the flesh and the cravings of self; and *Nirvāna* has been taken to mean the extinction of the sinful grasping condition of heart which, by the inevitable law of *Karma*, would involve the penalty of renewed individual existence. As the Buddhist strove to reach a state of quietism or holy meditation in this world, namely, the state of the perfect disciple or *Arahat*; so he looked forward to an eternal calm in a world to come, *Nirvāna*.

Buddha taught that this end could only be attained by the practice of virtue. He laid down eight precepts of morality, with two more for the religious orders, making ten commandments (*dasa-sīla*) in all. He arranged the besetting faults of mankind into ten sins, and set forth the special duties applicable to each condition of life; to parents and children, to pupils and teachers, to husbands and wives, to masters and servants, to laymen and the religious orders. In place of the Brāhman rites and sacrifices, Buddha prescribed a code of practical morality as the means of salvation. The four essen-

The libera-
tion of
the soul.

Nirvāna.

Moral
code.

The Ten
Command-
ments.

¹ 'Buddhism,' says Mr. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 153, 'declares itself ignorant of any mode of personal existence compatible with the idea of spiritual perfection, and so far it is ignorant of God.'

² Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, p. 157, ed. 1871; and the *Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, App., Letter to Dr. Rost. sec. 6. Max Müller deals with the word from the etymological and Sanskrit side in his *Chips from a German Workbench*, vol. i. pp. 279, 280, ed. 1867. But see, specially, Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *Nibānam*, pp. 263-274.

tial features of that code were—reverence to spiritual teachers and parents, control over self, kindness to other men, and reverence for the life of all sentient creatures.

Missionary
aspects of
Buddhism.

He urged on his disciples that they must not only follow the true path themselves, but that they should preach it to all mankind. Buddhism has from the first been a missionary religion. One of the earliest acts of Buddha's public ministry was to send forth the Sixty; and he carefully formulated the four chief means of conversion. These were, companionship with the good, listening to the law, reflection upon the truths heard, and the practice of virtue. He also instituted a religious Order, one of whose special duties it was to go forth and preach to the nations. While, therefore, the Brāhmins kept their ritual for the twice-born Aryan castes, Buddhism addressed itself not only to those castes and to the lower mass of the people, but to all the non-Aryan races throughout India, and eventually to almost the whole Asiatic world. Buddhism thus supplied, as I must repeat, a bond of union between the widely diverse elements of the Indian population. It created a true Church universal for India, in which differences of race and of colour were merged in a common religious practice and belief. Two features of the Buddhist Order were its fortnightly meetings and public confession, or 'Disburdenment' of sins.

The First
Council,
543 B.C. (?)

On the death of Buddha, according to the traditional Indian chronology in 543 B.C., five hundred of his disciples met in a vast cave near Rājāgriha to gather together his sayings. This was the First Council. They chanted the lessons of their master in three great divisions—the words of Buddha to his disciples;¹ his code of discipline;² and his system of doctrine.³ These became the Three Collections⁴ of Buddha's teaching; and the word for a Buddhist Council⁵ means literally 'a singing together.' A century afterwards, a Second Council, of seven hundred, was held at Vaisali, to settle disputes between the more and the less strict followers of Buddhism. It condemned a system of ten 'Indulgences' which had grown up; but it led to the separation of the Buddhists into two hostile parties, who afterwards split into eighteen sects.

Second
Buddhist
Council,
443 B.C. (?)

During the next two hundred years Buddhism spread over Northern India, perhaps receiving a new impulse from the

¹ *Sūtras*.

² *Vinaya*.

³ *Abhidharma*.

⁴ *Piṭakas*, lit. 'baskets'; afterwards the five *Nikāyas*.

⁵ *Saṅgīti* in Pāli.

Greek kingdoms in the Punjab. About 257 B.C., Asoka, the Third King of Magadha or Behar, became a zealous convert to the Buddhist faith.¹ Asoka was grandson of the Chandra Gupta whom we shall meet as an adventurer in Alexander's camp, and afterwards as an ally of Seleukos. Asoka is said to have supported 64,000 Buddhist priests; he founded many religious houses, and his kingdom is called the Land of the Monasteries (Vihāra or Behar) to this day.

Asoka did for Buddhism what Constantine afterwards effected for Christianity; he organized it on the basis of a State religion. This he accomplished by five means—by a Council to settle the faith, by edicts promulgating its principles, by a State Department to watch over its purity, by missionaries to spread its doctrines, and by an authoritative revision or canon of the Buddhist scriptures. In 244 B.C., Asoka convened at Patná the Third Buddhist Council, of one thousand elders. Evil men, taking on them the yellow robe of the Order, had given forth their own opinions as the teaching of Buddha. Such heresies were now corrected; and the Buddhism of Southern Asia practically dates from Asoka's Council.

In a number of edicts, before and after the synod, he pub-

¹ Much learning has been expended upon the age of Asoka, and various dates have been assigned to its principal events. But, indeed, all Buddhist dates are open questions, according to the system of chronology (or 'working-back') adopted. The middle of the 3rd century B.C. may be taken as the era of Asoka. The following dates from General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indiarum*, p. vii. (1877), exhibit the results of one important line of research on this subject:—

B.C. 264	ASOKA, Struggle with brothers, 4 years.
260	Comes to the throne.
257	Conversion to Buddhism.
250	Treaty with Antiochus.
255	Mahinda ordained.
251	Earliest date of rock edicts.
249	Second date of rock edicts.
248	Arsakes rebels in Parthia.
246	Diodotus rebels in Bactria.
244	Third Buddhist Council under Mogaliputra.
243	Mahinda goes to Ceylon.
242	Barabar cave inscriptions.
234	Pillar edicts issued.
231	Queen Asandhimitta dies.
228	Second Queen married.
226	Her attempt to destroy the Bodhi tree.
225	Asoka becomes an ascetic.
224	Issues Rāpnath and Sisserām edicts.
223	Dies.
215	DASARATHA's cave inscriptions, Nāgarjuna.

(2) His
edicts.

lished throughout India the cardinal principles of the faith. Such edicts are still found graven deep upon pillars, caves, and rocks, from the Yusafzai valley beyond Peshāwar on the north-western frontier, through the heart of Hindustān and the Central Provinces, to Kāthiāwār on the west, and Orissa on the east, coast of India. Tradition states that Asoka set up 84,000 memorial columns or topes. The Chinese Pilgrims came upon them in the inner Himālayas. Forty-two inscriptions still surviving show how widely these royal sermons were spread over India itself.¹

(3) His
Depart-
ment of
Public
Worship.

In the year of the Council, Asoka founded a State Department to watch over the purity, and to direct the spread, of the faith. A Minister of Justice and Religion (Dharma Mahāmatra) directed its operations; and, as one of its first duties was to proselytize, this Minister was charged with the welfare of the aborigines among whom his missionaries were sent. Asoka did not think it enough to convert the inferior races, without looking after their material interests. Wells were to be dug, and trees planted, along the roads; a system of medical aid for man and beast was established throughout his kingdom

¹ Major-General Cunningham, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, enumerates 14 rock inscriptions, 17 cave inscriptions, and 11 inscribed pillars. The rock inscriptions are at—(1) Shāhbāgarhi in the Yusafzai country, 40 miles east-north-east of Peshāwar; (2) Kālsī on the west bank of the Jumna; (3) Girnār in Kāthiāwār, 40 miles north of Somnāth; (4 to 7) Dhāuli in Cuttack, midway between Cuttack and Purī, and Jaugada in Ganjam District, 18 miles north-north-west of Berhampur,—two inscriptions at each, virtually identical; (8) Sāsserām, at the north-east end of the Kāimur range, 70 miles south-east of Benares; (9) Rupnāth, a famous place of pilgrimage, 35 miles north of Jabalpur; (10 and 11) Bairāt, 41 miles north of Jaipur; (12) the Khandgiri Hill, near Dhāuli in Cuttack; (13) Deotek, 50 miles south-east of Nāgpur; (14) Mansera, north-west of Rāwal Pindi, inscribed in the Bactrian character. The cave inscriptions, 17 in number, are found at—(1, 2, 3) Barābār, and (4, 5, 6) Nāgārjuni Hills, both places 15 miles north of Gayā; (7 to 15) Khandgiri Hill in Cuttack, and (16 and 17) Rāmgarh in Sargūja. The eleven inscribed pillars are—(1) the Delhi-Siwālik, at Delhi; (2) the Delhi-Meerut, at Delhi; (3) the Allahābād; (4) the Lauriyā-Arārāj, at Lauriyā, 77 miles north of Patnā; (5) the Lauriyā-Navandgarh, at another Lauriyā, 15 miles north-north-west of Bettīā; (6 and 7) two additional edicts on the Delhi-Siwālik, not found on any other pillar; (8 and 9) two short additional edicts on the Allahābād pillar, peculiar to itself; (10) a short mutilated record on a fragment of a pillar at Sānchi, near Bhilsa; (11) at Rāmpura in the Tarāi, north-east of the second Lauriyā, near Bettīā. The last-named pillar and the rock inscription at Mānsera (No. 14) are recent discoveries since the first edition of this work was published. The Mānsera rock inscription is interesting as being the second in the Bactrian character, and for its recording twelve Edicts complete.

and the conquered Provinces, as far as Ceylon.¹ Officers were appointed to watch over domestic life and public morality;² and to promote instruction among the women as well as the youth.

Asoka recognised proselytism by peaceful means as a State duty. The Rock Inscriptions record how he sent forth missionaries 'to the utmost limits of the barbarian countries,' to 'intermingle among all unbelievers,' for the spread of religion. They shall mix equally with soldiers, Brāhmans, and beggars, with the dreaded and the despised, both within the kingdom 'and in foreign countries, teaching better things.' Conversion is to be effected by persuasion, not by the sword. Buddhism was at once the most intensely missionary religion in the world, and the most tolerant. This character of a proselytizing faith, which wins its victories by peaceful means, so strongly impressed upon it by Asoka, has remained a prominent feature of Buddhism to the present day. Asoka, however, not only took measures to spread the religion, he also endeavoured to secure its orthodoxy. He collected the body of doctrine into an authoritative version, in the Magadhī language or dialect of his central kingdom in Behar; a version which for two thousand years has formed the canon (5) Reformed canon of Buddhist scriptures. (*pitakas*) of the Southern Buddhists. In this way, the Magadhī dialect became the Pāli or sacred language of the Ceylonese.

Mr. Robert Cust thus summarizes Asoka's Fourteen Edicts; but it should be noted that such a summary only endeavours to present a bird's-eye view of many local, and not always concurrent, inscriptions:—

1. Prohibition of the slaughter of animals for food or sacrifice.
2. Provision of a system of medical aid for men and animals, and of plantations and wells on the roadside.
3. Order for a quinquennial humiliation and repudication of the great moral precepts of the Buddhist faith.
4. Comparison of the former state of things, and the happy existing state under the king.
5. Appointment of missionaries to go into various countries, which are enumerated, to convert the people and foreigners.
6. Appointment of informers (or inspectors) and guardians of morality.
7. Expression of a desire that there may be uniformity of religion and equality of rank.

¹ Rock Inscriptions, Edict ii., General Cunningham's *Certus Inscriptionum*, p. 118.

² Rock Inscriptions, Edict vi., etc., *Certus Inscriptionum*, p. 120. These Inspectors of Morals are supposed to correspond to the Sixth Caste of Megasthenes, the *Ἐπίσκοποι* of Arrian.

³ Rock Inscriptions, Edict vi., etc., *Certus Inscriptionum*, p. 120.

8. Contrast of the carnal pleasures of previous rulers with the pious enjoyments of the present king.
9. Inculcation of the true happiness to be found in virtue, through which alone the blessings of heaven can be propitiated.
10. Contrast of the vain and transitory glory of this world with the reward for which the king strives and looks beyond.
11. Inculcation of the doctrine that the imparting of *dharma* or teaching of virtue to others is the greatest of charitable gifts.
12. Address to all unbelievers.
13. (Imperfect); the meaning conjectural.
14. Summing up of the whole.

Fourth
Council,
Kanishka,
(40 A.D.?)

The fourth and last of the great Buddhist Councils was held under King Kanishka, according to one tradition four centuries after Buddha's death. The date of Kanishka is still uncertain; but, from the evidence of coins and inscriptions, his reign has been fixed in the 1st century after Christ, or, say, 40 A.D.¹ Kanishka, the most famous of the Saka conquerors, ruled over North-Western India, and the adjoining countries. His authority had its nucleus in Kashmir, but it extended to both sides of the Himálayas, from Yarkand and Khokand to Agra and Sind.

'Greater
Vehicle.'

'Lesser
Vehicle.'

Kanishka's Council of five hundred drew up three commentaries on the Buddhist faith. These commentaries supplied in part materials for the Tibetan or Northern Canon, completed at subsequent periods. The Northern Canon, or, as the Chinese proudly call it, the 'Greater Vehicle of the Law,' includes many later corruptions or developments of the Buddhism which was originally embodied by Asoka in the 'Lesser Vehicle,' or Canon of the Southern Buddhists (244 B.C.). The Buddhist Canon of China, a branch of the 'Greater Vehicle,' was gradually arranged between 67 and 1285 A.D. It includes 1440 distinct works, comprising 5586 books. The ultimate divergence between the Canons is great. They differ not only, as we have seen, in regard to the legend of Buddha's life, but also as to his teaching. With respect to doctrine, one example will suffice. According to the Northern or 'Greater Vehicle,' Buddhist monks who transgress wilfully after ordination may yet recover themselves; while to such castaways the Southern or 'Lesser Vehicle' allowed no room for repentance.²

¹ The efforts to fix the date of Kanishka are little more than records of conflicting authorities. See Dr. James Fergusson's paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Article ix., April 1880; and Mr. E. Thomas' comprehensive disquisition on the Sâh and Gupta coins, pp. 18-79 of the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1874-75*, 4to, London, 1876.

² Beal, *Catana*, p. 253.

The original of the Northern Canon was written in the Northern Sanskrit language, perhaps because the Kashmir and Northern priests, who formed Kanishka's Council, belonged to isolated and Southern Canons. Himālayan settlements which had been little influenced by the growth of the Indian vernacular dialects. In one of these dialects, the Magadhī of Behar, the Southern Canon had been compiled by Asoka and expanded by commentators. Indeed, the Buddhist compilations appear to have given the first literary impulse to the Prakrits or spoken Aryan dialects in India; as represented by the Pāli or Magadhī of the Ceylonese Buddhist scriptures, and the Mahārishtī of the ancient sacred books of the Jains. The Northern priests, who compiled Kanishka's Canon, preferred the 'perfected' Sanskrit, which had become by that time the accepted literary vehicle of the learned throughout India, to the Prakrit or 'natural' dialects of the Gangetic valley. Kanishka and his Kashmir Council (40 A.D.?) became to the Northern or Tibeto-Chinese Buddhists, what Asoka and his Patnā Council (244 B.C.) had been to the Buddhists of Ceylon and the South.

Buddhism was thus organized as a State religion by the Councils of Asoka and Kanishka. It started from Brāhmanical doctrines; but from those doctrines, not as taught in hermitages to clusters of Brāhman disciples, but as vitalized by a preacher of rare power in the cities of Northern India. Buddha did not abolish caste. On the contrary, reverence to Brāhmins and to the spiritual guide ranked among the four great sets of duties, together with obedience to parents, control over self, and acts of kindness to all men and animals. He introduced, however, a new classification of mankind, on the spiritual basis of Believers and Unbelievers.

The Believers took rank in the Buddhist community,—at first, according to their age and merit; in later times, as laity¹ and clergy² (i.e. the religious orders). Buddhism carried transmigration to its utmost spiritual use, and proclaimed our own actions to be the sole ruling influence on our past, present, and future states. It was thus led into the denial of any external being or God who could interfere with the immutable law of cause and effect as applied to the soul. But, on the other hand, it linked together mankind as parts of one universal whole, and denounced the isolated self-seeking of the human heart as 'the heresy of individuality.'³ Its mission

¹ *Upāsāka*.

² *Sramana*, *bhikkhu* 'monk or religious mendicant', *chī'kuni* (nun).

³ *Sakkyaduttā*.

and
practical
morality.

was to make men more moral, kinder to others, and happier themselves; not to propitiate imaginary deities. It accordingly founded its teaching on man's duty to his neighbour, instead of on his obligations to God; and constructed its ritual on the basis of relic-worship or the commemoration of good men, instead of on sacrifice. Its sacred buildings were not temples to the gods, but monasteries (*vihāras*) for the religious orders, with their bells and rosaries; or memorial shrines,¹ reared over a tooth or bone of the founder of the faith.

Spread of
Buddhism.

In the
South.
Ceylon.
etc., 244
B.C. to
638 A.D.

The missionary impulse given by Asoka quickly bore fruit. In the year after his great Council at Patnā (244 B.C.), his son Mahindo² carried Asoka's version of the Buddhist scriptures in the Magadhī language to Ceylon. He took with him a band of fellow-missionaries; and soon afterwards, his sister, the princess Sanghamittā, who had entered the Order, followed with a company of nuns. It was not, however, till six hundred years later (410-432 A.D.) that the Ceylonese Canon was written out in Pāli, the sacred Magadhī language of the Southern Buddhists. About the same time, missionaries from Ceylon finally established the faith in Burma (450 A.D.). The Burmese themselves assert that two Buddhist preachers landed in Pegu as early as 207 B.C. Indeed, some Burmese date the arrival of Buddhist missionaries just after the Patnā Council, 244 B.C., and point out the ruined city of Tha-tun, between the Sitaung (Tsit-taung) and Salwin estuaries, as the scene of their pious labours. Siam was converted to Buddhism in 638 A.D.; Java received its missionaries direct from India between the 5th and the 7th century, and spread the faith to Bali and Sumatra.³

While Southern Buddhism was thus wafted across the ocean, another stream of missionaries had found their way

¹ *Stūpas*, *toṭes*, literally 'heaps or tumuli'; *dagobas* or *dhātu-gaṇa*, 'relic-preservers'; *chaityas*.

² Sanskrit, Mahendra.

³ All these dates are uncertain. They are founded on the Singalese chronology, but the orthodox in the respective countries place their national conversion at remoter periods. Occasionally, however, the dates can be tested from external sources. Thus we know from the Chinese traveller Fa-Hien, that up to about 414 A.D. Java was still unconverted. Fa-Hien says, 'Heretics and Brāhmins were numerous there, and the law of Buddha is in nowise entertained.' The Burmese chroniclers go back to a time when the duration of human life was ninety millions of years; and when a single dynasty ruled for a period represented by a unit followed by 140 cyphers. See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Article SANDOWAY.

by Central Asia into China. Their first arrival in the Chinese empire is said to date from the 2nd century B.C., although it was not till 65 A.D. that Buddhism there became the established religion. The Græco-Bactrian kingdoms in the Punjab, and beyond it, afforded a favourable soil for the faith. The Scythian dynasties who succeeded the Græco-Bactrians accepted Buddhism; and the earliest remains which recent discovery has unearthed in Afghanistan are Buddhist. Kanishka's Council, soon after the commencement of the Christian era, gave the great impetus to the faith beyond the Himalayas. Tibet, South Central Asia, and China, lay along the regular missionary routes of Northern Buddhism; the Kirghiz are said to have carried the religion as far west as the Caspian; on the east, Buddhism was introduced into the Corea in 372 A.D., and thence into Japan in 552.

Buddhist doctrines are believed to have deeply affected religious thought in Alexandria and Palestine. The question is yet undecided as to how far the Buddhist ideal of the holy life, with its monks, nuns, relic-worship, bells, and rosaries, influenced Christian monachism; and to what extent Buddhist philosophy aided the development of the Gnostic heresies, particularly those of Basilides and Manes, which rent the early Church. It is certain that the analogies are striking, and have been pointed out alike by Jesuit missionaries in Asia, and by oriental scholars in Europe.¹ The form of abjuration for those who renounced the Gnostic doctrines of Manes, expressly mentions *Bōdḍa* and the *Σακχιαῖος* (Buddha and the Scythian or Sakya)—seemingly, says Weber, a separation of Buddha the Sakya into two. At this moment, the Chinese in San Francisco assist their devotions by pictures of the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy, imported on thin paper from Canton, which the Irish Roman Catholics identify as the Virgin Mary with the Infant in her arms, an aureole round her head, an adoring figure at her feet, and the Spirit hovering in the form of a bird.²

¹ For the latter aspect of the question, see Weber, founding on Lassen, Renan, and Beal, *Hi. Ind. Lit.* p. 309, note 363, ed. 1878.

² See also pp. 197, 198. Polemical writers, Christian and Chinese, have with equal injustice accused Buddhism and Christianity of consciously plagiarizing each other's rites. Thus Kuang-Hsien, the distinguished member of the Astronomical Board, who brought about the Chinese persecution of the Christians from 1665 to 1671, writes of them: 'They pillar their talk about heaven and hell from the refuse of Buddhism, and then turn round and revile Buddhism.'—*The Death of the Chinese Persecution of T'ien-chu* (i.e. Christianity), p. 46 Shanghai, 1870. See also the remarks of Jao-chow—'The man most distressed in heart'—in the same collection.

But it is right to point out that the early Nestorian Christians in China may have been the source of some of these resemblances. The liturgy of the Goddess of Mercy, Kwan-yin, in which the analogies to the Eastern Christian office are most strongly marked, has been traced with certainty only as far back as 1412 A.D. in the Chinese Canon.¹ Professor Max Müller endeavoured to show that Buddha himself is the original of Saint Josaphat, who has a day assigned to him by both the Greek and Roman churches.²

Buddha as
a Christian
Saint.

Professor Müller's Essay³ led me to an examination of the whole evidence bearing on this subject.⁴ The results may be thus summarized. The Roman Martyrology at the end of the saints for the 27th November, states: 'Apud Indos Persis finitimos sanctorum Barlaam et Josaphat (commemoratio), quorum actus mirandos Joannes Damascenus conscripsit.' *Among the Indians who border on Persia, Saints Barlaam and Josaphat, whose wonderful works have been written of by St. John of Damascus.* The story of these two saints is that of a young

Legend of
Saints Bar-
laam and
Josaphat.

Indian prince, Josaphat, who is converted by a hermit, Barlaam. Josaphat undergoes the same awakening as Buddha from the pleasures of this world. His royal father had taken similar precautions to prevent the youth from becoming acquainted with the sorrows of life. But Josaphat, like Buddha, is struck by successive spectacles of disease, old age, and death; and abandons his princely state for that of a Christian devotee. He converts to the faith his father, his subjects, and even the magician employed to seduce him. For this magician, by name Theudas, the Buddhist schismatic Devadatta is supposed to have supplied the original; while the name of Josaphat is itself identified by philologists with that of Boddhisattwa, the complete appellation of Buddha.⁵

This curious transfer of the religious teacher of Asia to the

¹ For an excellent account from the Chinese texts of the worship and liturgy of Kwan-yin, 'the Saviour,' or in her female form as the Goddess of Mercy, see Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, 383-397 (Trübner, 1871).

² *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iv. pp. 177-189, ed. 1875.

³ *Contemporary Review*, July 1870.

⁴ For a list of the authorities, and an investigation of them from the Roman Catholic side, by Emmanuel Cosquin, see *Revue des Questions Historiques*, lvi. pp. 579-600; Paris, October 1880.

⁵ The earlier form of Josaphat was Ioasaph in Greek and Youasaf or Youdasf in Arabic, an evident derivation from the Sanskrit Boddhisattwa, through the Persian form Boudasp (Weber). The name of the magician Theudas is in like manner an accurate philological reproduction of Devadatta or Thevdat.

Christian Martyrology has an equally curious history. Saint John of Damascus wrote in the 8th century in Greek, and an Arabic translation of his work, belonging to the 11th century, still survives. The story of Josaphat was popular in the Greek Church, and was embodied by Simeon the Metaphrast in the lives of the saints, *circa* 1150 A.D. The Greek form of the name is 'Ιωάσαφ.¹ By the 12th century, the life of Barlaam and Josaphat had already reached Western Europe in a Latin form. During the first half of the 13th century, Vincent de Beauvais inserted it in his *Speculum Historiale*; and in the latter half of that century it found a place in the Golden Legend of Jacques de Voragine. Meanwhile, it had also been popularized by the troubadour, Guy de Cambrai. From this double source, the Golden Legend of the Church and the French poem of the people, the story of Barlaam and Josaphat spread throughout Europe. German, Provençal, Italian, Polish, Spanish, English, and Norse versions carried it from the southern extremity of the Continent to Sweden and Iceland.

In 1583, the legend was entered in the Roman Martyrology for the 27th day of November, as we have already seen, upon the alleged testimony of St. John of Damascus. A church in Palermo still (1874) bears the dedication, *Dico Josaphat*.² The Roman Martyrology of Gregory XIII., revised under the auspices of Urban VIII., has a universal acceptance throughout Catholic Christendom; although, from the statements of Pope Benedict XIV., and others, it would appear that it is to be used for edification, rather than as a work resting on infallible authority. However this may be, the text of the two legends, and the names of their prominent actors, place beyond doubt the identity of the Eastern and the Western story.

It is difficult to enter a Japanese Buddhist temple without being struck by analogies to the Christian ritual on the one hand, and to Hinduism on the other. The chantings of the priests, their bowing as they pass the altar, their vestments, rosaries, bells, incense, and the responses of the worshippers, remind one of the Christian ritual. 'The temple at Rokugo,'

¹ See the valuable note in Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. pp. 302-309 (2nd ed., 1875).

² Yule, *op. cit.* p. 308.

³ This aspect of the question is discussed at considerable length by Emmanuel Cosquin, pp. 583-594. He gives the two legends of Pad'ma and of Barlaam-Josaphat in parallel columns, pp. 590-594 of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. lvi., already cited.

Early stages of the story.

A Japanese temple: its analogies to Hinduism and Christianity.

writes a recent traveller to a remote town in Japan, 'was very beautiful, and, except that its ornaments were superior in solidity and good taste, differed little from a Romish church. The low altar, on which were lilies and lighted candles, was draped in blue and silver; and on the high altar, draped in crimson and cloth of gold, there was nothing but a closed shrine, an incense-burner, and a vase of lotuses.'¹ In a Buddhist temple at Ningpo, the Chinese Goddess of Mercy, Kwan-yin, whose resemblance to the Virgin Mary and Child has already been mentioned (pp. 195, 196), is seen standing on a serpent, bruising his head with her heel.

Serpent
ornamen-
tation.

Buddha as
an *avatār*
of Vishnu.

The Hindus, while denouncing Buddha as a heretic, have been constrained to admit him to a place in their mythology. They regard him as the ninth, and hitherto last, incarnation of Vishnu,—the Lying Spirit let loose to deceive men until the tenth or final descent of Vishnu, on the white horse, with a flaming sword like a comet in his hand, for the destruction of the wicked and the renovation of the world.

Buddha's
personality
lenient.

While, on the one hand, a vast growth of legends has arisen around Buddha, tending to bring out every episode of his life into strong relief, efforts have been made, on the other hand, to explain away his personal identity. No date can be assigned with certainty for his existence on this earth. The Northern Buddhists have fourteen different accounts, ranging from 2422 to 546 B.C.² The Southern Buddhists agree in starting from the 1st of June 543 B.C. as the day of Buddha's death. This latter date, 543 B.C., is usually accepted by European writers; but Indian chronology, as worked back from inscriptions and coins,³ gives the date 478 B.C. Another line of research brings his death as far down as 412 B.C. Some scholars, indeed, have argued that Buddhism is merely a religious development of the Brāhmanical Sāṅkhya philosophy of Kapila (*auth.* p. 141; that Buddha's birth is placed at a purely allegorical site, Kapilavastu, 'the abode of Kapila'; that his mother is

His date

¹ Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. i. p. 295 (ed. 1880).

² Csoma de Koros, on the authority of Tibetan MSS., *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 199. A debt long overdue has at length been paid to one of the most single-minded of Oriental scholars by the publication of Dr. Theodore Duka's *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Koros*. (Trübner, 1885).

³ General Cunningham works back the date of Buddha's death to 478 B.C., and takes this as his starting-point in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. vii. The subject is admirably discussed by Mr. Rhys Davids in the *International Numismata Orientalia* (Ceylon fasciculus), pp. 38-56. He arrives at 412 B.C. as the most probable date. Dr. Oldenberg fixes it at about 480 B.C.

called Mâyādevī, in reference to the Mâyā doctrine of Kapila's system; and that his own two names are symbolical ones—Siddartha, 'he who has fulfilled his end,' and Buddha, 'the Enlightened.'

Buddhism and Brāhmanism are unquestionably united by intermediate links. Certain of the sacred texts of the Brāhmins, particularly the Vrihad Aranyaka and the Atharva Upanishad of the Yoga system, teach doctrines which are essentially Buddhistic. According to Wilson and others, Buddha had possibly no personal existence;¹ Buddhism was merely the Sāṅkhya philosophy widened into a national religion; and the religious life of the Buddhistic orders was the old Brāhmanical type popularized.² The theory is at any rate so far true, that Buddhism was not a sudden invention of any single mind, but a development on a broader basis of a philosophy and religion which preceded it. Such speculations, however, leave out of sight the two great traditional features of Buddhism—namely, the preacher's appeal to the people, and the undying influence of his beautiful life. Senart's still more sceptical theory of Buddha as a Solar Myth, has completely broken down under the critical examination of Oldenberg.

Buddhism never ousted Brāhmanism from any large part of India. The two systems coexisted as popular religions from the death of Buddha during thirteen hundred years (543 B.C. to about 800 A.D.), and modern Hinduism is the joint product of both. The legends of Buddha, especially those of the Northern Canon,³ bear witness to the active influence of Brāhmanism during the whole period of Buddha's life. After his death, certain kings and certain eras were intensely Buddhistic; but the continuous existence of Brāhmanism is abundantly proved from the time of Alexander (327 B.C.)

¹ Professor H. H. Wilson went so far as to say, 'It seems not impossible that Sakya Muni is an unreal being, and that all that is related of him is as much a fiction as is that of his preceding migrations and the miracles that attended his birth, his life, and his departure.' The arguments are dealt with by Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* pp. 284-293, ed. 1878.

² Dr. Oldenberg's *Buddha, sein Leben*, contains valuable evidence on this subject (Hoey's transl. pp. 46, 48 to 59, etc.). See also *The Sāṅkhya Aphorisms of Kapila*, Sanskrit and English, with illustrative texts from the Commentaries by Dr. Ballantyne, formerly Principal of the Benares College, 3rd ed. (Trübner, 1885.)

³ See the *Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order*, derived from the Tibetan texts, by Mr. Woodville Rockhill of the U. S. Legation in China; also Oldenberg's *Buddha*.

downwards. The historians who chronicled Alexander's march, and the Greek ambassador Megasthenes, who succeeded them (300 B.C.) in their literary labours, bear witness to the predominance of Brāhmanism in the period immediately preceding Asoka. Inscriptions, local legends, Sanskrit literature, and the drama, disclose the survival of Brāhman influence during the next six centuries (244 B.C. to 400 A.D.). From 400 A.D. we have the evidence of the Chinese Pilgrims, who toiled through Central Asia into India to visit the birthplace of their faith.¹

Buddhism and Brāhmanism. 400 A.D. to 645 A.D. 'Never did more devoted Pilgrims,' writes the greatest living student of their lives,² 'leave their native country to encounter the perils of travel in foreign and distant lands; never did disciples more ardently desire to gaze on the sacred vestiges of their religion; never did men endure greater sufferings by desert, mountain, and sea, than these simple-minded, earnest

Fa-Hian. 399 A.D. Buddhist priests.' Fa-Hian entered India from Afghanistan, and journeyed down the whole Gangetic valley to the Bay of Bengal in 399-413 A.D. He found Brāhman priests equally honoured with Buddhist monks, and temples to the Indian gods side by side with the religious houses of the Buddhist faith.

Hsien Tsiang. 629 A.D. Hsien Tsiang, a still greater Pilgrim, also travelled to India from China by the Central Asia route, and has left a fuller record of the state of the two religions in the 7th century. His wanderings extended from 629 to 645 A.D. Everywhere throughout India he found the two systems eagerly competing for the suffrages of the people. By this time, indeed, Brāh-

¹ The *Si-yu-ki, or Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese, by Samuel Beal (Trübner, 2 vols., 1884), has completed and perfected the work begun by Julien and Rémusat. Mr. Beal's volumes throw a flood of light on the social, religious, and political condition of India from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. The older authorities are Foe Koue Ki, *ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques; Voyages dans la Tartarie, l'Afghanistan et l'Inde à la fin du iv. siècle. par Chi-Fa-Hian*, translated by A. Rémusat, reviewed by Klaproth and Landresse, 1836. Mr. Beal's *Travel of the Buddhist Pilgrim Fa-Hian*, translated with Notes and Prolegomena, 1869; Julien's *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, t. i.; *Histoire de la Vie de Hsien-Tsiang et de ses Voyages dans l'Inde*, translated from the Chinese, 1853, t. ii. and iii.; *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales, par Hsien-Tsiang*, translated from the Chinese, 1857-59. C. J. Neumann's *Pilgerfahrten Buddhistischer Priester von China nach Indien, aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt*, 1883, of which I have yet seen only one volume; General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, and his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* (various dates).

² *Si-yu-ki*, Mr. Beal's Introduction, pp. ix. x.

manism was beginning to reassert itself at the expense of the Buddhist religion. The monuments of the great Buddhist monarchs, Asoka and Kanishka, confronted him from the moment he neared the Punjab frontier; but so also did the temples of Siva and his 'dread' queen Bhímá. Throughout North-Western India he found Buddhist convents and monks surrounded by 'swarms of heretics,' *i.e.* Bráhmānical sects.

The political power was also divided, though Buddhist sovereigns still predominated. A Buddhist monarch ruled over ten kingdoms in Afghānistán. At Pesháwar, the great monastery built by Kanishka was deserted, but the populace remained faithful. In Kashmír, the king and people were devout Buddhists, under the teaching of 500 monasteries and 5000 monks. In the country identified with Jaipur, on the other hand, the inhabitants were devoted to heresy and war.

Buddhist influence in Northern India seems, during the 7th century A.D., to have centred in the fertile plain between the Jumna and the Ganges, and in Behar. At Kanauj (Kanyá-kubja), on the Ganges, Hiuen Tsiang found a powerful Buddhist monarch, Siláditya, whose influence reached from the Punjab to North-Eastern Bengal, and from the Himálayas to the Narbadá river. Here flourished 100 Buddhist convents and 10,000 monks. But the king's eldest brother had been lately slain by a sovereign of Eastern India, a hater of Buddhism; and 200 temples to the Bráhmaṇ gods reared their heads under the protection of the devout Siláditya himself.

Siláditya appears as an Asoka of the 7th century A.D., and he practised with primitive vigour the two great Buddhist virtues of spreading the faith and charity. The former he attempted by means of a General Council in 634 A.D. Twenty-one tributary sovereigns attended, together with the most learned Buddhist monks and Bráhmāns of their kingdoms. But the object of the convocation was no longer the undisputed assertion of the Buddhist religion. It dealt with the two phases of the religious life of India at that time. First, a discussion between the Buddhists and Bráhmaṇ philosophers of the Sánkhya and Vaisesika schools; second, a dispute between the Buddhist sects who followed respectively the Northern and the Southern Canons, known as 'the Greater and the Lesser Vehicle of the Law.' The rites of the populace were of as composite a character as the doctrines of their teachers. On the first day of the Council, a statue of Buddha was installed with great pomp; on the second, an image of the Sun-god; on the third, an idol of Siva.

Buddhism
in India.
629-645
A.D.

Council of
Siláditya,
634 A.D.

Silāditya's charity. Silāditya held a solemn distribution of his royal treasures every five years. Hiuen Tsiang describes how on the plain near Allahābād, where the Ganges and the Jumna unite their waters, the kings of the Empire, and a multitude of people, were feasted for seventy-five days. Silāditya brought forth the stores of his palace, and gave them away to Brāhmins and Buddhists, to monks and heretics, without distinction. At the end of the festival, he stripped off his jewels and royal raiment, handed them to the bystanders, and, like Buddha of old, put on the rags of a beggar. By this ceremony the monarch commemorated the Great Renunciation of the founder of the Buddhist faith. At the same time he discharged the highest duty inculcated alike by the Buddhist and Brāhmanical religions, namely almsgiving. The vast monastery of Nalanda¹ formed a seat of learning which recalls the universities of mediæval Europe. Ten thousand monks and novices of the eighteen Buddhist schools here studied theology, philosophy, law, science, especially medicine, and practised their devotions. They lived in lettered ease, supported from the royal funds. But even this stronghold of Buddhism furnishes a proof that Buddhism was only one of two hostile creeds in India. During the brief period with regard to which the Chinese records afford information, it was three times destroyed by the enemies of the faith.²

Mingling of Buddhism and Brāhmanism, 629-645 A.D. Hiuen Tsiang travelled from the Punjab to the mouth of the Ganges, and made journeys into Southern India. But everywhere he found the two religions mingled. Buddh-Gayā, which holds so high a sanctity in the legends of Buddha, had already become a great Brāhman centre. On the east of Bengal, Assam had not been converted to Buddhism. In the south-west, Orissa was a stronghold of the Buddhist faith. But in the seaport of Tamlūk, at the mouth of the Hugli, the temples to the Brāhman gods were five times more numerous than the monasteries of the faithful. On the Madras coast, Buddhism flourished; and indeed throughout Southern India the faith seems still to have been in the ascendant, although struggling against Brāhman heretics and their gods.

¹ Identified with the modern Baragāon, near Gayā. The Great Monastery can be traced by a mass of brick ruins, 1600 feet long by 400 feet deep. General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 468-470, ed. 1871.

² Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, p. 371, ed. 1871.

During the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., Brāhmanism became the ruling religion. There are legends of persecutions, instigated by Brāhman reformers, such as Kumārila Bhatta and Sankara Achārya. Local evidence of these persecutions has lately been collected in many parts of India, and some native Indian scholars believe that the extirpation of Buddhism was effected by a general suppression instigated by the Brāhmins and enforced by a central governing power. Of any such centrally organized and forcible suppression, sufficient proofs are not forthcoming. Force no doubt played a part (see *post*, pp. 240, 241), but the downfall of Buddhism seems to have largely resulted from natural decay, and from new movements of religious thought, rather than from any general suppression by the sword. Its extinction is contemporaneous with the rise of Hinduism, and belongs to a subsequent chapter.

In the 11th century, it was chiefly outlying States, like Kashmir and Orissa, that remained faithful. When the Muhammadans came permanently upon the scene, Buddhism as a popular faith has almost disappeared from the interior Provinces of India. Magadha, the cradle of the religion, still continued Buddhist under the Pāl Rajās down to the Musalman conquest of Bakhtiyār Khilji in 1199 A.D.¹

During nearly a thousand years Buddhism has been a banished religion from its native home. But it has won greater triumphs in its exile than it could have ever achieved in the land of its birth. It has created a literature and a religion for nearly half the human race, and has affected the beliefs of the other half. Five hundred millions of men, or perhaps forty per cent. of the inhabitants of the world, still acknowledge, with more or less fidelity, the holy teaching of Buddha. Afghanistan, Nepal, Eastern Türkistān, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, China, Japan, the Eastern Archipelago, Siam, Burma, Ceylon, and India, at one time marked the magnificent circumference of its conquests. Its shrines and monasteries stretched in a continuous line from what are now the confines of the Russian Empire to the equatorial islands of the Pacific. During twenty-four centuries Buddhism has encountered and outlived a series of powerful rivals. At this day it forms, with Christianity and Islām, one of the three great religions of the world; and the most numerous followed of the three.

¹ MS. materials supplied to the author by General Cunningham, whose Archeological Reports and kind assistance this volume is deeply indebted.

Victory of
Brāhman-
ism, 700
600 A.D.

Buddhi-
sm an exiled
religion,
1000 A.D.

Its foreign
conquests.

Buddhist
survivals
in India.

Buddhist
popula-
tion, 1881
and 1891.

In India its influence has survived its separate existence. The Buddhist period not only left a distinct sect, the Jains, but it supplied the spiritual basis on which Brahmanism finally developed from the creed of a caste into the religion of the people. A later chapter will show how important and how permanent have been Buddhistic influences on Hinduism. The Buddhists in British India in 1881 numbered nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of whom $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions were in British Burma; and 166,892 on the Indian continent, almost entirely in North-Eastern Bengal and Assam. Together with the Jain sect, the Buddhist subjects of the Crown in British India amounted to close on four millions in 1881.¹ One of the remarkable features of the following ten years was the enormous addition to the Buddhist population under British government. In 1891, the total number of Buddhist subjects of the Crown, including the Jains, was over $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions: namely, 7,095,398 Buddhists and 495,001 Jains. The increase was chiefly due to the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886; but the Buddhist population, both in Lower Burma and on the Indian continent, disclosed also a rapid rate of growth. In 1891, the Buddhists in British Burma (Upper and Lower) numbered 6,888,075, and 206,033 on the continent of British India, together with 1290 in the Andaman Islands. The Buddhists, apart from the annexation of new Buddhist populations, are increasing more rapidly than any other considerable section of the Indian peoples. Their rate of growth, calculated on the same areas, reached the high figure of $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. during the ten years ending 1891. The revival of Buddhism is always a possibility in India. In 1885, an excellent Buddhist journal was started in Bengali, at Chittagong; and during 1891-92 a new central Buddhist Society, with local branches and a monthly English journal, was organized in Calcutta. Its motto, taken from the ancient *Mahāvāgga Vinaya Pitakam*, and printed at the top of its publications, runs thus: 'Go ye, O Bikkhus,' or unpaid Buddhist missionaries, 'and wander forth for the gain of the many, the welfare of the many, in compassion for the world. . . . Proclaim, O Bikkhus, the doctrine glorious. Preach ye a life of holiness, perfect and pure.' The first number of its journal opens with the following

¹ The Buddhists proper were returned in 1881 for British India at 3,418,476: of whom 3,251,584 were in British Burma; 155,809 in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal; and 6563 in Assam. The Jains proper were returned at 448,897 in British India by the Census of 1881. For the returns of 1891, see the text above.

words: 'The Mahá Bodhi Society has commenced its mission for the resuscitation of Buddhism in the land of its birth.'¹

The Jains number about half a million in British India. The Jains. Like the Buddhists, they deny the authority of the Veda, except in so far as it agrees with their own doctrines. They disregard sacrifice; practise a strict morality; believe that their past and future states depend upon their own actions rather than on any external deity; and scrupulously reverence the vital principle in man and beast. They differ from the Buddhists chiefly in their ritual and objects of worship. The veneration of good men departed is common to both, but the Jains have expanded and methodized such adoration on lines of their own.

The Buddhists admit that many Buddhas have appeared in successive lives upon earth, and attained *Nirvāna* or beatific extinction; but they confine their reverence to a comparatively small number. The Jains divide time into successive eras, Jain doc- and assign twenty-four *Jinas* or just men made perfect, to each.² trines. They name twenty-four in the past age, twenty-four in the present, and twenty-four in the era to come: and place colossal statues of white or black marble to this great company of saints in their temples. They adore above all the two latest, or twenty-third and twenty-fourth *Jinas* of the present era—namely, Pársvanáth³ and Mahávira.

The Jains choose wooded mountains and the most lovely Jain temple retreats of nature for their places of pilgrimage, and cover them cities. with exquisitely-carved shrines in white marble or stucco. Parasnáth Hill in Bengal, the temple city of Pálitána in Káthiáwár, and Mount Abú which rises with its gems of architecture like a jewelled island from the Rajputána plains, form well-known scenes of their worship. The Jains are a wealthy community, usually engaged in banking or wholesale commerce, devoid indeed of the old missionary spirit of Buddhism, but closely knit together among themselves. Their charity is boundless; and they form the chief supporters of the beast hospitals, which the old Buddhistic tenderness for animals has left in many of the cities of India.

¹ *Journal of the Mahá Bodhi Society*, Calcutta, May 1892.

² Under such titles as Jagata-prabhu, 'lord of the world;' Kshínakarma, 'freed from ceremonial acts;' Sarvajña, 'all knowing;' Adhi-svara, 'supreme lord;' Tirthankara, 'he who has crossed over the world;' and Jina, 'he who has conquered the human passions.'

³ Popularly rendered Parasnáth.

Relation
of Jainism
to Buddh-
ism

Jainism is, in its external aspects, Buddhism equipped with a mythology—a mythology, however, not of gods, but of saints. But in its essentials, Jainism forms a survival of beliefs anterior to Asoka and Kanishka. According to the old view, the Jains are a remnant of the Indian Buddhists who saved themselves from extinction by compromises with Hinduism, and so managed to erect themselves into a recognised caste. According to the later and truer view, they represent in an unbroken succession the Nigantha sect of the Asoka edicts. The Jains themselves claim as their founder, Mahāvīra, the teacher or contemporary of Buddha; and the Niganthas appear as a sect independent of, indeed opposed to, the Buddhists in the Rock Inscriptions of Asoka and in the Southern Canon (*pitakas*).

Jains
earlier
than
Buddh-
ists (?).

Mahāvīra, who bore also the spiritual name of Vardhamāna, 'The Increaser,' is the 24th Jina or 'Conqueror of the Passions,' adored in the present age of Jain chronology. Like Buddha, he was of princely birth, and lived and laboured in the same country and at the same time as Buddha. According to the southern Buddhistic dates, Buddha 'attained rest' 543 B.C., and Mahāvīra in 526 B.C. But according to the Jain texts, Mahāvīra was the predecessor and teacher of Buddha.

Antiquity
of the
Jains.

A theory has accordingly been advanced that the Buddhism of Asoka (244 B.C.) was in reality a later product than the Nigantha or Jain doctrines.¹ The Jains are divided into the Svetāmbaras, 'The White Robed,' and the Digambaras, 'The Naked.' The Tibetan texts make it clear that sects closely analogous to the Jains existed in the time of Buddha, and that they were antecedent and rival orders to that which Buddha established.² Even the Southern Buddhist Canon preserves recollections of a struggle between a naked sect like the Jain Digambaras, and the decently robed Buddhists.³ This Digambara or Nigantha sect (Nirgrantha, 'those who have cast aside every tie') was very distinctly recognised by Asoka's edicts; and both the Svetāmbara and Digambara

¹ This subject was discussed in Mr. Edward Thomas' *Jainism, or the Early Faith of Asoka*; in Mr. Rhys Davids' article in *The Academy* of 13th September 1879; in his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 27; and in the *Numismata Orientalia* (Ceylon fasciculus), pp. 55, 60.

² Mr. Woodville Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, from the Bkah-Hgyur and Estan-Hgyur in *varius locis*. 1884.

³ See for example the curious story of the devout Buddhist bride from the Burmese sacred books, in Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, pp. 257-259. vol. i., ed. 1882.

orders of the modern Jains find mention in the early copper-plate inscriptions of Mysore, *circa* 5th or 6th century A.D. The Jains in our own day feel strongly on this subject, and the head of the Jain community at Ahmadâbâd, with whom I fully discussed the point, argued with great earnestness and learning to prove that their faith was anterior to Buddhism.

Until quite recently, however, European scholars did not admit the pretensions of the Jains to pre-Buddhistic antiquity. H. H. Wilson questioned their importance at any period earlier than twelve centuries ago.¹ Weber regarded 'the Jains as merely one of the oldest sects of Buddhism;' and Lassen believed that they had branched off from the Buddhists.² M. Barth, after a careful discussion of the evidence, still thought that we must regard the Jains 'as a sect which took its rise in Buddhism.'³ On the other hand, Oldenberg, who brings the latest light from the Pâli texts to bear on the question, accepts the identity of the Jain sect with the Niganthas 'into whose midst the younger brotherhood of Buddha entered.'⁴

The learned Jacobi has now investigated this question from the Jain texts themselves.⁵ Oldenberg had proved, out of the Buddhist scriptures, that Buddhism was a true product of Brâhman doctrine and discipline. Jacobi shows that both 'Buddhism and Jainism must be regarded as religions developed out of Brâhmanism not by a sudden reformation, but prepared by a religious movement going on for a long time.'⁶ And he brings forward evidence for believing that Jainism was the earlier outgrowth; that it was probably founded by Pârsvanâth, now revered as the 23rd Jina; and merely reformed by Mahâvîra, the contemporary of Buddha.⁷ The outfit of the Jain monk, his alms-bowl, rope, and water vessel, was practically the equipment of the

Jacobi's investigation of the question.
Jainism older than Buddhism.

¹ *Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus*, by H. H. Wilson. Dr. Reinhold Rost's edition, p. 329. vol. i. (1862).

² Weber's *Indische Studien* xvi. 210; and Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iv. 763 et seq.

³ Barth's *Religions of India*, ed. 1882, p. 151; also Barth's *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, iii. 90.

⁴ *Buddha, his Life, his Doctrine, his Order*, by Prof. Hermann Oldenberg. Huey's translation (1882), p. 67. See also his pp. 66 and (foot-note) 77, and 175.

⁵ *Jaina Sûtras*, Part I., the Achâraṅga Sûtra, and the Kalpa Sûtra, by Hermann Jacobi, forming vol. xxii. of the *Sacred Books of the East* Clarendon Press, 1884.

⁶ Jacobi, *op. cit.*, Introduction, xxxi.

⁷ Jacobi, *op. cit.* xxxiv.

previous Brāhman ascetic.¹ In doctrine, the Jains accepted the Brāhman pantheistic philosophy of the *Ātman*, or Universal Soul. They believed that not only animals and plants, but the elements themselves, earth, fire, water, and wind, were endowed with souls. Buddha made a further divergence. He combated the Brāhman doctrine of the Universal Soul; and the Jain dogma, of the elements and minerals being endowed with souls, finds no place in Buddhist philosophy.²

Date of
the Jain
Scriptures.

Jacobi believes that the Jain texts were composed or collected at the end of the 4th century B.C.; that the origin of the extant Jain literature cannot be placed earlier than about 300 B.C.; and that their sacred books were reduced to writing in the 5th century A.D.³ He thinks that the two existing divisions of the Jains, the Svetāmbaras and the Digambaras, separated from each other about two or three hundred years after the death of the founder; but 'that the development of the Jain church has not been at any time violently interrupted.' That, 'in fact, we can follow this development from its true beginning through its various stages, and that Jainism is as much independent from other sects, especially from Buddhism, as can be expected from any sect.'⁴

Jains an
independ-
ent sect.

Modern
Jainism.

In its external aspects, modern Jainism may be described as a religion allied in doctrine to ancient Indian Buddhism, but humanized by saint-worship, and narrowed from a national religion to the exclusive requirements of a sect.

Survivals
of Buddh-
ism in
India.

The noblest survivals of Buddhism in India are to be found, however, not among any peculiar body, but in the religion of the people; in that principle of the brotherhood of man, with the reassertion of which each new revival of Hinduism starts: in the asylum which the great Vaishnav sect affords to women who have fallen victims to caste rules, to the widow and the outcast; in that gentleness and charity to all men, which take the place of a poor-law in India, and give a high significance to the half-satirical epithet of the 'mild' Hindu.

In the foregoing chapter I have endeavoured to give a continuous view of Buddhism from the 6th century B.C., when it developed out of Brāhmanism, down to the close of the 19th

¹ For slight differences, see Jacobi, xxviii.

² Jacobi, *op. cit.* xxxiii.

³ *Op. cit.* xxxv. and xliii.

⁴ *Op. cit.* xlv.

century A.D. The brevity imperiously imposed on such a sketch by the limits of this volume, renders it at many points less satisfactory than I could have wished. But, so far as I am aware, no similar presentment has yet been offered, and the reader can at once verify and amplify the details in each branch of the subject from the authorities cited in the foot-notes. Our recent conquest of an extensive and ancient Buddhist kingdom, and the addition of over $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Buddhists to the subjects of the British Crown, effected by the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, made it necessary that such a continuous survey should now be attempted; while the rapid increase of the Buddhist population within the British Provinces themselves, forms perhaps the most striking disclosure of the Census of 1891. A revival of Buddhism is, I repeat, one of the present possibilities in India. The life and teaching of Buddha are also beginning to exercise a new influence on religious thought in Europe and America. As that teaching becomes more accurately known to the Western world, it will be divested of the mystical pretensions with which certain of its modern professors have obscured it. Buddhism will stand forth as the embodiment of the eternal verity that as a man sows he will reap; associated with the personal duties of mastery over self and kindness to all men; and quickened into a popular religion by the example of a noble and beautiful Life.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREEKS IN INDIA (327 TO 161 B.C.).

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY have been the great contributions of India to the world. We now come to deal with India, not as a centre of influence upon other nations, but as acted on by them.

External
sources
of the
history of
India.

Early
Greek
writers,
549-401
B.C.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF INDIA commences for us with the Greek invasion in 327 B.C. Some indirect trade between India and the Mediterranean seems to have existed from very ancient times. Homer was acquainted with tin,¹ and other articles of Indian merchandise, by their Sanskrit names; and a list has been made of Indian products mentioned in the Bible.² The ship captains of Solomon and Hiram not only brought Indian apes, peacocks, and sandal-wood to Palestine, they also brought their Sanskrit names.³ This was about 1000 B.C. The Assyrian monuments show that the rhinoceros and elephant were among the tribute offered to Shalmaneser II. (859-823 B.C.).⁴ But the first Greek historian who speaks clearly of India is Hekataios of Miletos (549-486 B.C.); the knowledge of Herodotos (450 B.C.) ended at the Indus; and Ktesias, the physician (401 B.C.), brought back from his residence in Persia only a few facts about the products of India, its dyes and fabrics, monkeys and parrots. India to the east of the Indus was first made known to Europe by the historians and men of science who accompanied Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. Their narratives, although now lost, furnished materials to Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian. Soon after-

¹ Greek, Kassiteros; Sanskrit, Kastira; hence, the Kassiterides, the Tin or Scilly Islands. Elephas, ivory, through the Arabian *eleph* (from Arabic *el*, the, and Sanskrit *ibha*, domestic elephant), is also cited.

² Sir G. Birdwood's scholarly *Handbook to the British Indian Section of the Paris Exhibition of 1878*, pp. 22-35. For economic intercourse with ancient India, see Del Mar's *History of Money in Ancient Countries*, chaps. iv. and v. (1885).

³ Hebrew, Kophim, tukijim, almugim=Sanskrit, *kapi*, *sikhī*, *valgukam*.

⁴ Professor Max Duncker's *Ancient History of India*, p. 13 (ed. 1881).

wards, Megasthenes, as Greek ambassador resident at a court in the centre of Bengal (306-298 B.C.), had opportunities for the closest observation. The knowledge of the Greeks concerning India practically dates from his researches, 300 B.C.¹

Alexander the Great entered India early in 327 B.C.; crossed the Indus above Attock, and advanced, without a struggle, over the intervening territory of the Taxiles² to the Jehlam (Jhelum) (Hydaspes). He found the Punjab divided into petty kingdoms jealous of each other, and many of them inclined to join an invader rather than to oppose him. One of these local monarchs, Porus, disputed the passage of the Jehlam with a force which, substituting chariots for guns, about equalled the army of Ranjīt Singh, the ruler of the Punjab in the present century.³ Plutarch gives a vivid description of the battle from Alexander's own letters. Having drawn up his troops at a bend of the Jehlam, about 14 miles west of the modern field of Chilianwāla,⁴ the Greek general crossed under cover of a tempestuous night. The

¹ The fragments of the *Indika* of Megasthenes, collected by Dr. Schwanbeck, with the first part of the *Indika* of Arrian; the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, with Arrian's account of the voyage of Nearkhos; the *Indika* of Ktesias; and Ptolemy's chapters relating to India, have been edited in four volumes with prolegomena by Mr. J. W. McCrindle, M.A. (Trübner, 1877, 1879, 1882, and 1885). They originally appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, to which this volume is much indebted. A new and important work by Mr. McCrindle is promised shortly (1892), by Messrs. Constable & Co., under the title of *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*. General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, with its maps, and his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey*, Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* (2 vols. 4to, 1807), and the series of maps, on an unfortunately small scale, in General-Lieutenant von Spruner's *Historisch-Geographischen Atlas* (Gotha), have also been used for this chapter.

² The Takkas, a Turanian race, the earliest inhabitants of RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT. They gave their name to the town of Takshāsila, or Taxila, which Alexander found 'a rich and populous city, the largest between the Indus and Hydaspes,' identified with the ruins of DEER SHAHAN. Taki or Asarūr, on the road between Lahore and Pindi Bhatiyān, was the capital of the Punjab in 633 A.D. When names are printed in small capital, the object is to refer the reader to the fuller information given in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ Namely, '30,000 efficient infantry; 4000 horse; 300 chariots; 200 elephants' [Professor Cowell]. The Greeks probably exaggerated the numbers of the enemy. Alexander's army numbered 'about 50,000, including 5000 Indian auxiliaries under Mophis of Taxila.'—General Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 172. See his lucid account of the battle, with an excellent map, pp. 159-177, ed. 1871.

⁴ And about 30 miles south-west of Jhelum town.

chariots hurried out by Porus stuck in the muddy margin of the river. In the engagement which followed, the elephants of the Indian prince refused to face the Greeks, and, wheeling round, trampled his own army under foot. His son fell early in the onset; Porus himself fled wounded: but, on tendering his submission, he was confirmed in his kingdom, and became the conqueror's trusted friend. Alexander built two memorial cities on the scene of his victory,—Bucephala on the west bank, near the modern JALALPUR, named after his beloved charger, Bucephalus, slain in the battle; and Nikaia, the present MONG, on the east side of the river.

Alexander
in the
Punjab,
327–326
B.C.

Alexander advanced south-east through the kingdom of the younger Porus to Amritsar, and, after a sharp bend backward to the west, to fight the Kathaei at Sāngala, he reached the Beas (Hyphasis). Here, at a spot not far from the modern battle-field of Sobraon, he halted his victorious standards.¹ He had resolved to march to the Ganges; but his troops were worn out by the heats of the Punjab summer, and their spirits broken by the hurricanes of the south-west monsoon. The native tribes had already risen in his rear, and the Conqueror of the World was forced to turn back, before he had crossed even the frontier Province of India. The Sutlej, the eastern Districts of the Punjab, and the mighty Jumna, still lay between him and the Ganges. A single defeat might have been fatal to his army; if the battle on the Jehlam had gone against him, not a Greek would probably have reached the Afghān side of the passes. Yielding at length to the clamour of his men, he led them back from the Beas to the Jehlam. He there embarked 8000 of his troops in boats previously prepared, and floated them down the river; the remainder marched in two divisions along the banks.

Alexander
in Sind,
325 B.C.

The country was hostile, and the Greeks held only the land on which they encamped. At Múltān, then as now the capital of the Southern Punjab, Alexander had to fight a pitched battle with the Malli, and was severely wounded in taking the city. His enraged troops put every soul within it to the sword. Farther down, near the confluence of the five rivers of the Punjab, he made a long halt, built a town,—Alexandria, the modern Uchh,—and received the submission of the neighbouring States. A Greek garrison and Satrap, whom he here left behind, laid the foundation of a more lasting influence. Having

¹ The change in the course of the Sutlej has altered its old position relative to the Beas at this point. The best small map of Alexander's route is No. v. in General Cunningham's *Ann. Geog. of India*, p. 104, ed. 1871.

constructed a new fleet, suitable for the greater rivers on which he was now to embark, he proceeded southward through Sind, and followed the course of the Indus until he reached the ocean. In the apex of the delta he founded or refounded a city—Patala—which survives to this day as Haidarābād, the native capital of Sind.¹ At the mouth of the Indus, Alexander beheld for the first time the majestic phenomenon of the tides. One part of his army he shipped off under the command of Nearkhos to coast along the Persian Gulf; the other he himself led through Southern Balúchistan and Persia to Susa, where, after terrible losses from want of water and famine on the march, he arrived in 325 B.C.²

Leaves
India,
August
325 B.C.

During his two years' campaign in the Punjab and Sind, Alexander captured no province, but he made alliances, founded cities, and planted Greek garrisons. He had transferred much territory from the tribes whom he had half-subdued, to the chiefs and confederations who were devoted to his cause. Every petty court had its Greek faction; and the detachments which he left behind at various positions from the Afghán frontier to the Beas, and from near the base of the Himálayas to the Sind delta, were visible pledges of his return. At Taxila (DERI-SHAHAN) and Nikaia (MONG) in the Northern Punjab; at Alexandria (UCHH) in the Southern Punjab; at Patala (HAIDARABAD) in Sind; and at other points along his route, he established military settlements of Greeks or their allies. A body of his troops remained in Bactria. In the partition of the Empire after Alexander's death in 323 B.C., Bactria and India eventually fell to Seleukos Nikator, the founder of the Syrian monarchy.

Results of
Greek ex-
pedition,
327-325
B.C.

Seleukos,
323-312
B.C.

Meanwhile, a new power had arisen in India. Among the Indian adventurers who thronged Alexander's camp in the

Chandra
Gupta,
326 B.C.

¹ For its interesting appearances in ancient history, see General Cunningham's *Ann. Geog. of India*, pp. 279-287, under Patala or Nirankot. It appears variously as Pattala, Pattalene, Ptasila, etc. It was formerly identified with Tatta (Thatha), near to where the western arm of the Indus bifurcates. See also McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Euxine Sea*, p. 156 (Trübner, 1879). An excellent map of Alexander's campaign in Sind is given at p. 248 of Cunningham's *Ann. Geog. of India*.

² The stages down the Indus and along the Persian coast, with the geographical features and incidents of Nearkhos' *Voyage*, are given in the second part of the *Indika* of Arran, chapter xviii. to the end. The river stages and details are of value to the student of the modern delta of the Indus. See McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Euxine Sea*, pp. 153-224 (1879).

Punjab, each with his plot for winning a kingdom or crushing a rival, Chandra Gupta, an exile from the Gangetic valley, is said to have played a part. According to a doubtful story, he tried to tempt the wearied Greeks on the Beas with schemes of conquest in the rich south-eastern Provinces; but, having personally offended Alexander, he had to fly the camp (326 B.C.). In the confused years which followed, he managed, with the aid of plundering hordes, to found a kingdom on the ruins of the Nanda dynasty in Magadha, or Behar (316 B.C.).¹ He seized their capital, Pataliputra, the modern Patná; established himself firmly in the Gangetic valley, and compelled the Punjab principalities, Greek and native alike, to acknowledge his suzerainty.² While, therefore, Seleukos Nikator was winning his way to the Syrian monarchy during the eleven years which followed Alexander's death, Chandra Gupta was building up an empire in Northern India. Seleukos reigned in Syria from 312 to 280 B.C.; Chandra Gupta in the Gangetic valley from 316 to 292 B.C. In 312 B.C., the power of both had been consolidated, and the two new sovereignties were soon brought face to face.

Seleukos
in India.
312-306
B.C.

About that year, Seleukos, having recovered Babylon, proceeded to re-establish his authority in Bactria and the Punjab. In the Punjab he found Greek influence decayed. Alexander had left a mixed force of Greeks and Indians at Taxila. But no sooner had he departed from India, than the Indians rose and slew the Greek governor. The Macedonians next massacred the Indians. A new governor, sent by Alexander, murdered the friendly Punjab prince, Porus; and was himself driven out of India by the advance of Chandra Gupta from the Gangetic valley. Seleukos, after a war with Chandra Gupta, determined to ally himself with the new power in India rather than to oppose it. In return for 500 elephants, he ceded to the Indian king the Greek settlements in the Punjab and the Kábul valley; gave his daughter to Chandra Gupta in marriage; and stationed an ambassador, Megasthenes, at the Gangetic court (306-298 B.C.). Chandra Gupta became familiar to the Greeks as Sandrokottos, King of the Prasii and Gangaridæ; his capital, Pataliputra,³ or Patná, was rendered

306-298
B.C.

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, i. 7. Jacobi's *Jaina Sūtras*, xlii.

² For the dynasty of Chandra Gupta, see *Numismata Orientalia* (Ceylon fasciculus), pp. 41-50.

³ The modern Patná, or Pattana, means simply 'the city.' For its identification with Pataliputra by means of Mr. Ravenshaw's final discoveries, see General Cunningham's *Ann. Geog. of India*, p. 452 *et seq.*

into Palimbothra. On the other hand, the Greeks and kings of Grecian dynasties appear in the rock inscriptions under Indian forms.¹

Megasthenes has left a lifelike picture of the Indian people. Notwithstanding some striking errors, the observations which he jotted down at Patná, three hundred years before Christ, give as accurate an account of the social organization in the Gangetic valley as any which existed when the Bengal Asiatic Society commenced its labours at the end of the last century (1784). Up to the time of Megasthenes, the Greek idea of India was a very vague one. Their historians had spoken of two classes of Indians,—certain mountainous tribes who dwelt in Northern Afghánistán under the Caucasus or Hindu Kush, and a maritime race living on the coast of Balúchistán. Of the India of modern geography lying beyond the Indus, they practically knew nothing. It was this India to the east of the Indus which Megasthenes opened up to the Western world.

He describes the classification of the people, dividing them, however, into seven castes instead of four,²—namely, philosophers, husbandmen, shepherds, artisans, soldiers, inspectors, and the counsellors of the king. The philosophers were the Bráhmans, and the prescribed stages of their life are indicated. Megasthenes draws a distinction between the Bráhmans (*Βραχμᾶνες*) and the Sarmanai (*Σαρμᾶναι*), from which some scholars infer that the Buddhist Sramanas or monks were a recognised order 300 B.C., or fifty years before the Council of Asoka. But the Sarmanai might also include Bráhmans in the first and third stages of their life as students and forest recluses.³ The inspectors,⁴ or sixth class of Megasthenes, have been identified with the Buddhist supervisors of morals, afterwards referred to in the sixth edict of Asoka. Arrian's name for them, *ἐπίσκοποι*, is the Greek word which has become our modern Bishop, or *overseer* of souls.

¹ The Greeks as Yonas (Yavanas), from the *Ἴωνες* or Ionians. In the Inscriptions of Asoka, five Greek princes appear: Antiochos (of Syria); Ptolemy (Phadelphos of Egypt); Antigonos (Gonatos of Macedon); Magas (of Kyrene); Alexander (II. of Epirus).—Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* pp. 179, 252. But see also Wilson, *Journ. Asiat. Soc.* vol. xii. 1850: and Cunningham's *Corpus Inscr. Indic.* pp. 125, 126.

² *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, being fragments of the Indica*, by J. W. M'Crinde, M.A., p. 49, ed. 1877.

³ Brahmacharins and Vānaprasthas (*śāśana*). Weber very properly declines to identify the *Σαρμᾶναι* exclusively with the Buddhist Sramanas. —*Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 28, ed. 1878.

⁴ The *ἐπίσκοποι* (Diodorus, Strabo, *ἐπισκοπῆς*—Arrian).

'Errors' of Megasthenes. It must be borne in mind that Indian society, as seen by Megasthenes, was not the artificial structure described in Manu, with its rigid lines and four sharply demarcated castes. It was the actual society of the court, the camp, and the capital, at a time when Buddhist ideals were conflicting with Bráhmancial types. Some of the so-called errors of Megasthenes have been imputed to him from a want of due appreciation of this fact. Others have been proved by modern inquiry to be no errors at all. The knowledge of India derived by the Greeks chiefly, although by no means exclusively, from Megasthenes, includes details which were scarcely known to Europeans in the last century. The Aryan and Aboriginal elements of the population, or the White and Dark Indians; the two great harvests of the year, in spring and autumn; the salt-mines: the land-making silt brought down by the rivers from the Himálayas; the great changes in the river-courses; and even a fairly accurate measurement of the Indian peninsula—were among the points known to the Greek writers.

The old Indian rivers.

From those sources, the present writer, when engaged on the Statistical Survey of India, derived pregnant hints in regard to the changes in the physical configuration of the country during the past 22 centuries. The account which Megasthenes gives of the size of the Indus and its lakes, points to the same conclusion as that reached by the most recent observations, in regard to the Indian rivers being originally lines of drainage through great watery regions. In their upper courses they gradually scooped out their beds, and thus produced a low-level channel into which the fens and marshes eventually drained. In their lower courses they conducted their great operations of land-making from the silt which their currents had brought down from above. In regard to the action of the rivers and their magnitude, as in several other matters, the 'exaggerations' of Megasthenes are proved to be nearer the truth than was suspected even by English writers until the Statistical Survey began its work in 1871.

Kalanos, the Bráhma-man.

The Bráhmans deeply impressed Alexander by their learning and austerities. One of them, Kalanos by name, was tempted, notwithstanding the reproaches of his brethren, to enter the service of the conqueror. But, falling sick in Persia, Kalanos determined to die like a Bráhma-man, although he had not consistently lived as one. Alexander, on hearing of the philosopher's resolve to put an end to his life, vainly tried to dissuade him; then loaded him with jewels, and directed

that he should be attended with all honours to the last scene. Distributing the costly gifts of his master as he advanced, ^{323 B.C.} wearing a garland of flowers, and singing his native Indian hymns, the Brāhman mounted a funeral pile, and serenely perished in the flames.

The Greek ambassador observed with admiration the absence of slavery in India, the chastity of the women, and the ^{Indian society, 300 B.C.} courage of the men. In valour they excelled all other Asiatics; they required no locks to their doors; above all, no Indian was ever known to tell a lie. Sober and industrious, good farmers and skilful artisans, they scarcely ever had recourse to a lawsuit, and lived peaceably under their native chiefs. The kingly government is portrayed almost as described in Manu, with its hereditary castes of councillors and soldiers. Megasthenes mentions that India was divided into 118 king- ^{Petty kingdoms,} doms; some of which, such as that of the Prasii under Chandra Gupta, exercised suzerain powers. The village system is well described, each little rural unit seeming to the Greek an independent republic. Megasthenes remarked the exemption of the husbandmen (Vaisyas) from war and public services: and enumerates the dyes, fibres, fabrics, and products (animal, vegetable, and mineral) of India. Husbandry depended on the periodical rains; and forecasts of the weather, with a view to 'make adequate provision against a coming deficiency,' formed a special duty of the Brāhmins. But mark the judicious proviso: 'The philosopher who errs in his predictions observes silence for the rest of his life.'

Before the year 300 B.C., two powerful monarchies had thus ^{Indo-Greek treaty, 256 B.C.} begun to act upon the Brāhmanism of Northern India, from the east and from the west. On the east, in the Gangetic valley, Chandra Gupta (316-292 B.C.) firmly consolidated the dynasty which during the next century produced Asoka (264-223 B.C.), established Buddhism throughout India, and spread its doctrines from Afghanistan to China, and from Central Asia to Ceylon. On the west, the heritage of Seleukos (312-280 B.C.) diffused Greek influences, and sent forth Græco-Bactrian expeditions to the Punjab. Antiochos Theos (grandson of Seleukos Nikator) and Asoka (grandson of Chandra Gupta), who ruled these probably conterminous monarchies, made a treaty with each other, 256 B.C. In the next century, Eukratides, King of Bactria, conquered as far as Alexander's royal city of Patala, the modern Haiderābad in the Sind delta: and sent expeditions into Cutch and Gujarāt.

Greeks in India, 181-161 B.C. Menander advanced farther into North-Western India, and his coins are found from Kābul, near which he probably had his capital, as far as Muttra on the Jumna. The Buddhist successors of Chandra Gupta profoundly modified the religion of Northern India from the east of the Gangetic valley; the Greek empire of Seleukos, with its Bactrian and later offshoots, deeply influenced the science and art of Hindustān from the west.

Greek influence on Indian art. We have already seen how much Brāhman astronomy owed to the Greeks, and how the builders' art in India received its first impulse from the architectural exigencies of Buddhism. The same double influence, of the Greeks on the west and of the Buddhists on the east of the Brāhmanical Middle Land of Bengal, can be traced in many details. What the Buddhists were to the architecture of Northern India, that the Greeks were to its sculpture. Greek faces and profiles constantly occur in ancient Buddhist statuary. They enrich almost all the larger museums in India, and examples may be seen at South Kensington. The purest specimens have been found in the Punjab, where the Greeks settled in greatest force. In the Lahore collection I saw, among other beautiful pieces, an exquisite little figure of an old blind man feeling his way with a staff. Its subdued pathos, its fidelity to nature, and its living movement dramatically held for the moment in sculptured suspense, are Greek, and nothing but Greek. It is human misfortune, that has culminated in wandering poverty, age, and blindness—the very curse which Sophocles makes the spurned Teiresias throw back upon the doomed king—

‘ Blind, having seen :

Poor, having rolled in wealth ; he with a staff
Feeling his way to a strange land shall go.’

Greek and Hindu types of sculpture. As we proceed eastward from the Punjab, the Greek type begins to fade. Purity of outline gives place to lusciousness of form. In the female figures, the artists trust more and more to swelling breasts and towering chignons, and load the neck with constantly-accumulating jewels. Nevertheless, the Grecian type of countenance long survived in Indian art. It is perfectly unlike the coarse, conventional ideal of beauty in modern Hindu sculptures. I have traced this Greek type southward as late as the delicate profiles on the so-called Sun Temple or ‘ Black Pagoda ’ at Kanārak, built in the 12th century A.D. on the far eastern Orissa shore of the Bay of Bengal.

Not only did the Greek impulse become fainter and fainter

in Indian sculpture with the lapse of time, but that impulse itself was gradually derived from less pure and less vigorous sources. The Greek ideal of beauty may possibly have been brought direct to India by the officers and artists of Alexander the Great. But it was from Græco-Bactria, not from Greece itself, that the practical masters of Greek sculpture came to the Punjab. Indeed, important evidence has been collected to show that the most prolific stream of such artistic inspirations reached India from the Roman Empire, and in Imperial times, rather than through even the indirect Grecian channels represented by the Bactrian kingdom.

It must suffice here to indicate the ethnical and dynastic influences thus brought to bear upon India, without pausing to assign dates to the individual monarchs. The chronology of the twelve centuries intervening between the Græco-Bactrian period and the Muhammadan conquest still depends on a mass of conflicting evidence derived from inscriptions, legendary literature, unwritten traditions, and coins.¹ Four systems of computation exist, based upon the Vikramāditya, Saka, Seleucidan, and Parthian eras.

In the midst of the confusion, we see dim masses moving southward from Central Asia into India. The Græco-Bactrian kings or expeditions are traced by coins as far as Muttra on the Jumna. Their armies occupied for a time the Punjab, as far south as Gujarāt and Sind. Sanskrit texts are said to indicate their advance through the Middle Land of the Brāhmans (*Madhya-desh*) to Sāketa (or AJODHYA), the capital of Oudh, and to Patna in Behar.² Megasthenes was only the first of a series of Greek ambassadors to Bengal.³ A Grecian princess became the queen of Chandra Gupta at Patna (c. 306 B.C.). Græco-Bactrian girls, or Yavanis, were welcome gifts, and figure in the Sanskrit drama as the personal attendants of Indian kings. They were probably fair-complexioned slaves from the northern regions. It is right to add, however,

¹ Report of the *Archæological Survey of Western India for 1874-75*, p. 49 (Mr. E. Thomas monograph).

² Goldstuecker assigned the Yavana siege of Sāketa (AJODHYA, mentioned in the Mahabhashya, to Menander; while the accounts of the Gārgi Sanhitā in the Yuga Purana speak of a Yavana expedition as far as Patna. But, as Weber points out (*Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 251, footnote 276), the question arises as to whether these Yavanas were Græco-Bactrians or Indo-Scythians. See, however, *Report of Archæological Survey of Western India for 1874-75*, p. 49, and footnote.

³ Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 251, ed. 1878, enumerates four

Greek types die out.

Foreign influences on India.

Greeks in Bengal.

Greek
survivals
in India.

that the Sanskrit word Yavana has a much wider application than merely to the Greeks or even to the Bactrians. The credentials of the Indian embassy to Augustus in 22-20 B.C. were written on skins; a circumstance which perhaps indicates the extent to which Greek usage had overcome Bráhmancial prejudices. During the century preceding the Christian era, Scythian or Tartar hordes began to supplant the Græco-Bactrian influence in the Punjab.

The
'Yavanas;'

ancient
and
modern.

The term Yavana, or Yona, which originally applied to several non-Bráhmancial races, and especially to the Greeks, was also extended to the Sakæ or Scythians. It probably includes many widely various tribes of invaders from the west. Patient effort will be required before the successive changes in the meaning of Yavana, both before and after the Greek period, are worked out. The word travelled far, and has survived with a strange vitality in out-of-the-way nooks of India. The Orissa chroniclers called the sea-invaders from the Bay of Bengal, Yavanas, and in later times the term was applied to the Musalmáns.¹ At the present day, a vernacular form of the word is said to have supplied the local name for the Arab settlers on the Coromandel coast.²

¹ Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 25, 85, and 209 to 232 (ed. 1872).

² Bishop Caldwell gives Yavanas (Yonas) as the equivalent of the Sonagas or Muhammadans of the western coast: *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd edition, p. 2 (Trubner, 1875).

CHAPTER VII.

SCYTHIC INROADS INTO INDIA (126? B.C. TO 544 A.D.).

THE foregoing chapters have dealt with two streams of migration which, starting from Central Asia, poured through the north-western passes of the Himālayas, and spread themselves out upon the plains of Bengal. Those two great series of expeditions are represented by the early Vedic tribes, and by the Græco-Bactrian armies. The first of them gave their race-type to Indian civilisation; the second impressed an influence on Indian science and art; and in both cases the results have proved more important and more permanent than the mere numerical strength of the invaders would seem to justify. But the permanent settlement of the early Vedic tribes, and the shorter vehement impact of the Greek or Græco-Bactrian invaders, alike represent movements of the Aryan section of the human race. Another great family of mankind, the Turanian, had also its home in Central Asia. The earliest migrations of the Turanians in Asia belong to a period absolutely pre-historic; nor has inductive history yet applied its scrutiny to Turanian antiquity with the success which it has achieved in regard to primitive Aryan migrations.

Yet there is evidence to show that waves of Turanian origin overtopped the Himālayas or pierced through their openings into India from very remote times. The immigrants doubtless represented many different tribes, but in the dim twilight of Indian history they are mingled together in confused masses known as the Scythians.¹ There are indications that a branch of the Scythian hordes, who overran Asia about 625 B.C., made its way to Patala on the Indus, the site selected by Alexander in 325 B.C. as his place of arms in that delta, and long the capital of Sind under the name of Haidarābād. One portion of these Patala Scythians seems to have moved westwards by the Persian Gulf to Assyria; another section is supposed to have found its way north-east into the Gangetic valley, and to have branched off into the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, among

¹ It is in this indeterminate sense that I have usually had to employ the word Scythian in the present chapter. Indian scholars have probably applied it in certain cases to Aryans as well as to Turanian migrations.

whom Buddha was born.¹ During the two hundred years before the Christian era, the Scythic movements come a little more clearly into sight, and in the first century after Christ those movements culminate in a great Indian sovereignty.

Yue-Chi settle-
ments,
126 B.C. (2) About 126 B.C., the Tartar tribe of Su is said to have conquered the Greek dynasty in Bactria, and the Græco-Bactrian settlements in the Punjab were overthrown by the Yue-Chi.²

Kanishka,
40 A.D. (2) Two centuries later, we touch solid ground in the dynasty whose chief representative, Kanishka, held the Fourth Buddhist Council, *circa* 40 A.D., and became the royal founder of Northern Buddhism. But long anterior to the alleged Yue-Chi settlements in the Punjab, tribes of Scythic origin had found their way into India, and had left traces of non-Aryan origin upon Indian civilisation. The sovereignty of Kanishka in the first century A.D. was not an isolated effort, but the ripened fruit of a series of ethnical movements.

Pre-Buddhistic
Scythic
influences. Certain scholars believe that even before the time of Buddha there are relics of Scythic origin in the religion of India. It has been suggested that the *Asva-medha*, or Great Horse-Sacrifice, in some of its developments at any rate, was based upon Scythic ideas. 'It was in effect,' writes Mr. Edward Thomas, 'a martial challenge, which consisted in letting the victim who was to crown the imperial triumph at the year's end, go free to wander at will over the face of the earth; its sponsor being bound to follow its hoofs, and to conquer or conciliate' the chiefs through whose territories it passed. Such a prototype seems to him to shadow forth the life of the Central Asian communities of the horseman class, 'among whom a captured steed had so frequently to be traced from camp to camp, and surrendered or fought for at last.'³ The curious connection between the Horse-Sacrifice and the Man-Sacrifice of the pre-Buddhistic religion of India has often been noticed. That connection has been explained from the Indian point of view, by the substitution theory of a horse for a human victim. But among the early shepherd tribes of Tibet, the

The
Horse-
Sacrifice.

¹ *Catena of the Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, by S. Beal, pp. 126-130. See also Herodotus, i. 103 to 106; Csoma de Koros, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* 1833; and H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 212, quoted by Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 285, ed. 1878.

² De Guignes, supported by Professor Cowell on the evidence of coins. Appendix to Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 269, ed. 1866.

³ *Report of Archaeological Survey of Western India*, pp. 37, 38 (1876). But see, in opposition to Mr. Thomas' view, M. Senart in the French *Journ. Asiatique*, 1875, p. 126.

two sacrifices coexisted as inseparable parts of the Great Oath. Each year the Tibetans took the Little Oath to their chiefs, and sacrificed sheep, dogs, and monkeys. But every third year they solemnized the Great Oath with offerings of men and horses, oxen and asses.¹

Whatever significance may attach to this rite, it is certain that, with the advent of Buddhism, Scythic influences made themselves felt in India. Indeed, it has been attempted, on evidence derived from the Tibetan or Northern Canon of Buddhism, to establish a Scythic origin for Buddha himself. One of his earliest appearances in the literature of the Christian Church is as Buddha the Scythian. It is argued that by no mere accident did the Fathers trace the Manichæan doctrine to Scythianus, whose disciple Terebinthus took the name of Buddha.² As already stated, the form of abjuration of the Manichæan heresy mentions *Bôddâ* and *Σκυθιανός* (Buddha and the Scythian or Sakya), seemingly, says Weber, a separation of Buddha Sakya-muni into two.³ The Indian Buddhists of the Southern school would dwell lightly on, or pass over altogether, a non-Aryan origin for the founder of their faith. We have seen how the legend of Buddha in their hands assimilated itself to the old epic type of the Aryan hero. But a Scythic origin would be congenial to the Northern school of Buddhism: to the school which was consolidated by the Scythic monarch Kanishka, and which supplied a religion during more than ten centuries to Scythic tribes of Central Asia.

We find, therefore, without surprise, that the sacred books of Tibet constantly speak of Buddha as the Sakya. In them, Buddha is the heir-apparent to the throne of the Sakyas: his doctrine is accepted by the Sakya race: and a too strict adherence to its tenets of mercy ends in the destruction of the Sakya capital, followed by the slaughter of the Sakya people.⁴ If we could be sure that Sakya really signified Scythian, this

¹ Early History of Tibet, in Mr. Woodville Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, from the Tibetan Classics, p. 204 (Trübner, 1884).

² 'I believe the legend of Sakya was perverted into the history of Scythianus.'—Beal's *Catena of the Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, p. 129 (Trübner, 1871).

³ Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 309, footnote 363 (Trübner, 1878). But Buddhism probably reached the Early Church through the Scythians: so that Buddha might be called Skuthianus, as the Scythian religious founder, without implying that he was a born Scythian. *Vide post*, chap. ix.

⁴ *Ibid. ante*, p. 185.

evidence would be stronger. But the exact meaning of Sakya, although generally taken to be the Indian representative of Scythian, as the Persian Sakæ was the equivalent of Scythæ, has yet to be determined. At one time it seemed as if the Tibetan records might settle the point. These hopes have, however, been disappointed, as the earliest Tibetan records prove to be a reflex of foreign influences rather than a depository of indigenous traditions.

Artificial
nature of
Tibetan
traditions.

Tibet, Khoten, and other countries to the north of the Himálayas, on adopting Buddhism, more or less unconsciously re-cast their national traditions into Buddhist moulds.¹ These countries formed the meeting-place of two distinct streams of civilisation,—the material civilisation of China, and the religious civilisation of India. Some of the early Tibetan legends seem to be clumsy copies of the stories of the first Chinese sovereigns recorded in the Bamboo Books.² The Tibetan classics further obscure the historical facts, by a tendency to trace the royal lines of Central Asia to the family or early converts of Buddha: as certain mediæval families of Europe claimed descent from the Wise Men of the East; and as noble *gentes* of Rome found their ancestors among the heroes of the Trojan war. Thus the first Tibetan monarch derived his line from Prasenadjit, King of Kosala, the life-long friend of Buddha; and the dynasty of Khoten claimed as its founder a son of King Dharmasoka.

Sources of
Tibetan
ideas and
traditions.

The truth is, that while Tibet obtained much of its material civilisation from China, its medicine, its mathematics, its weights and measures, its chronology, its clothing, its mulberries, tea, and ardent spirits; it received its religion and letters from India, together with its philosophy and its ideal of the spiritual life. The mission of the seven Tibetan nobles to India to find an alphabet for the yet unwritten language of Tibet, is an event recorded of the 7th century A.D. The Indian monastery of Nalanda was reproduced in the great Hsamyas, or religious house at Lhasa. The struggle between Chinese and Indian influences disclosed itself alike in the public disputations of the Tibetan sects, and in the inner intrigues of the palace. One of the great Tibetan monarchs is said to have married two wives,—an Indian princess who brought Buddhist images from Nepál, and a Chinese princess who brought silk-brocades and whisky from China.³ We must therefore receive with caution the evidence as to the

¹ Early Histories of Tibet and Khoten, in Mr. Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 232, etc.

² *Idem*, p. 203.

³ *Idem*, pp. 213-215.

original signification of the word Sakya, derived from the records of a nation which was so largely indebted for its ideas and its traditions to later foreign sources.

That evidence should, however, be stated. The Tibetan sacred books preserve an account of the Sakya creation; of the non-sexual procession of the ancient Sakya kings; and of the settlement of the Sakyas at Kapila, the birthplace of Buddha. Their chief seat was the kingdom of Kosala, near the southern base of the Himālayas. Tibetan traditions place the early Indian homes of the Sakyas on the banks of the Bhāgirathī, as distinctly as the Vedic hymns place the homes of the primitive Aryans on the tributaries of the Indus. They claim, indeed, for Buddha a Kshatriyan descent from the noble Ishkvaku or Solar line. But it is clear that the race customs of the Indo-Sakyas differed in important respects from those of the Indo-Aryans.

At birth, the Sakya infant was made to bow at the feet of a Sakya tribal image, Taksha Sakya-vardana, which, on the presentation of Buddha, itself bowed down to the divine child.¹ In regard to marriage, the old Sakya law is said to have allowed a man only one wife.² The dead were disposed of by burial, although cremation was not unknown. In the *tofes* or funeral mounds of Indian Buddhism is apparently seen a reproduction of the royal Scythian tombs of which Herodotus speaks.³ Perhaps more remarkable is the resemblance of the great co-decease of Buddha's companions to the Scythian holocausts of the followers, servants, and horses of a dead monarch.⁴ On the death of Buddha, according to the Tibetan texts, a co-decease of 18,000 of his disciples took place. On the death of the faithful Maudgalyayana, the co-decease of disciples amounted to 70,000; while on that of Sariputra, the co-decease of Buddhist ascetics was as high as 80,000.⁵ The composite idea of a co-decease of followers, together with the Buddhist funeral mound over the relics of an illustrious personage, was in accordance with obsequies of the Scythian type.

Whatever may be the scientific value of such analogies, the influence of the Scythian dynasties in Northern India is a historical fact. The Northern or Tibetan form of Buddhism, represented by the Scythian monarch Kanishka and the Fourth

¹ Mr. Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ Herodotus, iv, 71, 127.

⁴ The slaughter of the king's concubine, cup-bearer, and followers is also mentioned in Herodotus, iv, 71 and 72.

⁵ Mr. Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 141, footnote 3, and p. 148.

Council¹ in 40 A.D., soon made its way down to the plains of Hindustán, and during the next six centuries competed with the earlier Buddhism of Asoka. The Chinese Pilgrim in 629-645 A.D. found both the Northern or Scythic and the Southern forms of Buddhism in full vigour in India. He spent fourteen months at China-pati, where Kanishka is said to have kept his Chinese hostages in the Punjab; and he records the debates between the Northern and Southern sects of Buddhists in various places. The town of China-pati, ten miles west of the Beas river,² bore witness to later ages of the political connection of Northern India with the Trans-Himálayan races of Central and Eastern Asia. The Scythic influence in India was a dynastic as well as a religious one. The evidence of coins and the names of Indian tribes or reigning families, such as the Sákas, Huns, and Nágas, point to Scythian settlements as far south as the Central Provinces.³

Scythic
settle-
ments in
India.

Scythian
elements in
the popu-
lation.

(1) The
Játs.

Some scholars believe that the Scythians poured down upon India in such masses as to supplant the previous population. The Játs or Játis,⁴ who now number $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and form one-fifth of the inhabitants of the Punjab, are identified with the Getæ; and their great sub-division the Dhe with the Dahæ, whom Strabo places on the shores of the Caspian. This view has received the support of eminent investigators, from Professor H. H. Wilson to General Cunningham, the late Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India.⁵ The existing division between the Játs and the Dhe has, indeed, been traced back to the contiguity of the Massa-getæ or Great Getæ,⁶ and the Dahæ, who dwelt side by side in Central Asia, and who may have advanced together during the Scythian movements towards India on the decline of the Græco-Bactrian Empire. Without pressing such identifications too closely in the service of particular theories, the weight of authority is in favour of a Scythian origin for the Játs, the most numerous and valuable section of the agricultural population of the

¹ *Numismata Orientalia* (Ceylon fasc.), p. 54.

² General Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 200.

³ Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, chap. v. vol. i. (1868); Sir C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, lxx., etc. (Nágpur, 1870); Reports of the *Archæological Survey of India and of Western India*; Professor H. H. Wilson (and Dr. F. Hall), *Vishnu Purána*, ii. 134.

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⁵ See among other places, part iv. of his *Archæological Reports*, p. 19.

⁶ *Massa* means 'great' in Pehlevi.

Punjab.¹ A similar descent has been assigned to certain of the Rájput tribes. Colonel Tod, still the standard historian of Rájásthán, strongly insisted on this point.

The relationship between the Játs and the Rájputs, ^{(2 The Rájputs.} although obscure, is acknowledged; and although the *jus connubii* no longer exists between them, an inscription seems to show that they intermarried in the 5th century A.D.² Professor Cowell, indeed, regards the arguments for the Scythic descent of the Rájputs as inconclusive.³ But authorities of weight have deduced, alike from local investigation⁴ and from Sanskrit literature,⁵ a Scythic origin for the Játs and for certain of the Rájput tribes. The question has lately been discussed, with the fulness of local knowledge, by Mr. Ibbetson, Census officer for the Punjab in 1881. His conclusions are—First, that the terms Rájput and Ját indicate in the Punjab a difference in occupation and not in origin. Second, that even if they represent distinct waves of migration, separated by an interval of time, ‘they belong to one and the same ethnic stock.’ Third, ‘that whether Játs and Rájputs were or were not originally distinct,’ ‘the two now form a common stock; the distinction between Ját and Rájput being social rather than ethnic.’“ We shall see that earlier migrations of

¹ It should be mentioned, however, that Dr. Trumpp believed them to be of Aryan origin (*Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesch.* xv. p. 690). See Mr. J. Beames' admirable edition of Sir Henry Elliott's *Glossary of the Races of the North-Western Provinces*, vol. i. pp. 130-137, ed. 1869.

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³ Appendix to Elphinstone's *Hist. Ind.* pp. 250 *et seq.*, ed. 1866.

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Central Asian hordes also supplied certain of the Nigai, or so-called aboriginal, races of India.

Indian
struggle
against the
Scythians.

The Scythic settlements were not effected without a struggle. As Chandra Gupta had advanced from the Gangetic valley, and rolled back the tide of Greco-Bactrian conquest, 312-326 B.C., so the native princes who stemmed the torrent of Scythian invasion are the Indian heroes of the first century before and after Christ. Vikramāditya, King of Ujjain, appears to have won his paramount place in Indian story by driving out the invaders. An era, the *Samvat*, beginning in 57 B.C., was founded in honour of his achievements. Its date¹ seems at variance with his legendary victories over the Scythian Kanishka in the first century after Christ.² But the very title of its founder suffices to commemorate his struggle against the northern hordes, as Vikramāditya Sakari, or Vikramaditya, the Enemy of the Scythians.

Samvat
era, 57
B.C.

The name of Vikramāditya, 'A very Sun in Prowess,' was borne, as we have seen, by several Indian monarchs. In later ages, their separate identity was merged in the ancient renown of the Slayer of the Scythians, who thus combined the fame of many Vikramādityas. There was a tendency to assign to his period the most eminent Indian works in science and poetry.—works which we know must belong to a date long after the first century of our era. His reign forms the Augustan era of Sanskrit literature; and tradition fondly ascribes the highest products of the Indian intellect during many later centuries to the poets and philosophers, or Nine Gems, of this Vikramāditya's court. As Chandra Gupta, who freed India from the Greeks, is celebrated in the drama *Mudrá-rākshasa*; so Vikramāditya, the Vanquisher of the Scythians, forms the central royal personage of the Hindu stage.

Sāka or
Scythian
era, 78
A.D.

Vikramāditya's achievements, however, furnished no final deliverance, but merely form an episode in the long struggle between the Indian dynasties and new races from the north. Another popular era, the *Sāka*, literally the Scythian, takes its commencement in 78 A.D.,³ and is supposed to commemorate the defeat of the Scythians by a king of Southern India,

¹ *Samvatsara*, the 'Year.' The uncertainty which surrounds even this long-accepted finger-post in Indian chronology may be seen from Dr. J. Fergusson's paper 'On the Sāka and Samvat and Gupta eras' (*Journal Roy. Asi. Soc.*, New Series, vol. xii.), especially p. 172.

² The Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka family of the *Rājā Tarangini* or *Chronicles of Kashmir*, are proved by inscriptions to belong to the 4th century of the Seleucid era, or the 1st century A.D.

³ Monday, 14th March 78 A.D., Julian style.

Salivāhanā.¹ During the seven centuries which followed, three powerful monarchies, the Senas, Guptas, and Valabhis, established themselves in Western and Northern India. On the western coast the Senas and Singhas, the Sātraps of Surāshtra or Gujarāt, are traced by coins and inscriptions from 60 or 70 B.C. to after 235 A.D.² Sena (Sah) dynasty, 60 B.C. to 235 A.D.

After the Senas come the Guptas of KANAUJ,³ in the North-Western Provinces, the ancient Middle Land. The Guptas introduced an era of their own, commencing in 319 A.D.; and ruled in person or by viceroys over Northern India during 150 years, as far to the south-west as Kathiāwār. The Gupta dynasty was overthrown by foreign invaders, apparently a new influx of Huns or Tartars from the north-west (450-470 A.D.). Gupta dynasty, 319-475 A.D.

The Valabhis succeeded the Guptas, and ruled over Cutch, North-Western Bombay,⁴ and Mālwā, from 480 to after 722 A.D.⁵ The Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, gives a full account of the court and people of Valabhi (630-640 A.D.). Buddhism was the State religion, but heretics, *i.e.* Brāhmins, abounded; and the Buddhists themselves were divided between the Northern school of the Scythian dynasties, and the Southern or Indian school of Asoka. The Valabhis seem to have been overthrown by the early Arab invaders of Sind in the 8th century. Valabhi dynasty, 480-722 A.D.

The relations of these three Indian dynasties, the Senas, Guptas, and Valabhis, to the successive hordes of Scythians, who poured down on Northern India, are obscure. There is abundant evidence of a long-continued struggle, but the efforts to affix dates to its chief episodes have not yet produced results which can be accepted as final. Two Vikramāditya Sakaris, or Vanquishers of the Scythians, are required for the purposes of chronology, and the great battle of Korūr near Mūltān, in which the Scythian hosts perished, has been shifted backwards and forwards from 78 to 544 A.D.⁶ Long struggle against Scythian invaders, 57 B.C. to 544 A.D.

¹ General Cunningham: see also Mr. Edw. Thomas' letter, dated 16th September 1874, to *The Academy*, which brings this date within the period of the Kanishka family—2 B.C. to 87 A.D., &c.

² By Mr. Newton. See Mr. E. Thomas on the Coins of the Sah Kings, *Archæol. Rep. Western India*, p. 44 (1876); and Dr. J. Fergusson, *Journ. Roy. Asi. Soc.*, 1880.

³ Now a town of only 16,646 inhabitants in Farukhabād District, but with ruins extending over a semicircle of 4 miles in diameter.

⁴ Lāt-desha, including the collectorates of SIKAT, BROWH, KAKRA and parts of BAKODA territory.

⁵ The genealogy is worked out in detail by Mr. E. Thomas, *ut supra*, pp. 80-82.

⁶ 78 A.D. was the popularly received date, commemorated by the Saka era; "between 524 and 544 A.D." is suggested by Dr. Fergusson (p. 284 of *Journ. Roy. Asi. Soc.*, vol. xii.) in 1880.

The truth seems to be that, during the first six centuries of the Christian era, the fortunes of the Scythian or Tartar races rose and fell from time to time in Northern India. They more than once sustained great defeats; and they more than once overthrew the native dynasties. Their presence is popularly attested during the century before Christ by Vikramāditya Sakāri (57 B.C. ?); during the first century after Christ it is represented by the Kanishka family (2 B.C. to 87 A.D.); it was noted by Cosmas Indico-pleustes about 535 A.D.

Dr. James Fergusson¹ held that it was the White Huns who overthrew the Guptas between 465 and 470 A.D. He places the great battles of Korūr and Maushari, which 'freed India from the Sākas and Hūnas,' between 524 and 544 A.D. But these dates still lie in the domain of inductive, indeed almost of conjectural, history. Cosmas Indico-pleustes, who traded in the Red Sea about 530 A.D., speaks of the Huns as a powerful nation in Northern India in his days.²

The
Hūnas or
White
Huns.

Within the past few years (1889-92) the whole evidence on the subject has been thoroughly re-examined by the greatest Indian archæologist now living, General Sir Alexander Cunningham. His researches have not yet been published (1893), but he has kindly permitted me to peruse his manuscript, and to state the main results. General Cunningham finds the earliest European notice of the great horde of Ephthalites or White Huns, who took Khorasān from the Sassanians and overran Northern India, in the historian Priscus, who heard of them in the camp of Attila in A.D. 448. He traces them through the Chinese Pilgrim Sung-yun, 520 A.D., and Cosmas Indico-pleustes, who mentions their king Gollas on the west bank of the Indus in 530 A.D. Procopius (died 565 A.D.) also refers to them and Theophanes (second half of 6th century A.D.). General Cunningham deals successfully with the variants of the name, and shows that, although the Greek historians do not use the initial aspirate in their rendering of the word, the Armenian and Indian writers do.

General Cunningham finds the earliest Indian mention of the Hūnas in the Bhitari inscription of Skanda Gupta, 450-80 A.D., in which the king is said to have 'joined in close conflict with the Hūnas.'³ According to the Chinese Pilgrim Sung-yun, who was in the Gandhāra territory, on the west of the

¹ *Journal Roy. As. Soc.* pp. 282-284, etc. (1880).

² *Topographia Christiana*, lib. xi. p. 338; *apud* Fergusson, *ut supra*.

³ Mr. Fleet's *Inscriptions of the Guptas*, p. 56.

Indus near Attock, in 520 A.D., two generations had already passed away since the Húna conquest of that region—which General Cunningham assigns to 465–70 A.D. He believes that about that time, also, the Húnas came into conflict with the Indians on the Lower Indus.

While Greek and Scythic influences had thus been at work in Northern India during nine centuries (327 B.C. to 544 A.D.), another (so-called indigenous) element was profoundly affecting the future of the Indian peoples. A previous chapter has traced the fortunes, and sketched the present condition, of the pre-Aryan 'aborigines.' The Bráhmancial Aryans never accomplished a complete subjugation of these earlier races. The tribes and castes classified as purely non-Aryan numbered in 1872 about 18 millions in British territory; while the castes who claimed a pure Aryan descent were under 16 millions.¹ But the immense mass of the population of British India (aggregating 221 millions in 1891) is now believed to consist of non-Aryan elements, profoundly modified by Aryan influences, yet little affected by any intermixture of Aryan blood. The pre-Aryans have influenced the popular dialects of every Province, and in Southern India they give their speech to over 30 millions of people.

The pre-Aryan element in ancient India.

The Vedic settlements along the five rivers of the Punjab were merely colonies or confederacies of Aryan tribes, who had pushed in among a non-Aryan population. When an Aryan family advanced to a new territory, it had often, as in the case of the Pándava brethren, to clear the forest and drive out the aboriginal people. This double process constantly repeated itself: and as late as 1657, when the Hindu Rájá founded the present city of BAREILLY, his first work was to cut down the jungle and expel the old Katheriyas. The ancient Bráhmancial kingdoms of the Middle Land (*Madhyadesha*), in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, were surrounded by non-Aryan tribes. All the legendary advances beyond the northern centre of Aryan civilisation, narrated in the epic poets, were made into the territory of non-Aryan races. When we begin to catch historical glimpses of India, we find

Its lasting influence.

¹ This latter number included both Bráhmans (10,574,444 and Khat-triyas and Rájputs (5,240,495). But, as we have just seen, some of the Rájput tribes are believed to be of Scythic origin, while others have been incorporated from confessedly non-Aryan tribes (*ante*, pp. 132, 133, 227). Such non-Aryan Rájputs more than outnumber any survivals of the Vaisyas of pure Aryan descent. The Census of 1891, recognising the difficulty of classification by race-castes, has adopted as an alternative basis, the classification by religion and language.

the countries even around the northern Aryan centre ruled by non-Aryan princes. The Nandas, whom Chandra Gupta succeeded in Behar, appear as a Sûdra or non-Aryan dynasty; and, according to one account, Chandra Gupta and his grandson Asoka came of the same stock.¹

Pre-Aryan kingdoms in Northern India.

The Buddhist religion did much to incorporate the pre-Aryan tribes into the Indian polity. During the long struggle of the Indo-Aryans against Græco-Bactrian and Scythian inroads (327 B.C. to 544 A.D.), the Indian aboriginal races must have had an increasing importance, whether as enemies or allies. At the end of that struggle, we discover them ruling in some of the fairest tracts of Northern India. In almost every District throughout Oudh and the North-Western Provinces, ruined towns and forts are ascribed to non-Aryan races who ruled at different periods, according to the local legends, between the 5th and 11th centuries A.D. When the Muhammadan conquest supplies a firmer historical footing, after 1000 A.D., non-Aryan tribes were still in possession of several of these Districts, and had only lately been ousted from others.

The Takshaks of Râwal Pindi District.

The Takshaks. 6th century B.C.: 327 B.C.

The Statistical Survey of India has brought together many survivals of these obscure races. It is impossible to follow that survey through each locality; the following paragraphs indicate, with the utmost brevity, a few of the results. Starting from the West, Alexander the Great found RÂWAL PINDI District in the hands of the Takkas or Takshaks, from whom its Greek name of Taxila was derived. This people has been traced to a Scythian migration about the 6th century B.C.² Their settlements in the 4th century B.C. seem to have extended from the Paropamisian range³ in Afghânistân to deep into Northern India. Their Punjab capital, Takshâsila, or Taxila, was the largest city which Alexander met with between the Indus and the Jehlam (327 B.C.).⁴ Salihâvana, from whom

¹ The *Mudrâ-râkshasa* represents Chandra Gupta as related to the last of the Nandas; the Commentator of the *Vishnu Purâna* says he was the son of a Nanda by a low-caste woman. Prof. Dowson's *Dict. Hindu Mythology*, etc., p. 68 (Trübner, 1879).

² Such dates have no pretension to be anything more than intelligent conjectures based on very inadequate evidence. With regard to the Takshaks, see Colonel Tod and the authorities which he quotes, *Râjâsthân*, vol. i. p. 53 *passim*, pp. 93 *et seq.* (Madras Reprint, 1873).

³ Where Alexander found them as the Paræ-takæ—*phâvâri* or Hill Takæ(?).

⁴ Arrian. The Brâhman mythologists, of course, produce an Aryan pedigree for so important a person as King Taksha, and make him the son of Bharata and nephew of Rama-chandra.

the Sāka or Scythian era took its commencement (78 A.D.), is held by some authorities to have been of Takshak descent.¹ In the 7th century A.D., Taki,² perhaps derived from the same race, was the capital of the Punjab. The Scythic Takshaks, indeed, are supposed to have been the source of the great Serpent Race, the Takshakas or Nāgās, who figure so prominently in Sanskrit literature and art, and whose name is still borne by Nāgā tribes of our own day. The Takkas remaining to the present time are found only in the Districts of Delhi and Karnāl. They number about 15,000, of whom three-fourths have adopted the faith of Islām.

The words Nāgā and Takshaka in Sanskrit both mean a 'snake,' or tailed monster. As the Takshakas have been questionably connected with the Scythian Takkas, so the Nāgās have been derived, by conjecture in the absence of evidence, from the Tartar patriarch Nagas, the second son of Elkhān.³ Both the terms, Nāgās and Takshakas, seem to have been loosely applied by the Sanskrit writers to a variety of non-Aryan peoples in India, whose religion was of an anti-Aryan type. We learn, for example, how the five Pāndava brethren of the Mahābhārata burned out the Snake-king Takshaka from his primeval Khāndava forest. The Takshaks and Nāgās were the Tree and Serpent worshippers, whose rites and objects of adoration have impressed themselves deeply on the architecture and sculpture of India. They probably included, in a confused manner, several different races of Scythic origin.

The chief authority on Tree and Serpent worship in India selected the term 'Scythian' for the anti-Aryan elements, which entered so largely into the Indian religions both ancient and modern.⁴ The Chinese records give a full account of the Nāgā geography of ancient India. According to those records, the Nāgā kingdoms were both numerous and power-

¹ Tod, *Rajasthan*, vol. i. p. 95 (ed. 1873).

² Taki, or Asaur, 45 miles west of Lahore. General Cunningham, *Ann. Geog. of India*, p. 161, and Map VI. (ed. 1871). This Taki lies, however, considerably to the south-east of the Takshasila of Alexander's expedition.

³ Tod, *Rajasthan*, vol. i. p. 53 (ed. 1873): a very doubtful authority.

⁴ Dr. J. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 71, 72 (India Museum, 475, 1868). For the results of more recent local research, see Mr. Rivett-Carnac's papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 'The Snake Symbol in India,' 'Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks,' 'Stone Carvings at Mampuri,' etc.; the Honorable Rao Sahib Vishwanath Naayan Mandlik's 'Serpent-Worship in Western India,' and other essays in the *Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal*; also, *Report of Archaeologists of Survey, Western India*.

they
perhaps
became
the
Dragon
races of
China.

ful, and Buddhism derived many of its royal converts from them. The Chinese chroniclers, indeed, classify the Nágá princes of India into two great divisions, as Buddhists and non-Buddhists. The Serpent-worship, which formed so typical a characteristic of the Indo-Scythic races, led the Chinese to confound those tribes with the objects of their adorations; and the fierce Indo-Scythic Nágás would almost seem to be the originals of the Dragon races of Chinese Buddhism and Chinese art. The compromises to which Buddhism submitted, with a view to winning the support of the Nágá peoples, will be referred to in the following chapter, on the Rise of Hinduism.

The
Ghakkars
of Ráwal
Pindi,
1008-1857
A.D.

As the Greek invaders found Ráwal Pindi District in possession of a Scythic race of Takkas in 327 B.C., so the Musalmán conqueror found it inhabited by a fierce non-Aryan race of Ghakkars thirteen hundred years later. The Ghakkars for a time imperilled the safety of Mahmúd of Ghazni in 1008. Farishta describes them as savages, addicted to polyandry and infanticide. The tide of Muhammadan conquest rolled on, but the Ghakkars remained in possession of their sub-Himálayan tract.¹ In 1205 they ravaged the Punjab to the gates of Lahore; in 1206 they stabbed the Muhammadan Sultan in his tent; and in spite of conversion to Islám by the sword, it was not till 1525 that they made their submission to the Emperor Bábar in return for a grant of territory. During the next two centuries they rendered great services to the Mughal dynasty against the Afghán usurpers, and rose to high influence in the Punjab. Driven from the plains by the Sikhs in 1765 A.D., the Ghakkar chiefs maintained their independence in the Murree (Marri) Hills till 1830, when they were crushed after a bloody struggle. In 1849, Ráwal Pindi passed, with the rest of the Sikh territories, under British rule. But the Ghakkars revolted four years afterwards, and threatened Murree, the summer capital of the Punjab, as lately as 1857. The Ghakkars are now found in the Punjab Districts of Ráwal Pindi, Jehlam, and Hazára. They number about 26,000. They are described by their British officers as 'a fine spirited race, gentlemen in ancestry and bearing, and clinging under all reverses to the traditions of noble blood.'²

The population of Ráwal Pindi District has been selected to

¹ For a summary of their later history, see article on RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT.

illustrate the long-continued presence and vitality of the pre-Aryan element in India. Other parts of the country must be more briefly dealt with. Proceeding inwards into the North-Western Provinces, we everywhere find traces of an early Buddhist civilisation in contact with, or overturned by, rude non-Aryan tribes. In Bareilly District, for example, the wild Ahírs from the north, the Bhíls from the south, and the Bhars from the east, seem to have expelled highly-developed Aryan communities at some period before 1000 A.D. Still farther to the east, all remains of pre-historic masonry in Oudh and the North-Western Provinces are assigned either to the ancient Buddhists, or to a non-Aryan race of Bhars.

The Bhars appear to have possessed the north Gangetic plains in the centuries coeval with the fall of Buddhism. Their kingdoms extended over most of Oudh. Lofty mounds covered with ancient groves mark the sites of their forgotten cities; and they are the mysterious 'fort-builders' to whom the peasantry ascribe any ruin of unusual size. In the central valley of the Ganges, their power is said to have been crushed by the Sháiki dynasty of Jaunpur in the end of the 14th century. In the Districts north of the Gangetic plain, the Bhars figure still more prominently in local traditions, and an attempt has been made to trace their continuous history. In GORAKHPUR DISTRICT, the aboriginal Thárus and Bhars seem to have overwhelmed the early outposts of Aryan civilisation several centuries before Christ. Their appearance on the scene is connected with the rise of Buddhism. They became vassals of the Buddhist kingdom of Behar on the south-east; and on the fall of that power, about 550 A.D., they regained their independence. The Chinese Pilgrim in the 7th century comments in this region on the large number of monasteries and towers—the latter probably a monument of the struggle with the aboriginal Bhars, who were here finally crushed between the 7th and the 10th centuries A.D. The Bhar population of Oudh and the North-Western Provinces now numbers about 350,000.

As we advance still farther eastward into Bengal, we find that the non-Aryan races have within historical time supplied a large part of the Hindu population. In the north, the Koch established their dominion upon the ruins of the Aryan kingdom of Kámrúp, which the Afghán King of Bengal had overthrown in 1489. The Koch gave their name to the Native State of KUCH BEHAR: and their descendants, together with those of other non-Aryan tribes, form the mass of the

Pre-Aryans of Bareilly District.

The Bhars in Oudh.

In Jaunpur.

In Gorakhpur.

The Koch of Northern Bengal.

In Kuch Behar.

In Rangpur people in the neighbouring British Districts, such as RANGPUR. They number more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ million in Northern Bengal and Behar. One part of them got rid of their low origin by becoming Musalmáns, and thus obtained the social equality which Islám grants to all mankind. The rest have merged more or less imperfectly into the Hindu population; and about three-quarters of a million of them claim, in virtue of their position as an old dominant race, to belong to the Kshattriya caste. They call themselves Rájbandsís, a term exactly corresponding to the Rájputs of Western India. The Hinduized Rájás of Kuch Behar obtained for their ancestors a divine origin from their Bráhmaṇ genealogists, in order to efface their aboriginal descent; and among the nobility all mention of the Koch tribe was avoided. The present Mahārájá married the daughter of the celebrated theistic apostle, Keshab Chandra Sen, the leader of the Brahmo Samáj. He is an honorary major in the British army, and takes a prominent part in Calcutta and Simla society.

Ahams of Assam Proceeding still eastward, the adjacent valley of Assam was, until the last century, the seat of another non-Aryan ruling race. The Ahams entered Assam from the south-east about 1350 (?) A.D.: had firmly established their power in 1663, gradually yielded to Hinduism: and were overpowered by fresh Buddhist invasions from Burma between 1750 and 1825, when the valley was annexed to British India. The Ahams have been completely crushed as a dominant race; and their old national priests, to the number of 253,860, have been forced to become tillers of the soil for a living. But the people of Assam are still so essentially made up of aboriginal races and their Hinduized descendants, that not 150,000 persons of even alleged pure Aryan descent can be found in a population of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

Pre-Aryan element south of the Ganges. The foregoing summary has been confined to races north of the Ganges. Passing to the Southern Gangetic plain, we find that almost every tract has traditions of a pre-Aryan tribe, either as a once-dominant race, or as lying at the root of the local population. The great Division of Bundelkhand contains several crushed peoples of this class, and takes its name from the Bundelas, a tribe of at least semi-aboriginal descent. As we rise from the Gangetic plains into the highlands of the Central Provinces, we reach the abiding home of the non-Aryan tribes. One such race after another—Gaulís, Nágás,

Gonds, Ahírs, Bhíls—ruled from the Sâtpura plateau.¹ Some of their chiefs and leading families now claim to be Kshattriyas, and a section of one of the lowest races, the Chauháns, borrowed its name from the noble 'Chauhán' Rájputs.

In the Lower Provinces of Bengal, we find the delta in Lower Bengal: peopled by masses of pre-Aryan origin. One section of them has merged into low-class Hindus; another section has sought a more equal social organization by accepting the creed of Muhammad. But such changes of faith do not alter their ethnical type; and the Musalmán of the delta differs as widely in race from the Afghán, as the low-caste Hindu of the delta differs from the Bráhmaṇ. Throughout Southern India, in Southern India. the non-Aryan elements form almost the entire population, and have supplied the great Dravidian family of languages, which are spoken by 30 millions of people. Two of our oldest and most faithful allies in the Madras Presidency, the enlightened dynasty of Travancore, and the ancient princes of Pudukottái, are survivals of the time when non-Aryan sovereigns ruled over Southern India.

The Scythic inroads, and the ancient Nágá and so-called Scythic and Nágá influences on Hinduism. aboriginal tribes, have, however, not merely left behind remnants of races in individual Districts. They have affected the character of the whole population, and profoundly influenced the religious beliefs and domestic institutions of India. In the Veda we see highly-developed communities of the Aryan stock, worshipping bright and friendly gods, honouring woman, and assigning to her an important position in the family life. Husband and wife were the *Dampatí*, or joint rulers of the Indo-Aryan household. Traditions of the freedom of woman among the ancient Aryan settlers survive in the *Swayam-vara*, or Maiden's Own Choice of a husband, in the epic poems.

The curtain of Vedic and Post-Vedic literature falls upon On the religion and domestic life of modern India the scene before the 5th century B.C. When the curtain rises on the domestic and religious life of mediæval India, in the Puráṇas about the 10th century A.D., a vast change had taken place. The people were no longer sharply divided into civilised Aryans and rude non-Aryans, but into castes of a great mixed

¹ See CENTRAL PROVINCES, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The Gaulis are locally believed to have been earlier fort-builders than the Gonds (see, for example, article SAONLI); and some of the Gond chiefs trace their descent through 54 generations to a well-recorded ancestor assigned to 91 A.D. (see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article SARANGHAR).

population. The process of amalgamation of the Aryans and non-Aryans on the basis of a common religion, which had been begun by Buddhism in the 6th century B.C., was being carried on by Hinduism in the 10th century A.D. The Brahmans had indeed an esoteric or philosophical religion of their own. But the popular religion of the Hindus, that is, of the Indian races who had come under Brāhman influences, was already, in the 10th century, not the old Vedic worship of bright and friendly gods, but a composite product of Aryan spiritual conceptions and non-Aryan superstitions. The position of woman had also altered for the worse. Husband and wife were no longer 'joint rulers' of the household. The Maiden's Own Choice had fallen into disuse, or survived only as a court pageant; the custom of child-marriage had grown up. The widow had been condemned to a life of privation, or had been taught the merit of extinguishing her existence on her husband's funeral pile.

The
appeal to
the Veda.

The following chapter will exhibit this amorphous growth, popularly known as Hinduism. Orthodox Hindus are unfortunately in the habit of claiming the authority of the Veda for their mediæval institutions, for the evil as well as for the good. As a matter of fact, these mediæval institutions, which form the basis of modern Hinduism, are the joint product of non-Aryan darkness and of Aryan light. The Scythic and Nigri and so-called aboriginal races, with their indifference to human suffering, their polyandric households, and their worship of fear and blood, have left their mark deep in the Hindu law-codes, in the terrorizing of the Hindu religion, and in the degradation of woman. English scholarship has shown that the worst feature of Hinduism, widow-burning, had no authority in the Veda. When it is equally well understood that the other dark features of Hinduism also rest not upon the Vedic scriptures, but are the result of a human compromise between Aryan civilisation and non-Aryan barbarism, the task of the Indian reformer will be half accomplished. It is with a true instinct that the great religious movements of India in our day reject the authority of mediæval Hinduism, and appeal back to the Veda. For the Veda represents the religious conceptions and tribal customs of the Aryans in India before those conceptions and customs were modified by compromises with the lower races. At the end of the last chapter I mentioned that a great reformation of Indian faith and practice on the basis of Buddhism is always a possibility. I should

not close the present one without adding that a similar reformation is equally possible, and, as a matter of fact, has been attempted again and again, by applying the test of the Veda to the composite Hinduism which forms the main common link between the Indian races.

CHAPTER VIII

RISE OF HINDUISM (750 TO 1520 A.D.).

RISE OF
HINDU-
ISM.

FROM these diverse races, pre-Aryan, Aryan, Scythic, and Nágá, the population of India has been made up. The task of organizing them fell to the Bráhmans. That ancient caste, which had never quitted the scene even during the height of the Buddhistic supremacy, stepped forward to the front of the stage upon the decay of the Buddhist faith. The Chinese Pilgrim, about 640 A.D., had found Bráhmanism and Buddhism coexisting throughout India. The conflict of creeds brought forth a great line of Bráhman apostles, from the 8th to the 16th century A.D., with occasional successors down to our own day. The disintegration of Buddhism, as we have seen, occupied many hundred years, perhaps from 300 to 1000 A.D.¹

Kumárála,
750 (?)
A.D.

The Hindus take the 8th century as the turning-point in the struggle. About 750 A.D. arose a holy Bráhman of Bengal, Kumárála Bhatta by name, preaching the old Vedic doctrine of a personal Creator and God. Before this realistic theology, the impersonal abstractions of the Buddhists succumbed: and, according to a later legend, the reformer wielded the sword of the flesh not less trenchantly than the weapons of the spirit. A Sanskrit writer, Mádhava-Achárya, of the 14th century A.D., relates how Sudhanwan, a prince in Southern India, 'commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the children of the Buddhists, from the bridge of Ráma [the ridge of reefs which connects India with Ceylon] to the Snowy Mountain: let him who slays not, be slain.'²

Persecu-
tion (?) of
Buddhism.

¹ From the language of the Saddharma Pundarika, translated into Chinese before the end of the 3rd century A.D., H. H. Wilson infers that even at that early date 'the career of the Buddhists had not been one of uninterrupted success, although the opposition had not been such as to arrest their progress' (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 366, ed. 1862). The existence of Buddhism in parts of India is abundantly attested down to 1000 A.D.

² Quoted by H. H. Wilson, *ut supra*. Lassen's *Indische Alterthums-kunde*, vol. iv. p. 708; Colebrooke's *Essays*, p. 190. See also *post*, footnote 1 to p. 259.

It is needless to say that no sovereign existed at that time in India whose power to persecute extended from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. So far as the legend has any truth, it refers to one of many local religious reprisals which took place at the Indian courts during the struggle between the Buddhists and the Bráhmans. Such reprisals recurred in later days, on a smaller scale, between the rival Hindu sects. The legend of Kumáрила is significant, however, as placing on a religious basis the series of many-sided evolutions which resulted in Hinduism. These evolutions were the result of ethnical processes, more subtle than the scheming of any caste of men. The Bráhmans gave a direction to Hinduism, but it was the natural development of the Indian races which produced it.

True value of the legend.

Hinduism is a social organization and a religious confederacy. As a social organization, it rests upon caste, with its roots deep down in the ethnical elements of the Indian people. As a religious confederacy, it represents the coalition of the old Vedic faith of the Bráhmans with Buddhism on the one hand, and with the ruder rites of the pre-Aryan and Indo-Scythic races on the other.

Twofold basis of Hinduism: caste and religion

The ethnical basis of caste is disclosed in the twofold division of the people into the 'twice-born' Aryan castes, including the Bráhmans, Kshatriyas (Rájputs), and Vaisyas; and the 'once-born' non-Aryan Súdras. The Census proves that this classification remains the fundamental one to the present day. The three 'twice-born' castes still wear the sacred thread, and claim a joint, although an unequal, inheritance in the holy books of the Veda. The 'once-born' castes are still denied the sacred thread, and their initiation into the old religious literature of the Indo-Aryans has only been effected by the secular teaching of our Anglo-Indian schools. But while caste has thus its foundations deep in the distinctions of race, its superstructure is regulated by another system of division, based on the occupations of the people. The early classification of the people may be expressed either ethnically, as 'twice-born' Aryans and 'once-born' non-Aryans; or socially, as priests, warriors, husbandmen, and serfs. On these two principles of classification, according to race and to employment, still further modified by geographical position, has been built up the ethnical and social organization of Indian caste.

Caste basis of Hinduism.

The race-origin of caste.

Modified by 'occupation' and 'locality.'

From the resulting cross-divisions arises an excessive complexity, which renders any brief exposition of caste superficial.

Complexity of caste.

Even the
Brahmans
not an
ethnical
unit.

As a rule, it may be said that the Aryan or 'twice-born' castes adhere most closely to the ethnical principle of division; the 'once-born' or distinctly non-Aryan to the same principle, but profoundly modified by the concurrent principle of employment; while the so-called mixed progeny of the two are classified solely according to their occupation. But even among the Bráhmans, whose pride of race and continuity of tradition should render them the firmest ethnical unit among the Indian castes, classification by employment and by geographical situation plays a very important part; and the Bráhmans, so far from being a compact unit, are made up of several hundred castes, who cannot intermarry, nor eat food cooked by each other. They follow every employment, from the calm *pandits* of Behar in their stainless white robes, and the haughty priests of Benares, to the potato-growing Bráhmans of Orissa, 'half-naked peasants, struggling along under their baskets of yams, with a filthy little Bráhmanical thread over their shoulder.'¹ The truth is, that in Orissa, as in Malabar and in other parts of India, there is evidence that large classes of the non-Aryan population have become nominally Bráhmans, just as other large classes of the non-Aryan population have become nominally Rájputs or Kshattriyas.²

The Bráh-
man caste
analyzed.

In many parts of India, Bráhmans may be found earning their livelihood as porters, shepherds, cultivators, potters, and fishermen, side by side with others who would rather starve, and see their wives and little ones die of hunger, than demean themselves to manual labour, or allow food prepared by a man of inferior caste to pass their lips. Classification by locality introduces another set of distinctions among the Bráhmans. In Lower Bengal jails, a convict Bráhman from Behar or the North-Western Provinces used to be highly valued, as the only person who could prepare food for all classes of Bráhman prisoners. In 1864, the author saw a Bráhman felon try to starve himself to death, and submit to a flogging rather than eat his food, on account of scruples as to whether the birthplace of the North-Western Bráhman, who had cooked it, was equal in sanctity to his own native district. The Bráhmans are popularly divided into ten great septs, according to their locality; five on the north, and five on the

¹ See my *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 238 *et seq.* (ed. 1872), where 25 pages are devoted to the diversities of the Bráhmans in occupation and race. Also *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, by the Rev. M. A. Sherring, Introd. xvi. vol. ii. (4to, Calcutta, 1879).

² *The Post*, pp. 243, 244, and their footnotes.

south of the Vindhya range.¹ But the minor distinctions are innumerable. Thus, the first of the five northern Brahman septs, the Sâraswatâs in the Punjab, consists of 469 classes.² Sherring enumerated 1886 separate Brâhmanical tribes.³ Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, carried his learned work on caste to the length of two volumes, aggregating 678 pages, before his death; but he had not completed his analysis of even a single caste—the Brâhmins.

It will be readily understood, therefore, how numerous are the sub-divisions, and how complex is the constitution, of the lower castes. The Râjputs now number 590 separately-named tribes in different parts of India.⁴ But a process of synthesis as well as of analysis has been going on among the Indian peoples. In many outlying Provinces, we see non-Aryan chiefs and warlike tribes turn into Aryan Râjputs before our eyes.⁵ Well-known legends have been handed down of large bodies of aliens being incorporated from time to time even into the Brâhman caste.⁶ But besides these 'manufactured Brâhmins,' and the ethnical syncretisms which they

The lower castes still more complex.

¹ Thus tabulated according to a Sanskrit mnemonic *Sloka* —

I. The five Gauras north of the Vindhya range—

- (1) The *Sâraswatâs*, so called from the country watered by the river Saraswatî.
- (2) The *Kânyakubjâs*, so called from the Kânyakubja or Kanauj country.
- (3) The *Gauras* proper, so called from Gaur, or the country of the Lower Ganges.
- (4) The *Utkalâs*, of the Province of Utkala or Odra (Orissa).
- (5) The *Mithilâs*, of the Province of Mithila (Tirhut).

II. The five Dravidas south of the Vindhya range—

- (1) The *Mahârâshtrâs*, of the country of the Marathi language.
- (2) The *Andhrâs* or *Tâlanâs*, of the country of the Telugu language.
- (3) The *Dravîḍâs* proper, of the country of the Dravidian or Tamil language.
- (4) The *Kannḍiâs*, of the Kânḍiḥa, or the country of the Canarese language.
- (5) The *Gurjarâs*, of Gujjarâshtra, or the country of the Gujarati language.

— Compiled by Pandit Râdhâ Kṛṣṇa, quoted by Dr. J. Wilson, *Indian Caste*, part ii. pp. 126–133.

² *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, pp. xxii–xlvii. vol. ii. (4to, Calcutta, 1870).

³ See Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. iii. pp. lv–lxx.

⁴ See Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. ii. p. lxxii.

⁵ Hunter's *Co.*, vol. i. p. 247 (in Oudh), p. 248 in Bhagpāt, p. 254 (in Malabar), etc.

The building up of castes.

represent, there once went on a process of amalgamation among the Hindus by mixed marriages.¹ The Sūtras say Mr. Sherring, 'display a great intermingling of races. Every caste exhibits this confusion. They form a living and practical testimony to the fact that in former times the upper and lower classes of native society, by which I mean the Hindu and non-Hindu population of India, formed alliances with one another on a prodigious scale, and that the offspring of these alliances were in many instances gathered together into separate castes and denominated Sūtras.'²

The slow development of Hindu marriage law.

Survivals of the process.

The Hindu custom now forbids marriage between (1) persons of the same *gotra* or kindred, and (2) persons of different castes. But this precise double rule has been arrived at only after many intermediate experiments in endogamous and exogamous tribal life. The transitions are typified by the polyandry of Draupadī in the Mahābhārata, and by many caste customs relating to marriage, inheritance, and the family tie, which survive to this day. Such survivals constitute an important branch of law, in fact, the domestic 'common law' of India, and furnish one of the chief difficulties in the way of Anglo-Indian codification. Thus, to take a single point, the rules regarding marriage exhibit every phase from the compulsory polyandry of the old Nāirs, the permissive polyandry of the Punjab Jāts, and the condonement of adultery with a husband's brother or kinsman among the Kārákat Vellāls of Madurai, to the law of Levirate among the Ahirs and Nuniyās, the legal re-marriage of widows among the low-caste Hindus, and the stringent provisions against such re-marriages among the higher castes. At this day, the Nāirs exhibit several of the stages in the advance from polyandric to monogamous institutions. The conflict between polyandry and the more civilised marriage system of the Hindus is going on before our eyes in Malabar. Among the Koils, although polyandry is forgotten, the right of disposing of a girl in marriage still belongs, in certain cases, to the *maternal* uncle,—a relic of the polyandric system of

¹ See two interesting articles from opposite points of view, on the synthetic aspects of caste, by the Rev. Mr. Sherring, of Benares, and by Jogendra Chandra Ghose, in the *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1880.

² *Calcutta Review*, cxlii. p. 225.

³ Among many treatises on this subject, Arthur Steele's *Law and Customs of Hindu Castes* (1868) deals with Western India; Nelson's *Views of Hindu Law* (1877), and Burnell's *Dayavādya*, etc., may be quoted for the Madras Presidency; Beames' admirable edition of Sir Henry Elliot's *Tribes of the North-Western Provinces*, and Sherring's *Hindu Tribes* (besides more strictly legal treatises), for Bengal.

succession through females. This tribe, like the Kandhs, also preserves the form of marriage by ‘capture.’

The *Brāhmanas* indicate that the blood of the Hindus was, even in the early post-Vedic period, greatly intermingled.¹ The ancient marriage code recognised as lawful, unions of men of higher caste with females from any of the lower ones, and their offspring² had a quite different social status from the progeny³ of illicit concubinage. The laws of Manu disclose how widely such connections had influenced the structure of Indian society perhaps 2000 years ago; and the British Census of 1891 proves that the so-called mixed castes still form the great body of the Hindu population. The most recent evidence points to the conclusion, however, that the so-called mixed castes are not the result of any general mixture of blood or race between the Aryans and non-Aryans in India; but rather of a mixture of Aryan civilisation, language and religion, with non-Aryan customs, dialects and rites. In dealing with Indian caste, we must therefore allow, not only for the ethnical and geographical elements into which it is resolvable, but also for the synthetic processes by which it has been built up.

The same remark applies to the other principle of classification on which caste rests, namely, according to the employments of the people. On the one hand, there has been a tendency to erect every separate employment in each separate Province into a distinct caste. On the other hand, there has been a practice (which European observers are apt to overlook) of the lower castes changing their occupation, and in some cases deliberately raising themselves in the social scale. Thus the Vaisya caste, literally the *vis* or general body of the Aryan settlers, were in ancient times the tillers of the soil. They have abandoned this laborious occupation to the Sūdra and mixed castes, and are now the merchants and bankers of India. ‘Fair in complexion,’ writes the most accurate of recent students of caste,⁴ ‘with rather delicate

Ancient
mingling
of castes

The ‘oc-
cupation’
basis of
caste.

Changes
of ‘occu-
pation’ by
castes.

¹ The *Taittirīya Brāhmana* of the Krishna Yajur Veda (quoted by Dr. J. Wilson, *Caste*, i. pp. 127-132) enumerates 159 castes.

² *Anuloma*.

³ *Pratiloma*. For an arrangement of 134 Indian castes, according to their origin, or ‘procession’ from (1) regular full marriage by members of the same caste, (2) *anuloma*, (3) *pratiloma*, (4) *Vidyā* & *Sandātā*, (5) adultery, (6) incest, (7) degeneration; Wilson, *Indian Caste*, ii. pp. 39-72.

⁴ The Rev. M. A. Sherring (deceased, alas! since the above was written, after a life of noble devotion and self-sacrifice to the Indian people, *Catholic Review*, October 1880, p. 220).

The Vais-
yas. features, and a certain refinement depicted on their coun-
tenances, sharp of eye, intelligent of face, and polite of
bearing,' the Vaisyas 'must have radically changed since the
days when their forefathers delved, sowed, and reaped.'
Indeed, so great is the change, that a heated controversy is
going on in Hindu society as to whether the Bengali *baniyas*,
or merchant-bankers, are really of Vaisya descent or of a
higher origin.

Gold-
smiths of
Madras. Such a rise in the social scale is usually the unconscious
work of time, but there are also legends of distinct acts of self-
assertion by individual castes. In Southern India, the gold-
smiths strenuously resisted the rule of the Brāhmanas, and for
ages claimed to be the true spiritual guides, styling themselves
āchāryas, 'religious teachers,' and wearing the sacred thread.
Their pretensions are supposed to have given rise to the
great division of castes in Madras, into the 'Right-hand,' or
the cultivating and trading castes who supported the Brāh-
manas; and the 'Left-hand,' chiefly craftsmen who sided with
the artisan opposition to Brāhman supremacy.¹

The
Dattas of
Bengal. In Bengal, a similar opposition came from the literary class.
The Dattas, a sept of the Kāyasth or writer-caste, re-
nounced the position assigned to them in the classification
of Hindu society. They claimed to rank next to the Brah-
manas, and thus above all the other castes. 'They failed; but
a native author² states that one of their body, within the
memory of men still living, maintained his title, and wore
the sacred thread of the pure 'twice-born.' The Statistical
Survey of India has disclosed many self-assertions of this
sort, although of a more gradual character and on a smaller
scale. Thus, in Eastern Bengal, where land is plentiful, the
Shāhas, a section of the Suris or degraded spirit-sellers, have,
in our own time, advanced themselves first into a respectable
cultivating caste, and then into prosperous traders. Some of
the Telis or oil-pressers in Dacca District, and certain of the
Tāmbulis or *pān*-growers in Rangpur, have in like manner
risen above their hereditary callings, and become bankers and
grain merchants. These examples do not include the general
opening of professions effected by English education—the
great solvent of caste.

The
Shāhas.

Telis,
Tāmbulis,
etc.

¹ This subject is involved in much obscurity. The above sentences
embody the explanation given in Nelson's *View of the Hindu Law, as
administered by the High Court of Madras*, p. 140 (Madras, 1877).

² Jyendra Chandra Ghose, *Calcutta Review*, cxlii. p. 279 (October
1880).

There is therefore a plasticity as well as a rigidity in caste. Its plasticity has enabled caste to adapt itself to widely separated stages of social progress, and to incorporate the various ethnical elements which make up the Indian people. Its rigidity has given strength and permanence to the corporate body thus formed. Hinduism is internally loosely coherent, but it has great powers of resistance to external pressure. Each caste is to some extent a trade-guild, a mutual assurance society, and a religious sect. As a trade-union, it insists on the proper training of the youth of its craft, regulates the wages of its members, deals with trade-delinquents, supplies courts of arbitration, and promotes good fellowship by social gatherings. The famous fabrics of mediæval India, and the chief local industries in our own day, were developed under the supervision of caste or trade-guilds of this sort. Such guilds may still be found in many parts of India, but not always with the same complete development.¹

Plasticity and rigidity in caste.

Caste, as a system of trade-guilds.

In AHMADABAD DISTRICT,² when I visited it ten years ago, each trade formed (and I am told still forms) a separate guild. All heads of artisan households are ranged under their proper guild. The objects of the guild are to regulate competition among the members, and to uphold the interest of the body in disputes with other craftsmen. To moderate competition, the guild appoints certain days as trade holidays, when any member who works is punished by a fine. A special case occurred in 1873 among the Ahmadâbâd bricklayers. Men of this class sometimes added 3d. to their daily wages by working extra time in the early morning. But several families were thereby thrown out of employment. Accordingly the guild met, and decided that as there was not employment for all, no man should be allowed to work extra time.

Its regulation of wages.

The decisions of the guild are enforced by fines. If the offender refuses to pay, and the members of the guild all belong to one caste, the offender is put out of caste. If the guild contains men of different castes, the guild uses its influence with other guilds to prevent the recusant member from getting work. The guild also acts in its corporate capacity against other crafts. For example, in 1872, the Ahmadâbâd cloth-dealers resolved among themselves to reduce the rates paid to the sizers or *kizîds*. The sizers'

Working of the trade-guild.

¹ The *Statistical Accounts or Gazetteers* of the Bombay Districts devote a special section to such trade-guilds in every District.

² See the article, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

guild refused to prepare cloth at the lower rates, and remained six weeks on strike. At length a compromise was arrived at, and both guilds signed a stamped agreement.

An Indian
'strike.'

Guild
funds.

Guild
charities.

Trade-
interests of
caste :

in trade
centres ;

in the vil-
lage com-
munity.

Low-caste
Village
Heads.

Caste and
'mutual
insurance.'

No 'poor-
law' in
India.

Besides its punitive fines, the guild draws an income from fees levied on persons beginning to practise its craft. This custom prevails at Ahmadábád in the cloth and other industries. But no fee is paid by potters, carpenters, and inferior artisans. An exception is made, too, in the case of a son succeeding to his father, when nothing need be paid. In other cases, the amount varies, in proportion to the importance of the trade, from £5 to £50. The revenue from these fees and from punitive fines is expended in feasts to the members of the guild, in the support of poor craftsmen or their orphans, and in charity. A favourite device for raising money in Surat is for the members of a trade to agree to keep a certain date as a holiday, and to shut up all their shops except one. The right to keep open this one shop is let by auction, and the amount bid is credited to the guild-fund.

Within the guild, the interests of the common trade often supersede the race element of the theoretically common caste. Thus, in Surat, each class of craftsmen, although including men of different castes and races, combines to form a guild, with a council, a head-man, and a common purse for charity and entertainments. In Ahmadábád, Broach, and many industrial centres, the trade organization into guilds coexists with, or dominates, the race-structure of caste. A twofold organization also appears in the village community. Caste regulates the theoretical position of every family within it; but the low-castes often claim the headship in the village government.

Thus in Bárásat Sub-district, Bengal, of 5818 enumerated village heads, only 15 were Bráhmans or Rájputs, 4 were Káyasths, while 3524 belonged to the Súdra or inferior castes, down to the detested cow-skinners and corpse-bearers; the residue being Muhammadans, with 13 native Christians. In Southern India, the village head is sometimes of so low a caste that he cannot sit under the same roof with his colleagues in the village government. He therefore hands up his staff, which is set in the place of honour, while he himself squats on the ground outside. The trade-guild in the cities, and the village community throughout the country, act, together with caste, as mutual assurance societies, and under normal conditions allow none of their members to starve. Caste, and the trading or agricultural guilds concurrent with it, take the place of a poor-law in India.

It is obvious that such an organization must have some weapons for defending itself against lazy or unworthy members. The responsibility which the caste discharges with regard to feeding its poor, would otherwise be liable to abuses. As a matter of fact, the caste or guild exercises a surveillance over each of its members, from the close of childhood until death. If a man behaves well, he will rise to an honoured place in his caste ; and the desire for such local distinctions exercises an important influence in the life of a Hindu. But the caste has its punishments as well as its rewards. Those punishments consist of fine and excommunication. The fine usually takes the form of a compulsory feast to the male members of the caste. This is the ordinary means of purification, or of making amends for breaches of the caste code.

Excommunication inflicts three penalties : First, an interdict against eating with the fellow-members of the caste. Second, an interdict against marriage within the caste. This practically amounts to debarring the delinquent and his family from respectable marriages of any sort. Third, cutting off the delinquent from the general community, by forbidding him the use of the village barber and washerman, and of the priestly adviser. Except in very serious cases, excommunication is withdrawn upon the submission of the offender, and his payment of a fine. Anglo-Indian law does not enforce caste-decrees. But caste punishments exercise an efficacious restraint upon unworthy members of the community, just as caste rewards supply a powerful motive of action to good ones. A member who cannot be controlled by this mixed discipline of punishment and reward is eventually expelled ; and, as a rule, an 'out-caste' is really a bad man. Imprisonment in jail carries with it that penalty ; but may be condoned after release, by heavy expiations.

Such is a brief survey of the nature and operation of caste. But the cross-divisions on which the institution rests ; its conflicting principles of classification according to race, employment, and locality ; the influence of Islām in Northern India, of the 'right-handed' and 'left-handed' branches in the South ;¹ and the modifications everywhere effected by social or sectarian movements, render a short account of caste full of difficulties.

Hinduism is, however, not only a social organization resting upon caste ; it is also a religious federation based upon worship.

¹ See Crole's *Statistical Account of Chinleput District*, pp. 33, 34 1879.

Its stages
of evolu-
tion.

As the various race elements of the Indian peoples have been welded into caste, so the simple old beliefs of the Veda, the mild doctrines of Buddha, and the fierce rites of the non-Aryan tribes, have been thrown into the melting-pot, and poured out thence as a mixture of alloy and dross to be worked up into the Hindu gods. In the religious as in the social structure, the Brāhman supplied the directing brain-power. But both processes resulted from laws of human evolution, deeper than the workings of any individual will; and in both, the product has been, not an artificial manufacture, but a natural development. Hinduism merely forms one link in the chain of Indian religions. We have seen that the career of Buddha was but a combination of the ascetic and the heroic Aryan types as both recorded in the Indian epics. Indeed, the discipline of the Buddhists organized so faithfully the prescribed stages of a Brāhman's existence, that it is difficult to decide whether the *Sarmanai* of Megasthenes were Buddhist clergy or Brāhman recluses. If accurate scholarship cannot accept Buddhism as simply the Sāṅkhya philosophy turned into a national religion, it admits that Buddhism is a natural development from Brāhmanism. An early set of intermediate links is found in the *darsanas*, or philosophical systems, between the Vedic period and the establishment of Buddhism as a national religion under Asoka (1400? to 250 B.C.). A later set is preserved in the compromises effected during the final struggle between Buddhism and Brāhmanism, ending in the reassertion of the latter in its new form as the religion of the Hindus (700 to 1000 A.D.). While, however, Buddhism derived the personal type of its founder from the heroes and ascetics of the Aryan epics, and much of its doctrine from the Aryan philosophers of ancient India, it owed its widespread acceptance as the religion of the Indian peoples, to its systematic incorporation of the non-Aryan races and dynasties.

Buddhist
influences
on Hindu-
ism.

Beast
hospitals.

Buddhism not only breathed into Hinduism its noble spirit of charity; it also bequeathed to Hinduism many of its institutions unimpaired, together with its scheme of religious life, and the material fabric of its worship. At this day, the *mahājan*, or bankers' guild, in Surat, devotes part of the fees that it levies on bills of exchange to animal hospitals; true survivals of Asoka's second edict, which provided a system of medical aid for beasts, 250 years before Christ. The cenobitic life, and the division of the people into laity

and clergy, have passed almost unchanged from Buddhism into the present Hindu sects, such as the Vaishnavs or Vishnuites.

The Hindu monasteries in our own day vie with the Buddhist convents in the reign of Silāditya; and Purī is, in many respects, a modern unlettered Nalanda. The religious houses of the Orissa delta, with their revenue of £50,000 a year,¹ are but Hindu developments of the Buddhist cells and rock-monasteries, whose remains still honeycomb the adjacent hills. Monas-
teries.

If we examine the religious life of the Vishnuite communities, we find their rules are Buddhistic, with Brāhmanical reasons attached. Thus the moral code of the Kabīr-panthīs consists of five rules:² First, life, whether of man or beast, must not be violated; because it is the gift of God. Second, humanity is the cardinal virtue; and the shedding of blood, whether of man or beast, a heinous crime. Third, truth is the great principle of conduct; because all the ills of life and ignorance of God are due to original delusion (*māyā*). Fourth, retirement from the world is desirable; because the desires of the world are hostile to tranquillity of soul, and to the undisturbed meditation on God. Fifth, obedience to the spiritual guide is incumbent on all. This last rule is common to every sect of the Hindus. But the Kabīr-panthīs direct the pupil to examine well his teacher's life and doctrine before he resigns himself to his control. If we did not know that Buddhism was itself an outgrowth from primitive Brāhmanism, we might hold this code of the Hindu Vishnu-worshippers to be simple Buddhism, with the addition of a personal God. But knowing, as we do, that Brāhmanism and Buddhism were themselves closely connected, and that they combined to form Hinduism, it is difficult to discriminate how far Hinduism was made up by direct transmission from Buddhism or from Brāhmanism. The reli-
gious life.

The influence of Buddhism on the Christianity of the Western world has been referred to at p. 197. Whatever uncertainties may still obscure that question, the effect of Buddhism upon the present faiths of Eastern Asia admits of no doubt. The best elements in the teaching of Buddha have survived in modern Hinduism; and Buddhism carried with it essential Buddhist
influence
on later
religions.

¹ Report by the Committee of native gentlemen appointed to inquire into the Orissa *rents*, dated 25th March 1869, par. 15.

² H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 94 ed. 1862.

Serpent
ornamen-
tation:

in Hindu-
ism;

in Buddh-
ism;

in Chris-
tian art.

Coalition
of Buddh-
ism with
earlier
religions:
in India:

in Japan;

Shrines
common
to various
faiths.

Adam's
Peak.

doctrines of Brāhmanism to China and Japan, together with certain features of Indian religious art. The snake ornamentation, which figures so universally in the Hindu religion of India, is said to have been carried by Buddhism alike to the east and the west. Thus, the canopy or baldachino over Buddha's head delights in twisted pillars and wavy patterns. These wave-like ornaments are conventionalized into cloud curves in most of the Chinese and Japanese canopies; but some of them still exhibit the original figures thus symbolized as undulating serpents or Nāgās. A serpent baldachino of this sort may be seen in a monastery at Ningpo.¹ It takes the place of the cobra-headed canopy, which in Hinduism shelters the head of Siva, or of Vishnu as he slept upon the waters at the creation of the world. The twisted columns which support the baldachino at St. Peter's in Rome, and the fluted ornamentation so common over Protestant pulpits, are said to have a serpentine origin, and an Eastern source. The association of Buddha with two other figures, in the Japanese temples, perhaps represents a recollection of the Brāhman Triad. The Brāhmanical idea of trinity, in its Buddhist development as Buddha, Dharma (the Law), and Sangha (the Congregation), deeply penetrates the Buddhism of Japan. The Sacred Tooth of Buddha at Ceylon is a reproduction of the phallic *linga* of India.

Buddhism readily coalesced with the pre-existing religions of primitive races. Thus, among the hill tribes of Eastern Bengal, we see the Khyangthas, or 'Children of the River,' passing into Buddhists without giving up their aboriginal rites. They still offer rice and fruits and flowers to the spirits of hill and stream;² and the Buddhist priests, although condemning the custom as unorthodox, do not very violently oppose it. In Japan, a Buddhist saint visited the hill-slope of Hotoke Iwa in 767 A.D.; declared the local Shinto deity to be only a manifestation of Buddha; and so converted the old idolatrous high-place into a Buddhist shrine. Buddhism has thus served as a link between the ancient faiths of India and the modern worship of the Eastern world. It has given sanctity to the centres of common pilgrimage, to which the great faiths of Asia resort. Thus, the Siva-worshippers ascend the top of Adam's Peak in Ceylon, to adore the footprint of their phallic god, the *Sivapada*; the Buddhists repair to the spot to revere

¹ The authority for this statement is an unpublished drawing shown to me by Miss Gordon Cumming.

² See my *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. vi. p. 40, etc.

the same symbol as the footmark of Buddha; and the Muhammadans venerate it as a relic of Adam, the Semitic father of mankind.

Many common shrines of a similar character exist in India. The famous place of pilgrimage at Sakhi Sarwar crowns the high bank of a hill stream at the foot of the Suláimán range, in the midst of desert scenery, well adapted to penitents who would mortify the flesh. To this remote spot the Muhammadans come in honour of a Musalmán saint; the Sikhs, to venerate a memorial of their theistic founder, Nának; and the Hindus, to perform their own ablutions and rites. The mount near Madras, associated in Catholic legend with the martyrdom of St. Thomas, was originally a common hill-shrine for Muhammadans, Christians, and Hindus. Such hill-shrines for joint worship are usually either rock-fortresses, like Kálinjar in the North-Western Provinces and Chunár overhanging the Ganges, or river-islands, like the beautiful islet on the Indus just below the new railway bridge at Sukkur. The object of common adoration is frequently a footmark in stone. This the Hindus venerate as the footprint of Vishnu or Siva (*Vishnupad* or *Sivapad*); the Buddhists regard it as the footprint of Buddha; the Jains, of Mahávira or Párasnáth; while the Musalmáns revere it as the footprint of Muhammad (*Kadam-rasul*). The mingled architecture of some of these pilgrim-sites attests the various races and creeds that combined to give them sanctity. Buddhism, which in some respects was at first a revolt against Bráhmaṇ supremacy, has thus done much to maintain the continuity between the ancient and the modern religions of India.

Hinduism, however, derived its elements not merely from the two ancient Aryan faiths, the Bráhmaṇical and the Buddhist. In its popular aspects, it drew much of its strength, and many of its rites, from the Nága and other non-Aryan peoples of India. Buddhists and Brahmans alike endeavoured, during their long struggle, to enlist the masses on their side. The Nága kingdoms were divided, as we have seen, by the Chinese geographers into those which had accepted Buddhism, and those which had not. A chief feature in Nága-worship was the reverence for dragons or tailed monsters. This reverence found its way into mediæval Buddhism, and became an important element in Buddhist mythology. The historian of Tree and Serpent worship goes so far as to say that 'Buddhism was little more

Sakhi Sarwar

Non-Aryan elements in Hinduism.

Nágaras.

Serpent-worship in Hinduism.

than a revival of the coarser superstitions of the aboriginal races, purified and refined by the application of Aryan morality.¹

The great monastery of Nalanda owed its foundation to the supposed influence of a tailed monster, or Nāgā, in a neighbouring tank. Many Hindu temples still support colonies of sacred crocodiles; and the scholar who has approached the subject from the Chinese point of view, comes to the conclusion that 'no superstition was more deeply embedded in the [ancient] Hindu mind than reverence for Nāgās or dragons. Buddhism from the first had to contend as much against the under current of Nāgā reverence in the popular mind, as against the supercilious opposition of the philosophic Brāhman in the upper current. At last, as it would seem, driven to an extremity by the gathering cloud of persecution, the Buddhists sought escape by closing with the popular creed, and endeavouring to enlist the people against the priests; but with no further success than such a respite as might be included within some one hundred years.'²

Phallic
emblems
in Hindu-
ism.

This conception of the process is coloured by modern ideas, but there can be no doubt that Hinduism incorporated many aboriginal rites. It had to provide for the non-Aryan as well as for the Aryan elements of the Indian people, and it combined the Brāhmanism and Buddhism of the Aryans with the fetish-worship and religion of terror which swayed the non-Aryan races. Some of its superstitions seem to have been brought by Turanian or Scythian migrations from Central Asia. Serpent-worship is closely allied to, if indeed it does not take its origin in, that reverence for the symbols of human reproduction which formed one of the most widely-spread religions of pre-historic man. Phallic or generative emblems are on earth what the sun is in the heavens. The sun, as the type of celestial creative energy, was a primitive object of Aryan adoration. Later Brāhmanism, and its successor Hinduism, have adopted not only the self-erecting serpent, but the *linga* and *yonī*, or the organs of male and female creative energy, from the non-Aryan races.

The Hindu
linga and
yonī.

The worship of the phallic emblem or *linga* finds only a doubtful sanction, if any at all, in those ancient scriptures;³

¹ Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 62, with footnote, *et seq.* (4to, 1868). This view must be taken subject to limitations.

² *Contents of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, pp. 415, 416. By Samuel Beal (Trubner, 1871).

³ H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 220 (ed. 1862).

but the Purānas disclose it in full vigour (1000 A.D.); and the Muhammadans found it in every part of India. It is not only the chief religion to the south of the Vindhya, but it is universally recognised by the Hindus. Such symbolism fitted well into the character of the third person of their Triad—Siva, the Reproducer, as well as the All-Destroyer. To the Brāhmins it supplied a popular basis for their abstruse doctrines regarding the male and female energy in nature. Phallic worship harmonized also with their tendency to supply each god with a correlative goddess, and furnished an easily-understood symbolism for the *Sākta* sects, or worshippers of the divine creative power,¹ so numerous among the Hindus. For the semi-aboriginal tribes and half-Hinduized low-castes, this conception of Siva as the All-Destroyer and Reproducer, organized on a philosophical basis their old religion of propitiation by blood.²

The fetish and tree worship of the non-Aryan races also entered largely into Hinduism. The first Englishman³ who tried to study the natives as they actually are, and not as the Brāhmins described them, was struck by the universal prevalence of a worship quite distinct from that of the Hindu deities. A Bengal village has usually its local god, which it adores either in the form of a rude unhewn stone, or a stump, or a tree marked with red lead. Sometimes a lump of clay placed under a tree does for a deity; and the attendant priest, when there is one, generally belongs to the half-Hinduized low-castes. The rude stone represents the non-Aryan fetish; and the tree seems to owe its sanctity to the non-Aryan belief that it forms the abode of the ghosts, or gods, of the village. We have seen how, in some Santālī hamlets, the worshippers dance round every tree; so that they may not, by any evil chance, miss the one in which the village spirits happen to dwell.

¹ *Sākta*.

² The relation of these rites of the semi-Hinduized low-castes to the religion of the non-Aryan races is treated at considerable length, from personal observation, in my *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 127-136 and 194, 5th edition.

³ Dr. Francis Buchanan, who afterwards took the name of Hamilt. His survey of the North-Eastern Districts of Bengal, 1807-13, forms a noble series of MS. folios in the India Office, much in need of a competent editor. Montgomery Martin made three printed volumes out of them by the process of drawing his pencil through the parts which did not interest him, or which he could not understand. These he published under the title of the *History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India* (3 vols., 1838).

Vishnuite
symbols.

As the non-Aryan phallic emblems were utilized by Hinduism in the worship of Siva, the All-Destroyer and Reproducer, so the household fetish *sālagrām* has supplied a symbol for the rival Hindu deity Vishnu, the Preserver. The *sālagrām* (often an ammonite or curved stone) and the *tulasī* plant are the insignia of Vishnuism, as universally as the *linga* is of Sivaism. In both cases the Brāhmans enriched the popular fetish-worship with deep metaphysical doctrines, and with admirable moral codes. The Sivaite devotee carries round his neck, or hidden about his person, a miniature phallic emblem, *linga*; the *sālagrām* and *tulasī* are the objects of reverence among all the Vishnuite sects.¹

Jungle
rites.

The great Vishnuite festival of Bengal, the *rath-jātra*, when Jagannāth, the 'Lord of the World,' is dragged in his car to his garden-house, is of Buddhist origin. But it has many a humbler counterpart in the forest excursions which the Bengal villagers make in their holiday clothes to some sacred tree in the neighbouring grove or jungle. These jungle rites find special favour with the low-castes, and disclose curious survivals of the non-Hinduized element in the worshippers. Blood sacrifices and the eating of flesh have long been banished from the worship of the Vishnuite sects. But on such forest festivals, the fierce aboriginal instincts in the mixed castes, who accept in ordinary life the restraints of Hinduism, break loose. On the outskirts of the hill-country which abuts on the Ganges near Rājmahāl, even cowherds have been known to feed on swine-flesh, which at all other times they regard with abhorrence.

Non-Aryan
rites merging into
Hinduism.

The ceremonies, where they can pretend to any conscious meaning, have a propitiatory or necromantic tinge. Thus, in Birbhūm District the mixed and low-castes even of the chief town repair once a year to the jungle, and make offerings to a ghost who dwells in a *bel*-tree.² Buchanan-Hamilton describes such sacrifices as 'made partly from fear, and partly to gratify the appetite for flesh.'³ In examining the forest tribes on the west of Lower Bengal, I found that the rites of the non-Aryan hillmen gradually merged into the Hinduism of the plains.⁴ The evidence shows that the Hindus derived from

¹ See, *inter alia*, pp. 15, 39, 50, 54, 116, 117, 140, 149, 179, 181, 246, vol. i. of H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus* (ed. 1862).

² Or they used to do so when I was an officer in that District (1863-66); and I believe they still keep up the festival.

History, etc., of Eastern India, from the Buchanan MSS., vol. i. p. 194.

⁴ Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 194, 5th edition.

non-Aryan sources their phallic emblem the *linga*, their household fetish the *sālagrām*, their village gods *grām-devatas*, with the ghosts and demons that haunt so many trees, and the bloody rites of their national deity, Siva. Among the Hindus, these superstitions are often isolated and unconnected with each other; among the Santāls and other non-Aryan races, they form riveted links in a ritual of fear and propitiation.

The same phenomena are observable in regard to many other of the non-Aryan races. There is the strictly non-Aryan nucleus of the tribe maintaining its non-Aryan customs and worship, and not yet subjected to Brahman influences. Spreading outward from this recognisable non-Aryan centre, there is a sort of *penumbra* in which the inhabitants are conscious of their connection with the non-Aryan nucleus, and adhere to many of the non-Aryan rites, but have obtained Hindu or even Brāhman priests, and have in varying degrees come under their ritualistic guidance. Still further beyond, there is an outer circle of population, who can be proved by modern research to be identical in origin with the non-Aryan nucleus, but who have themselves forgotten their connection with it, and have become recognised low-castes of the general Hindu community.

The development of Hinduism out of pre-existing religious types, although a natural evolution, bears the impress of human guidance. Until the 12th century A.D., the Brahmins supplied the directing energy in reaction to the Buddhists, and founded their reforms on a reassertion of the personality of God. But even before that period, Buddhism had ceased to struggle for existence in India: and the mass of the people began to strike out religious sects upon popular rather than on Brāhmanical lines. The work of the early Brāhman reformers was accordingly carried on after the 12th century, in part by low-caste apostles, who popularized the old Brahmanical conception of a personal God, by infusing into it the Buddhist doctrine of the spiritual equality of man. Many of the Hindu sects form brotherhoods, on the Buddhist model, within which the classification by caste gives place to one based on the various degrees of perfection attained in the religious life.

Most of the Hindu reformations since the 12th century thus preserve what was best in each of the two ancient faiths of India—namely, the personal God of the Brahmins, and the spiritual equality of the Buddhists. Among the Hindus, every preacher who would really appeal to the

popular heart must fulfil two conditions, and conform to a certain type. He must cut himself off from the world by a solemn act, like the Great Renunciation of Buddha; and he must come forth from his solemn communing with a simple message. The message need not be original. On the contrary, it must consist of a reassertion, in some form, of the personality of God and the equality of men in His sight.

The Hindu
Acta Sancto-
rum.

Miracles
of the
religious
founders.

Kabir's
death.

Hinduism boasts a line of religious founders stretching in almost unbroken succession from about 700 A.D. to the present day. The lives of the mediæval saints and their wondrous works are recorded in the *Bhakta-Mālā*, literally, 'The Garland of the Faithful,' compiled by Nābhājī about three centuries ago.¹ This difficult Hindī work was popularized by later versions and commentaries,² and a vast structure of miracle and fable has been reared upon it. It is the Golden Legend and Acta Sanctorum of Hinduism. The same wonders are not recorded of each of its apostles, but divine interpositions occur in the life of all. The greater ones rank as divine incarnations prophesied of old. Some were born of virgins; others overcame lions; raised the dead; their hands and feet when cut off sprouted afresh; prisons were opened to them; the sea received them and returned them to the land unhurt, while the earth opened and swallowed up their slanderers. Their lives were marvellous, and the deaths of the greatest of them a solemn mystery.

Thus on Kabir's decease, both the Hindus and Musalmāns claimed the body, the former to burn it, the latter to bury it, according to their respective rites. While they wrangled over the corpse, Kabir suddenly stood in the midst, and, commanding them to look under the shroud, vanished. This they did. But under the winding-sheet they found only some beautiful flowers, one-half of which they gave to be burned by the Hindus in their holy city, Benares, while the other half was buried in pomp by the Musalmāns. His name lives in the memory of the people; and to this day pilgrims from Upper India beg a spoonful of rice-water from the Kabir Monastery at Purī, at the extreme southern point of Bengal.

¹ H. H. Wilson, writing in the *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta, 1828), says about '250 years ago.'—See *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 4.

² The best known are those of Nārāyan Dās, about the time of Shāh Jahān (1627-58); the *tikkā* of Krishna Dās (1713); and a later version 'in the more ordinary dialect of Hindustan.'—Wilson's *Religions of the Hindus*, vol. i. pp. 9, 10 (ed. 1862).

The first in the line of apostles was Kumārila, a *bhatta* or Brahman of Behar. The legend relates that he journeyed into Southern India, in the 8th century A.D., commanding princes and people to worship one God. He stirred up a persecution against the Buddhists or Jains in the State of Rudrapur,—a local persecution which later tradition magnified into a general extermination of the Buddhists from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin.¹ In Hindu theology he figures as a teacher of the later Mimāṃsā philosophy, which ascribes the universe to a divine act of creation, and assumes an all-powerful God as the cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the world. The doctrine of this personal deity, 'the one existent and universal soul,' 'without a second' (*advaita*), embodies the philosophical argument against the Buddhists. Kumārila bequeathed his task to his famous disciple Sankara Achārya, in whose presence he is said to have solemnly committed his body to the flames.

Kumārila
Bhatta
750 (A.D.)

With the advent of Sankara Achārya we touch firmer historical ground. Born in Malabar, he wandered over India as an itinerant preacher as far north as Kashmīr, and died at Kedarnāth in the Himālayas, aged 32. One of his disciples has narrated his life's work under the title of 'The Victory of Sankara,'² a record of his doctrines and controversial triumphs. Sankara moulded the later Mimāṃsā, or Vedantic philosophy, into its final form, and popularized it as a national religion. It is scarcely too much to say that, since his short life in the 8th or 9th century, every new Hindu sect has had to start with a personal God. He addressed himself to the high-caste philosophers on the one hand, and to the low-caste multitude on the other. He left behind, as the twofold result of his life's work, a compact Brahman sect and a popular religion.

Sankara
Achārya,
9th century A.D.

His twofold work.

The Brāhman sect are the Smārtas, still powerful in Southern India. Sankara taught that there was one sole and supreme God, *Brāhma-pura-Brāhma*, distinct alike from any member of the old Brāhman Triad, or of the modern Hindu pantheon; the

His sect of Smārtas, Brāhmanas.

¹ The local persecution is recorded by Ananda Giri, a disciple of Sankara about the 8th or 9th century A.D., and the author of the *Sant'ra Viya*. The magnified version appears in the *Santa Parvata Sampriti* of Madhava-Achārya, in the 14th century. See, however, my analytical catalogue of the Mackenzie MSS. in the India Office Library.

² The *Sant'ra Viya* of Ananda Giri, published in the *Indica* of India, and critically examined by Kāshināth Tripathi Telang in vol. iv. of the *Indian Antiquary*. But, in fact, Sankara is the first religious teacher in almost every Hindu hagiology, or book of saints, from the *Sanatana Sampriti* of Madhava-Achārya downwards.

His religion for the people.

Ruler of the universe and its inscrutable First Cause, to be worshipped, not by sacrifices, but by meditation, and in spirit and in truth. The Smárta Bráhmans follow this philosophic side of his teaching; and of the religious houses which he founded some remain to this day, controlled from the parent monastery perched among the western ranges of Mysore.¹

But Sankara realized that such a faith is for the few. To those who could not rise to so high a conception of the godhead, he allowed the practice of any rites prescribed by the Veda, or by later orthodox teachers, to whatsoever form of the godhead they might be addressed. Tradition fondly narrates that the founders of the most famous central sects of Hinduism—Sivaïtes, Vishnuïtes, Sauras, Sáktas, Gánapatyas, Bhairavas—were his disciples.² But Siva-worship claims Sankara as its apostle in a special sense. Siva-worship represents the popular side of his teaching, and the piety of his followers has elevated Sankara into an incarnation of Siva himself.³

Growth of Siva-worship;

Nothing, however, is altogether new in Hinduism, and it is needless to say that Siva had won his way high up into the pantheon long before the preaching of Sankara, in the 9th century A.D. Siva is the Rudra of the Vedas, as developed by Bráhman philosophy, and adapted by Sankara and others to popular worship. Rudra, the Storm-God of the Vedic hymns, had grown during this process into Siva, the Destroyer and Reproducer, as the third person of the Bráhman Triad. The Chinese Pilgrims supply evidence of his worship before the 7th century A.D., while his dread wife had a temple at the southernmost point of India at the time of the Periplus (2nd century A.D.), and gave her name to Cape Comorin.⁴ Siva ranks high in the Mahábhárata, in various passages of uncertain date; but does not reach his full development till the Puránas, probably after the 10th century A.D. His worship in Bengal is said to have been formulated by Paramata Kálanála at Benares.⁵

¹ See SRINGERI (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*) for a brief account of the chief-priest of the Smárta sect, which has its head-quarters in this monastery. Also the *Statistical Account of Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, vol. ii. p. 413, etc. (Bangalore Government Press, 1876.)

² Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 28 (1862).

³ This rank is claimed for Sankara by Mádhava-Achárya in the 14th century A.D.: indeed, Siva's descent as Sankara is said to have been foretold in the *Śānda Purāna*. Sankara is one of the names of Siva.

⁴ From Kumari or Kanyá-kumari, the Virgin Goddess, a name of Durgá, wife of Siva.

⁵ As Visweswara, or Lord of the Universe, under which name Siva is still the chief object of worship at Benares.

Sankara's teaching gave an impulse to it throughout all India, especially in the south; and later tradition makes Paramata himself a disciple of Sankara.

In the hands of Sankara's followers and apostolic successors, Siva-worship became one of the two chief religions of India. As at once the Destroyer and Reproducer, Siva represented profound philosophical doctrines, and was early recognised as being in a special sense the god of the Bráhmans.¹ To them he was the symbol of death as merely a change of life. On the other hand, his terrible aspects, preserved in his long list of names, from the Roarer (Rudra)² of the Veda to the Dread One (Bhima) of the modern Hindu pantheon, well adapted him to the religion of fear and propitiation prevalent among the ruder non-Aryan races. Siva, in his twofold character, thus became the deity alike of the highest and of the lowest castes. He is the Mahá-deva, or Great God of modern Hinduism; and his wife is Deví, pre-eminently THE Goddess. His universal symbol is the *linga*, the emblem of reproduction; his sacred beast, the bull, connected with the same idea; a trident tops his temples.

His images partake of his double nature. The Bráhmanical conception is represented by his attitude as a fair-skinned man, seated in profound thought, the symbol of the fertilizing Ganges above his head, and the bull (emblem alike of procreation and of Aryan plough-tillage) near at hand. The wilder non-Aryan aspects of his character are signified by his necklace of skulls, his collar of twining serpents, his tiger-skin, and his club with a human head at the end. His five faces and four arms have also their significance from this double aspect of his character, Aryan and non-Aryan. His wife, in like manner, appears in her Aryan form as Umá, 'Light,' the type of high-born loveliness; in her composite character as Durgá, a golden-coloured woman, beautiful but menacing, riding on a tiger; and in her terrible non-Aryan aspects, as Káli, a black fury, of a hideous countenance, dripping with blood, crowned with snakes, and hung round with skulls.

As an Aryan deity, Siva is Pasu-pati, the Lord of Animals, and the Protector of Cows; Sambhu, the Auspicious, Mrityunjaya, the Vanquisher of Death; Viswanátha, Monarch of All. In his non-Aryan attributes, he is Aghora, the Horrible, Virá-

¹ A Sanskrit text declares Siva to be the *diśápati*, or special god of the Bráhmans; Vishnu, of the Kshatriyas; Brahma, of the Váiyas; and Ganesa, of the Sudras.

² From the root *rud*, weep.

páksha, of Mis-shapen Eyes; Ugra, the Fierce; Kapála-mālin, Garlanded with Skulls. So also Devī, his female form, as an Aryan goddess is Umā, the lovely daughter of the mountain king Himavat;¹ Aryā, the Revered; Gaurī, the Brilliant or Gold-coloured; Jagad-gaurī, the World's Fair One; Bhavāni, the Source of Existence; and Jagan-mátá, the Mother of the Universe. Her non-Aryan attributes appear in her names of Kālī or Syámá, the Black One; Chandī, the Fierce; Bhairavī, the Terrible; Rakta-danti, the Bloody-Toothed.

Twofold
aspects
of Siva-
worship.

Human
offerings,
1866.

Garlands
of skull-

The ritual of Siva-worship preserves, in an even more striking way, the traces of its double origin. The higher minds still adore the Godhead by silent contemplation, as prescribed by Sankara, without the aid of external rites. The ordinary Bráhmaṇ hangs a wreath of blossoms around the Sivaite *linga*, or places before it offerings of flowers and rice. But the low-castes pour out the lives of countless goats at the feet of the terrible Kālī, and until lately, in time of pestilence and famine, tried in their despair to appease the relentless goddess by human blood. During the dearth of 1866, in a temple to Kālī within 100 miles of Calcutta, a boy was found with his neck cut, the eyes staring open, and the stiff clotted tongue thrust out between the teeth. In another temple at Húglī (a railway station only 25 miles from Calcutta), the head was left before the idol, decked with flowers.² Such cases are true survivals of the regular system of human sacrifices which we have seen among the non-Aryan tribes.³ They have nothing to do with the old mystic *Puruṣa-medha* or Man-Offering, whether real or symbolical, of the ancient Aryan faith;⁴ but they form an essential part of the non-Aryan religion of terror, which demands that the greater the need, the greater shall be the propitiation.

Such sacrifices are now forbidden, alike by Hindu custom and English law. H. H. Wilson found evidence that they were regularly offered by the Kápálīka sect of Sivaite Hindus

¹ Monarch of the Himálayas.

² The Calcutta *Englishman* of 19th May 1866; *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 128, 5th edition.

³ As among the Kandhs, *ante*, chap. iii.

⁴ See Dr. Haug's *Origin of Bráhmaṇism*, p. 5 (Poona, 1863). The *Puruṣa-sukta* of the *Riṣi-Veda*, x. 90, verses 7-15; and the *Puruṣa-medha* of the *Saṅgapatā Bráhmaṇa*, i. 2, 3, 6, and xiii. 6, i. 1; and of the *Āitareya Bráhmaṇa*, ii. 8, with other passages quoted throughout Dr. Muir's *Sacred Texts*, seem to have an allegorical and mystical significance, rather than to refer to a real sacrifice. See also Wilson's *Essay on Human Sacrifices*, *Journal Roy. Asi. Soc.* vol. viii. p. 96 (1852).

eight centuries ago; and representatives of those hideous votaries of Siva, 'smeared with ashes from the funeral pile, and their necks hung round with human skulls,' survive to this day.¹ Colonel Keatinge mentions that he has seen old sacrificial troughs near Jaintiapur, now used only for goats, which exactly fitted the size of a man. The new troughs are reduced to the dimensions of the animals at present offered; and the greater length of the ancient ones is explained by a legend of human sacrifices. The Statistical Survey of India has brought to light many traditions of such offerings. The non-Aryan hill tribes between Sylhet and Assam hunt a monkey at sowing-time, and crucify it on the margin of the village lands, apparently as a substitute for the spring Man-Sacrifice.² A human life was sometimes devoted to the preservation of an artificial lake, or of a river embankment; a watchman of aboriginal descent being sacrificed,³ or a virgin princess walled up in the breach.⁴

Animals substituted for human offerings.

Another Sivaite festival was the Charak-Pujá, or Hook-Swinging Festival, during which men were suspended from a pole by a hook thrust through the muscles of the back, and then swung in the air, in honour of Kálí. In 1863, I carried out the orders of Government for abolishing this festival in a border District, Bírbbhúni, lying between the Hindu plains and the non-Aryan highlands. The local low-castes, in reality non-Aryans, and only half-Hinduized, assembled round the poles and foretold a great famine from the loss of their old propitiatory rites. As they thought the spring ceremonies absolutely essential before commencing tillage, I suggested they might swing a man by a rope round his waist instead of with a hook through his back. This compromise was accepted by some, but the better-informed cultivators gloomily assured me that the ceremonies would have no good effect on the crops without the spilling of blood.⁵

The Charak-Pujá.

The thirteen chief sects of Siva-worshippers faithfully represent the composite character of their god. Sankara left behind him a succession of teachers, many of whom rose to the rank of religious founders. The *Smárta* Bráhmans still

The thirteen Sivaite sects.

¹ H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 264.

² As among the Kandhs, *ante*, chap. iii.

³ See SAKRAYPATNA, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁴ See ANANTASAGARAM, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁵ It is right to say that very little blood was lost, and the wounds caused were slight; indeed, slighter than those sometimes left behind by the skewers which were fixed through the cheek or tongue of the swinger during the performance.

Grada-
tions of
Siva-
worship.

maintain their life of calm monastic piety. The *Dandis*, or ascetics, divide their time between begging and meditation. Some of them adore, without rites, Siva as the third person of the Aryan Triad. Others practise an apparently non-Aryan ceremony of initiation, by drawing blood from the inner part of the novice's knee, as an offering to the god in his more terrible form, Bhairava. The *Dandis* follow the non-Aryan custom of burying their dead, or commit the body to some sacred stream.¹ The *Yogis* include every class of devotee, from the speechless mystic, who by long suppressions of the breath loses the consciousness of existence in an unearthly union with Siva, to the impostor who sits upon air, and the juggler who travels with a performing goat. The thirteen Sivaite sects descend, through various gradations of self-mortification and abstraction, to the *Aghoris*, whose abnegation extends to eating carrion, or even human corpses, and gashing their own bodies with knives.

Sivaite
corpse-
eaters.

Within the last few years, a small Aghori community took up their abode in a deserted building on the top of a mount near Ujjain. To inspire terror and respect, they descended to the burning *ghât*, snatched the charred bodies from the funeral pile, and retreated with them to their hill. The horror-stricken mourners complained to the local officer of the Mahārāja Sindhia, but did not dare to defend their dead against the squalid ministers of Siva. In the end, the Mahārāja's officer, by ensuring a regular supply of food for the devotees, put a stop to their depredations.

Non-
Aryan
types,
spiritual-
ized by the

The lowest Sivaite sects follow non-Aryan rather than Aryan types, alike as regards their use of animal food and their bloody worship. These non-Aryan types are, however, spiritualized into a mystic symbolism by the Sivaite *Sikṭas*, or worshippers of the creative energy in nature (*Sikṭi*). The 'right-hand' adorers² follow the Aryan ritual, with the addition of an offering of blood.³ Their *Tantras* or religious works take the form of a dialogue between Siva and his lovely Aryan bride,⁴ in which the god teaches her the true forms of prayer and ceremonial. But the 'left-hand' worship⁵ is an organized fivefold ritual of incantation, lust, gluttony, drunken-

Sikṭa or
Tantrik
sect.

¹ Cf. the Santāls and the Dāmodar river, *ante*, chap. iii.

² Dakṣiṇas or Bhāktas.

³ The *baḷi*.

⁴ Usually in the form of Umā or Pārvatī.

⁵ Vāmīs or Vāmācharīs, whose worship comprises the fivefold Makāra, 'which taketh away all sin,' namely—*māṃsa* (flesh), *matsya* (fish, the symbol of ovarian fertility), *madya* (intoxicating spirits), *matihuna* (sexual intercourse), *mūtrā* (mystical gesticulations).

ness, and blood. The non-Aryan origin of these secret rites is attested by the use of meats and drinks forbidden to all respectable Hindus; perhaps also by the community of women, possibly an unconscious survival of the non-Aryan forms of polyandry and primitive marriage by capture.¹ The Káncchuliyas, one of the lowest of the Sivaite sects, not only enforce a community of women, but take measures to prevent the exercise of individual selection, and thus leave the matter entirely to divine chance. Even their orgies, however, are spiritualized into a mystic symbolism; and the Dread Goddess surely punishes the votary who enters on them merely to gratify his lusts. Secret orgies.

Siva-worship thus became a link between the highest and the lowest castes of Hindus. Vishnu, the second person of the Aryan Triad, supplied a religion for the intermediate classes. Siva, as a philosophical conception of the Bráhmans, afforded small scope for legend; and the atrocities told of him and his wife in their terrible forms, as adapted to the non-Aryan masses, were little capable of refined literary treatment. But Vishnu, the Preserver, furnished a congenial theme for sacred romance. His religion appealed, not to the fears, but to the hopes of mankind. Siva-worship combined the Bráhmanical doctrine of a personal God with non-Aryan bloody rites; Vishnu-worship, in its final form as a popular religion, represents the coalition of the same Bráhmanical doctrine of a personal God, with the Buddhist principle of the spiritual equality of man. Siva and Vishnu compared.

Vishnu had always been a very human god, from the time when he makes his appearance in the Veda as a solar myth, the 'Unconquerable Preserver' striding across the universe in three steps.² His later incarnations made him the familiar friend of man. Of these 'descents'³ on earth, ten to twenty- Vishnu always friendly god.

¹ Cf. also the festival of the *Rukminí-haran-akidasi* at Puri. See Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. p. 131.

² Probably at first connected with the rising, zenith, and setting of the sun in his daily course.

³ *Avatáras*. The ten chief ones are: (1) the Fish incarnation, (2) the Tortoise, (3) the Boar, (4) the Man-Lion, (5) the Dwarf, (6) Parasu rama or Ráma with the Axe, (7) Ráma or Ráma-chandra, (8) Krishna, (9) Buddha, and (10) Kalki, on the White Horse, yet to come. The first four are mythological beasts, perhaps representing the progress of animal life through the eras of fishes, reptiles, and mammals, developing into half-formed man. From another aspect, the Fish represents the *gonu*, or ovarian

Vishnu as a hero. two in number, Vishnu-worship, with the unerring instinct of a popular religion, chose the two most beautiful and most human for adoration. As Rāma and Krishna, Vishnu attracted to himself innumerable loving legends. Rāma, his seventh incarnation, was the hero of the Sanskrit epic, the Rāmāyana.

His later developments. In his eighth incarnation, as Krishna, Vishnu becomes the high-souled prince of the other epic, the Mahābhārata; he afterwards grew into the central figure of Indian pastoral poetry; was spiritualized into the supreme god of the Vishnuite Purānas; and now flourishes as the most popular deity of the Hindus.

The worship of Vishnu, in one phase or another, is the religion of the bulk of the middle classes; with its roots deep down in beautiful forms of non-Aryan nature-worship, and its top sending forth branches among the most refined Brāhmins and literary coteries. It is a religion in all things graceful. Its gods are heroes or bright friendly beings, who walk and converse with men. Its legends breathe an almost Hellenic beauty. The pastoral simplicities and exquisite ritual of Vishnu belong to a later age than Siva-worship, with its pandering to the grosser superstitions of the masses. Whatever may be the philosophical priority of the two creeds, Vishnuism made its popular conquests at a later period than Sivaite rites.

The Vishnu Purana, *circa* 1045 A.D. In the 11th century, the Vishnuite doctrines were gathered into a religious treatise. The *Vishnu Purāna* dates from about 1045 A.D.,¹ and probably represents, as indeed its name implies, 'ancient' traditions which had coexisted with Sivaism and Buddhism for centuries. It derived its doctrines from the Vedas, not, however, in a direct channel, but filtered through the two great epic poems, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. The *Vishnu Purāna* forms one of the eighteen Purānas or Sanskrit theological works, in which the Brāhman

fertility: the Tortoise, the *linga*; the Boar, the terrestrial fertilizer; and the Man-Lion, the celestial. These four appeared in the Satya Yuga, an astronomical period anterior to the present world. The fifth or Dwarf incarnation represents early man in the Treta Yuga, or second astronomical period, also long anterior to the present mundane one. The next three incarnations represent the Heroic Age; the ninth or Buddha, the Religious Age. The tenth stands for the end of all things, according to the Hindu apocalypse, when Vishnu shall appear on a white horse, a drawn sword, blazing like a comet, in his hand, for the destruction of the wicked and the renovation of the world. The *Bhāgavata Purāna* gives twenty-two incarnations of Vishnu.

¹ Preface to the *Vishnu Purāna*. H. H. Wilson, p. cxii. (ed. 1864).

moulders of Vishnuism and Sivaism embodied their rival systems. These works especially extol the second and third members of the Hindu Triad, now claiming the pre-eminence for Vishnu as the sole deity, and now for Siva; but in their higher flights rising to a recognition that both are but forms for representing the one eternal God. Their interminable dialogues are said to run to 1,600,000 lines.¹ But they exhibit only the Bráhmancial aspect of what were destined to become the two national faiths of India, and they are devoid of any genuine sympathy for the people.

The
eighteen
Purānas.

The *Vishnu Purāna* starts with an intolerance equal to that of the ancient code of Manu. It still declares the priests to have sprung from the mouth, and the low-castes from the feet, of God.² Its stately theogony disdains to touch the legends of the people. It declares, indeed, that there is One God; but He is the God of the Bráhmans, to whom He gives the earth as an inheritance, and in His eyes the ruder Indian races are as naught. This is the general tenor of its doctrines, although more enlightened, perhaps because later, passages occur. In the *Vishnu Purāna*, Buddha is still an arch-heretic, who teaches the masses to despise the Veda, but whose disciples are eventually crushed by the bright Aryan gods. It is true that in the concluding book, when treating of the last Iron Age, to which this world has now come, some nobler idea of God's dealing with man gleams forth. In that time of universal dissolution and darkness, the sage consoles us with the assurance that devotion to Vishnu will suffice for salvation to all persons and to all castes.³

Bráhman-
ical Vish-
nuism,
1045 A.D.

Vishnuism had to preach a different doctrine before it could become, as it has for ages been, a religion of the people. The first of the line of Vishnuite reformers was Rámānuja, a Bráhman of Southern India. In the middle of the 12th century, he led a movement against the Sivaite, proclaiming the unity of God, under the title of Vishnu, the Cause and the Creator of all things. Prosecuted by the Chola king, who tried to enforce Sivaite conformity throughout his dominions, Rámānuja fled to the Jain sovereign of Mysore. This prince he converted to the Vishnuite faith by expelling an evil spirit from his daughter. Seven hundred monasteries, of which four still remain, are said to have marked the spread of his doctrine before his death. Rámānuja accepted converts from

Popular
Vishnu-
ism.

Rámānuja,
civ. 1150
A.D.

¹ Preface to the *Vishnu Purāna*, p. xxiv. H. H. Wilson (ed. 1864).

² *Vishnu Purāna*, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 59. H. H. Wilson (ed. 1864).

³ *Vishnu Purāna*, lib. vi. cap. ii. H. H. Wilson, p. cxxxviii.

every class, but it was reserved for his successors to formally enunciate the brotherhood of man.

Rámánand,
1300-1400
A.D.

At the end of the 13th century A.D. according to some authorities, or at the end of the 14th according to others, the great reformation, which made Vishnu-worship a national religion of India, took place. Rámánand stands fifth in the apostolic succession from Rámánuja, and spread his doctrine through Northern India. He had his head-quarters in a monastery at Benares, but wandered from place to place preaching the One God under the name of Vishnu, and choosing twelve disciples, not from the priests or nobles, but among the despised castes. One of them was a leather-dresser, another a barber, and the most distinguished of all was the reputed son of a weaver. The list shows that every caste found free entrance into the new creed.

His low-
caste
disciples

The life of a disciple was no life of ease. He was called upon to forsake the world in a strictly literal sense, and to go about preaching or teaching, and living on alms. His old age found an asylum in some monastery of the brotherhood. Rámánuja had addressed himself chiefly to the pure Aryan castes, and wrote in the language of the Bráhmans. Rámánand appealed to the people, and the literature of his sect is in the dialects familiar to the masses. The Hindí vernacular owes its development into a written language, partly to the folk-songs of the peasantry and the war-ballads of the Rájput court-bards, but chiefly to the literary requirements of the new popular faith. Vishnuism has deeply impressed itself on the modern dialects of Northern India.¹

Kabír,
1380-1420
A.D.

Kabír, one of the twelve disciples of Rámánand, carried his doctrines throughout Bengal. As his master had laboured to gather together all castes of the Hindus into one common faith, so Kabír, seeing that the Hindus were no longer the whole inhabitants of India, tried, about the beginning of the 15th century, to build up a religion that should embrace Hindu and Muhammadan alike. He rejected caste, denounced image-worship, and condemned the hypocrisy and arrogance of the Bráhmans. According to Kabír, the chief end of man

His doc-
trines.

¹ The three best known sets of such religious treatises are—(1) the voluminous works ascribed to Kabír (*circa* 1400 A.D.) and his followers, preserved at the head-quarters of his sect, the *Kabír Chauri* at Benares; (2) the *Granth*, or scriptures of various Bhághats or Vishnuite religious founders, especially of Dadu in Rájputána, and of the Sikh Gurús, beginning with Nanak (1469); and (3) the *Bhaktamálá*, or Roll of the Bhaktas or apostles, the Golden Legend of Vishnuism already referred to.

is to obtain purity of life, and a perfect faith in God. The writings of his sect acknowledge that the God of the Hindu is also the God of the Musalmán. His universal name is The Inner, whether He be invoked as the Alí of the Muhammadans, or as the Ráma of the Hindus. 'To Alí and to Ráma we owe our life,' say the scriptures of his sect,¹ 'and should show like tenderness to all who live. What avails it to wash your mouth, to count your beads, to bathe in holy streams, to bow in temples, if, whilst you mutter your prayers or journey on pilgrimage, deceitfulness is in your heart? The Hindu fasts every eleventh day; the Musalmán on the Ramazán. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose dwelling is the universe? The city of the Hindu God is to the east [Benares], the city of the Musalmán God is to the west [Mecca]; but explore your own heart, for there is the God both of the Musalmáns and of the Hindus. Behold but One in all things. He to whom the world belongs, He is the father of the worshippers alike of Alí and of Ráma. He is my guide, He is my priest.'² Kabír was pre-eminently the Vishnuite apostle to Bengal; but his followers are also numerous in the Central Provinces, Gujarát, and the Deccan.

Coalition
of Vishnu-
ism with
Islám,
1420 A. D.

The One
God of
both.

Kabír's teaching marks another great stride in the Vishnuite reformation. His master Rámánand had asserted an abstract equality of castes, because he identified the deity with the worshipper. He had regarded the devotee as but a manifestation of the divinity, and no lowness of birth could degrade the godhead. As Vishnu had taken the form of several of the inferior animals, such as the Boar and the Fish incarnations, so might he be born as a man of any caste. Kabír accepted this doctrine, but he warmed it by an intense humanity. All the chances and changes of life, the varied lot of men, their differences in religion, their desires, hopes, fears, loves, are but the work of *Māyá*, or illusion. To recognise the one divine Spirit under these manifold illusions, is to obtain emancipation and the Rest of the Soul. That Rest is to be reached, not by burnt-offerings or sacrifices, but, according to Kabír, by faith (*bhakti*), by meditation on the Supreme, by keeping His holy names, Hari, Rám, Govind, for ever on the lips and in the heart.

Brother-
hood of
man.

The Rest
of the Soul

The labours of Kabír may be placed between 1380 and

¹ The *Vijak* of Bhagolás, one of Kabír's disciples. The rival claims of the Hindus and Musalmans to Kabír's body have already been mentioned.

² *Sriya*, lvi. Abridged from H. H. Wilson's Works, i. 81 ed. 1864.

Chaitanya, 1420 A.D. In 1486 was born Chaitanya, who spread the
 1486-1527 Vishnuite doctrines, under the worship of Jagannáth, through-
 A.D. out the deltas of Bengal and Orissa. Signs and wonders
 Chait- attended Chaitanya through life, and during four centuries he
 anya's life. has been worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu. Extricat-
 ing ourselves from the halo of legend which surrounds and
 obscures the apostle, we know little of his private life except
 that he was the son of a Bráhmaṇ settled at Nadiyá, near
 Calcutta; that in his youth he married the daughter of a
 celebrated saint; that at the age of twenty-four he forsook the
 world, and, renouncing the state of a householder, repaired to
 Orissa, where he devoted the rest of his days to the propagation
 of the faith. He disappeared miraculously in 1527 A.D.

Chait- With regard to Chaitanya's doctrine we have ample evidence.
 anya's No race or caste was beyond the pale of salvation. The
 teaching. Musalmáns and Hindus shared his labours, and profited by his
 preaching. He held that all men are alike capable of faith,
 and that all castes by faith become equally pure. Implicit
 belief and incessant devotion were his watchwords. Con-
 templation rather than ritual was his pathway to salvation.
 Obedience to the religious guide is the great characteristic of
 his sect; but he warned his disciples to respect their teachers
 as second fathers, and not as gods. The great end of his
 system, as of all Indian forms of worship, is the liberation of
 the soul. He held that such liberation does not mean the
 mere annihilation of separate existence. It consists in nothing
 more than an entire freedom from the stains and the frailties
 of the body. The liberated soul dwells for ever, either in a
 blessed region of perfect beauty and sinlessness, or it soars
 into the heaven of Vishnu himself, high above the myths
 and mirages of this world, where God appears no more in His
 mortal incarnations, or in any other form, but is known in His
 supreme essence.¹

The Chait- The followers of Chaitanya belong to every caste, but they
 anya sect. acknowledge the rule of the descendants of the original
 disciples (*gosáins*). These *gosáins* number about 25,000 in the
 Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal alone. The sect is open
 alike to the married and the unmarried. It has its celibates

¹ Besides the notices of Chaitanya in H. H. Wilson's Works, the reader is referred to a very careful essay by Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, entitled *Chaitanya's Ethics* (Calcutta, 1884). Mr. Ghosh bases his works upon the original writings of Chaitanya and his followers. The present author is indebted to him for a correction of one year in the date of Chaitanya's birth, re-calculated from the *Chaitanya Charitámrita*.

and wandering mendicants, but its religious teachers are generally married men. They live with their wives and children in clusters of houses around a temple to Krishna; and in this way the adoration of Chaitanya has become a sort of family worship throughout Orissa. The landed gentry of that province also worship him with a daily ritual in their household chapels. After his death, a sect arose among his followers, who asserted the spiritual independence of women.¹ In their monastic enclosures, male and female cenobites live in celibacy, the women shaving their heads, with the exception of a single lock of hair. The two sexes chant the praises of Vishnu and Chaitanya together, in hymn and solemn dance. One important doctrine of the Vishnuite sects is their recognition of the value of women as instructors of the outside female community. For long, their female devotees were the only teachers admitted into the *zanânas* of good families in Bengal. Fifty years ago, they had effected a change for the better in the state of female education, and the value of such instruction was assigned as the cause of the sect having spread in Calcutta.² Since that time, Vishnuite female ascetics of various sorts have entered the same field. In some instances the bad crept in along with the good, and an effort made in 1863 to utilize them in the mechanism of Public Instruction failed.³

Its religious houses.

The place it assigns to women.

The analogy of woman's position in the Vishnuite sects to that assigned to her by ancient Buddhism is striking. But the analogy becomes more complete when the comparison is made with the extra-mural life of the modern Buddhist nun on the Punjab frontier. Thus, in LAHUL (Lâhul), some of the nuns have not, as in Tibet, cloisters of their own. They are attached to monasteries, in which they reside only a few months of the year; and which they may permanently quit, either in order to marry or for other sufficient reasons. In 1868, I heard of seventy-one such Buddhist nuns in Lahul, able to read and write, and very closely resembling in their life and discipline the better orders of Vishnuite female devotees in Bengal. One of them was sufficiently skilled in astronomy to calculate eclipses.⁴

Modern Buddhist nuns.

The death of Chaitanya marked the beginning of a spiritual

¹ The Spashtha Dayakas.

² Wilson's *Religion of Hindus*, vol. i. p. 171 (ed. 1862).

³ The official details of this interesting and once promising experiment at Dacca will be found in Appendix A to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, for 1863-64, pp. 83-90; for 1864-65, pp. 155-158; and in each subsequent Annual Report to 1869.

⁴ Sherring's *Himala Tribes*, vol. ii. p. 94to, Calcutta.

Vallabha
Swami,
D. 1520
A.D.

decline in Vishnu-worship. About 1520, Vallabha-Swami preached in Northern India that the liberation of the soul did not depend upon the mortification of the body; and that God was to be sought, not in nakedness and hunger and solitude, but amid the enjoyments of this life. An opulent sect had, from an early period, attached itself to the worship of Krishna and his bride Rádha; a mystic significance being, of course, assigned to their pastoral loves. Still more popular among women is the modern adoration of Krishna as the Bāla Gopāla, or the Infant Cowherd,—a faith perhaps unconsciously stimulated by the Catholic worship of the divine Child. The sect, however, deny any connection of their Infant God with the babe Jesus, and maintain that their worship is a legitimate and natural development of Vishnuite conceptions. Another influence of Christianity on Hinduism may possibly be traced in the growing importance assigned by the Krishna sects to *bhakti*, or faith, as an all-sufficient instrument of salvation.

Child
worship

Krishna
worship.

Vallabha-Swami was the apostle of Vishnuism as a religion of pleasure. When he had finished his life's work, he descended into the Ganges; a brilliant flame arose from the spot, and, in the presence of a host of witnesses, his glorified form ascended to heaven. The special object of his homage was Vishnu in his pastoral incarnation, in which he took the form of the divine youth Krishna, and led an arcadian life in the forest. Shady bowers, lovely women, exquisite viands, and everything that appeals to the sensuousness of a tropical race, are mingled in his worship. His daily ritual consists of eight services, in which Krishna's image, as a beautiful boy, is delicately bathed, anointed with essences, splendidly attired, and sumptuously fed. The followers of the first Vishnuite reformers dwelt together in secluded monasteries, or went about scantily clothed, living upon alms. But the Vallabha-Swami sect performs its devotions arrayed in costly apparel, anointed with oil, and perfumed with camphor or sandal. It seeks its converts, not among weavers, or leather-dressers, or barbers, but among wealthy bankers and merchants, who look upon life as a thing to be enjoyed, and upon pilgrimage as a holiday excursion, or an opportunity for trade.

Abuses
of
religion

In a religion of this sort, abuses are inevitable. It was a revolt against a system which taught that the soul could approach its Maker only by the mortification of the body. It declared that God was present in the cities and marts of men, not less than in the cave of the ascetic. Faith and love were

its instruments of salvation, and voluptuous contemplation its approved spiritual state. It delighted to clothe the deity in a beautiful human form, and mystical amorous poems make a large part of its canonical literature. One of its most valued theological treatises is entitled *The Ocean of Love*, *Pran Love Sagar*, and although its nobler professors always recognised its spiritual character, to baser minds it has become simply a religion of pleasure. The loves of Rádhá and Krishna, that woodland pastoral redolent of a wild-flower aroma as ethereal as the legend of Psyche and Cupid, are sometimes materialized into a sanction for licentious rites.

I have described in detail certain of the Vishnuite sects, in order to show the wide area of religious thought which they cover, and the composite conceptions of which their beliefs are made up. But any attempt at a complete catalogue of them is beyond the scope of this work. H. H. Wilson divided them into twenty principal sects, and the branches or lesser brotherhoods number not less than a hundred. Their series of religious founders continued until the present century, when they began to merge into the more purely theistic movements of our day. Indeed, the higher Vishnuite teachers have always been theistic. The Statistical Survey of India has disclosed many such reformations, from the Kartábhájas¹ of the Districts around Calcutta, to the Satnámis² of the Central Provinces.

Some of these sects are poor local brotherhoods, with a single religious house: others have developed into wide-spread and wealthy bodies; while one theistic church has grown into a great nation, the Sikhs, the last military power which we had to subdue in India.³ Nának Sháh, the spiritual founder of the Sikhs, was nearly contemporary with Kálar, and taught doctrines in the Punjab differing but little from those of the Bengál apostle.⁴ The Vishnuite sects now include almost the whole Hindu population of Lower Bengál, excepting the highest and the lowest castes. In many of their communities, caste is not acknowledged. Such sects form brotherhoods which recognise only spiritual distinctions or degrees, and a new social organization is thus provided for the un-

¹ See Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. i. pp. 73-75. TWENTY-FOUR PARGANAS; vol. ii. pp. 53-55. NALINDA.

² See my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article CENTRAL PROVINCES.

³ See my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, articles AMRITSAR and LUDHIANA. For the theological aspects of the Sikhs, see Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. pp. 267-275 (ed. 1862).

⁴ H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 269.

fortunate, the widow, or the out-caste. In lately Hinduized Provinces like Assam, Vishnu-worship has become practically the religion of the people.

Jagannáth. The Car Festival of Jagannáth is perhaps the most typical ceremony of the Vishnuite faith. Jagannáth, literally 'The Lord of the World,' represents, with unmistakable clearness, that coalition of Bráhmaṇ and Buddhist doctrines which forms the basis of Vishnu-worship. In his temple are three rude images, unconsciously representing the Bráhmaṇical Triad.

His Brah-
manical
and
Buddhist
origin. His Car Festival is probably a once-conscious reproduction of the Tooth Festival of the Buddhists, although its original significance has dropped out of sight. The Chinese Pilgrim Fa-Hian gives an account of the yearly procession of Buddha's Sacred Tooth from its chapel to a shrine some way off,¹ and of its return after a stay there. This was in the 5th century A.D.; but the account applies so exactly to the Car Festival of Jagannáth at the present day, that Fergusson pronounces the latter to be 'merely a copy.'²

A similar festival is still celebrated with great rejoicing in Japan. As in the Indian procession of Jagannáth, the Japanese use three cars;³ and Buddha sits in his temple, together with two other figures, like the Jagannáth Triad of Orissa. It is needless to add, that while Jagannáth is historically of Buddhist or composite origin, he is to his true believers the one supreme 'Lord of the World.'

Car Festi-
val of
Jagannáth. The calumnies in which some English writers have indulged with regard to Jagannáth, are exposed in my work on Orissa. That work carefully examined the whole evidence on the subject, from 1580, when Abul Fazl wrote, through a long series of travellers, down to the police reports of 1870.⁴ I

English
calumnies. came to the conclusion which H. H. Wilson had arrived at from quite different sources,⁵ that self-immolation was entirely opposed to the worship of Jagannáth, and that the deaths at the Car Festival were almost always accidental. In a closely-packed, eager throng of a hundred thousand men and women at Purí, numbers of them unaccustomed to exposure or hard labour, and all of them tugging and straining to the utmost at the car, under a blazing sun, deaths must occasionally occur.

¹ From the chapel at Anurádhapura to Mehentele.

² *History of Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 590 (ed. 1867).

³ See, among several interesting notices by recent travellers, Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. i. pp. 111, 115, etc. (ed. 1880).

⁴ Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i., particularly pp. 306-308; also pp. 132-136.

⁵ Namely, the descriptions of the Car Festival or *Rath-játra* in the work of Krishna Dás.

There were, however, isolated instances of pilgrims throwing themselves under the wheels in a frenzy of religious excitement. At one time, several unhappy people were killed or injured every year, but they were ascertained by the police investigation, promptly conducted on the spot, to be almost invariably cases of accidental trampling. At an early period, indeed, the priests at Purī, probably by permitting a midnight sacrifice once a year within their precincts to the wife¹ of Siva, had fallen under suspicion of bloody rites.² But such rites arose from the ambition of the priests to make Purī the sacred city of all worships and all sects. The yearly midnight offerings to the Dread Goddess within Jagannāth's sacred precincts represent the efforts made from time to time towards a coalition of the Sivaite and Vishnuite worship, like the *chakra* or sacred disc of Vishnu which surmounts the pre-historic temple to Kālī at Tamlūk.³

Such compromises had nothing to do with the worship of the true Jagannāth. A drop of blood even accidentally spilt in his presence pollutes the officiating priests, the people, and the consecrated food. The few suicides that occurred at the Car Festival were for the most part those of diseased and miserable objects, who took this means to put themselves out of pain.⁴ The official returns now place the facts beyond doubt. Nothing could be more opposed to Vishnu-worship than self-immolation. Any death within the temple of Jagannāth renders the place unclean. The ritual suddenly stops, and the polluted offerings are hurried away from the sight of the offended god.

According to Chaitanya, the Orissa apostle of Jagannāth, the destruction of the least of God's creatures is a sin against the Creator. Self-slaughter he would have regarded with abhorrence. The copious literature of his sect frequently describes the Car Festival, but makes no mention of self-sacrifice, and contains not a single passage which could be twisted into a sanction for it.⁵ Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, who conducted the survey of India for the Mughal

¹ Bimala, the 'Stainless One.'

² See statement from the *Hift-ahlu* (1485-1527 A.D.) in Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. p. 306.

³ See my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article TAMLUK.

⁴ See authorities quoted in Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. p. 134; Stirling's account, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 324; *Calcutta Review*, vol. x. p. 235; *Report of Statistical Commission to the Government of Bengal*, 1868, part ii. p. 8; Purī Police Reports; Lieut. Laurie's *Compt.* 1850.

⁵ H. H. Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i. p. 155 ed. 1862.

against
self-
slaughter.

Labels on
Jagan-
nath.

His gentle
doctrines.

The religi-
ous basis
of Hindu-
ism

The
chosen
deity.

Emperor, is silent about self-immolation to Jagannáth, although, from the context, it is almost certain that had he heard of the practice he would have mentioned it. In 1870, I compiled an index to all accounts by travellers, historians, and the official records, of alleged cases of self-immolation at the Car Festival, from the 14th century downwards.¹ The list proved that such suicides did at rare intervals occur, although they were opposed to the spirit of the worship.

An Indian procession means a vast multitude of excitable beings ready for any extravagance. Among Indian processions, that of Jagannáth to his country-house stands first; and the frenzied affrays of the Muharram might as fairly be assigned to the deliberate policy of the British Government, as the occasional suicides at the Car Festival may be charged against the god. The travellers who tell the most sensational stories are the ones whose narratives prove that they went entirely by hearsay, or who could not themselves have seen the Car Festival at Purí. The number of deaths, whether voluntary or accidental, as registered by the dispassionate candour of English officials, has always been insignificant, indeed far fewer than those incident to the party processions of the Musalmáns; and under improved police arrangements they have practically ceased. So far from encouraging religious suicides, the gentle doctrines of Jagannáth tended to check the once common custom of widow-burning. Even before the Government put a stop to *sati* in 1829, our officials observed its comparative infrequency at Purí. Widow-burning was discountenanced by the Vishnuite reformers, and is stigmatized by a celebrated disciple as 'the fruitless union of beauty with a corpse.'

The worship of Siva and Vishnu operates as a religious bond among the Hindus, in the same way as caste supplies the basis of their social organization. Theoretically, the Hindu religion starts from the Veda, and acknowledges its divine authority. But, practically, we have seen that Hinduism takes its origin from many sources. Vishnu-worship and Sivaite rites represent the two most popular combinations of these various elements. The highly-cultivated Bráhma is a pure theist; the less cultivated worships the divinity under some chosen form, *ishta-devatá*. The conventional Bráhma, especially in the South, takes as his 'chosen deity,' Siva in his deep philosophical significance, with the phallic *linga* as his

¹ Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 305-308.

emblem. The middle classes and the mercantile community adore some incarnation of Vishnu. The low-castes propitiate Siva the Destroyer, or rather one of his female manifestations, such as the dread Kālī.

But every Hindu of education allows that his special object of homage is merely his *ishta-devatā*—his own chosen form under which to adore the deity, PARAM-ESWARA. He admits that there is ample scope for adoring God under other manifestations, or in other shapes. Unless a new sect takes the initiative, by rejecting caste or questioning the authority of the Veda, the Hindu is slow to dispute the orthodoxy of the movement. Even the founder of the Brahma Samāj, or modern theistic church of Bengal, lived and died a Hindu.¹ The Indian vernacular press cordially acknowledges the merits of distinguished Christian teachers, like Dr. Duff of Calcutta, or Dr. Wilson of Bombay. At first, indeed, our missionaries, in their outburst of proselytizing zeal, spoke disrespectfully of Hinduism, and stirred up some natural resentment. But, as they more fully realized the problems involved in conversion, they moderated their tone, and now live on friendly terms with the Brāhmans and religious natives.

An orthodox Hindu paper, which had been filling its columns with a vigorous polemic entitled 'Christianity Destroyed,' no sooner heard of the 'death of the late Mr. Sherring, than it published a eulogium on that devoted missionary. It dwelt on 'his learning, affability, solidity, piety, benevolence, and business capacity.' The editor, while a stout defender of his hereditary faith, regretted that 'so little of Mr. Sherring's teaching had fallen to his lot.'² The Hindus are among the most tolerant religionists in the world.

Of the three members of the Hindu Triad, the first person, Modern Brāhmā, has now but a few scattered handfuls of followers. Part of the second person, Vishnu, supplies a worship for the middle classes; around the third person, Siva, in his twofold aspects, has grown up that mixture of philosophical symbolism with propitiatory rites professed by the highest and by the lowest

¹ The best short account of this deeply-interesting movement, and of its first leader, Rammohun Roy, will be found under the title of *Modern Theistic Reformers*, by Professor Morier Williams, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1881, vol. xii. See also his *Modern India* (Tribner, 1879); and Miss Cole's *India of To-day* (Williams & Norgate, annually).

² The *Krishna Samachar*, cited in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Nov. 1882, p. 792.

The One
God,
PARAM-
ESWARA.

castes. But the educated Hindu willingly recognises that, beyond and above his chosen deity of the Triad, or his favourite incarnation, or his village fetish, or his household *sālagrām*, dwells the PARAM-ESWARA, the One First Cause, whom the eye has not seen, and whom the mind cannot conceive, but who may be worshipped in any one of the forms in which He manifests His power to men.

Recapitu-
lation.

Three
Western
influences ;

(1) Chris-
tianity,

(2) Islām,

(3) British
Rule.

The foregoing chapters indicate how, out of the early Aryan and non-Aryan races of India, as modified by Greek and Nágá and Scythic invasions, the Hindu population and the Hindu religion were built up. We shall next consider three series of influences which, within historic times, have been brought to bear, by nations from the West, upon the composite people thus formed. The first set of these influences is represented by the early Christian Church of India, a Church which had its origin in a period long anterior to the mediæval Hinduism of the 9th century, and which is numerousy represented by the Syrian Christians of Malabar in our own day. The second foreign influence brought to bear upon India from the West consisted of the Muhammadan invasions, which eventually created the Mughal Empire. The third influence is represented by the European settlements, which culminated in the British Rule.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA (*circa* 100? TO 1891 A.D.)

CHRISTIANITY now forms the faith of over $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the Indian population. Coeval with Buddhism during the last nine centuries of Buddhist Indian history, the teaching of Christ has, after the lapse of another nine hundred years, twelve times more followers than the teaching of Buddha upon the Indian continent, exclusive of Burma. Christianity, while a very old religion in India, is also one of the most active at the present day. The Census of 1891 disclosed that the Christians in British and Feudatory India had increased by 22 per cent., or more than one-fifth, since 1881; and this increase, while perhaps partly the result of more perfect enumeration, represents to a large extent a real growth. The total number of Christians in all India, including Burma, was 2,601,355 in 1891.

Christianity coeval with Buddhism for 900 years.

The origin of Christianity in India is obscure. Early tradition, accepted popularly by Roman Catholics, and doubtfully by Protestants, connects it with St. Thomas the Apostle, who is said to have preached in Southern India, on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts; to have founded several churches; and finally, to have been martyred at the Little Mount, near Madras, in 68 A.D. The Catholic tradition narrates further, that a persecution arose not long after, in which all the priests perished; that many years later, the Patriarch of Babylon, while still in communion with Rome, heard of the desolate state of the Indian Church, and sent forth bishops who revived its faith; that about 486 A.D., Nestorianism spread from Babylon into Malabar.

Early Origin of Christianity in India.

The orthodox tradition.

To Roman Catholic orthodoxy this tradition has a twofold value. It assigns an apostolic origin to the Christianity of India; and it explains away the fact that Indian Christianity, when it emerges into history, formed a branch of the unorthodox Nestorian Church. Modern criticism has questioned, and now rejects, the evidence for the evangelistic labours of the Doubting Apostle in Southern India. It has brought to light the careers of two later missionaries, both bearing the

Value of the tradition.

name of Thomas, to whom, at widely separated dates, the honour of converting Southern India is assigned. Gibbon dismisses the question of their respective claims in a convenient triplet:—‘The Indian missionary St. Thomas, an Apostle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant.’¹

Syrian
Christians
of India.

This method of treatment scarcely satisfies the present century; and the Statistical Survey of India has thrown fresh light on the Syrian Christians of the Southern Peninsula. The Syrian Jacobites still number 300,000,² or more than double the number of native Protestants on the continent of India (exclusive of Burma) up to 1861. Indeed, until within the past ten years, the remnants of the ancient Syrian Church had still a larger native following in India than all the Protestant sects put together.³ It would be unsuitable to dismiss so ancient and so numerous a body without some attempt to trace their history. That history forms the longest continuous narrative of any religious sect in India except the Buddhists and Jains.

Their
numbers
and
antiquity.

The Syrian Church of Malabar had its origin in the period when Buddhism was still triumphant; it witnessed the birth of the Hinduism which superseded the doctrine and national polity of Buddha; it saw the arrival of the Muhammadans who ousted the Hindu dynasties; it suffered cruelly from the Roman Catholic inquisitors of the Portuguese; but it has survived its persecutors, and has formed a subject of interest to Anglican inquirers during the past eighty years.⁴

¹ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (4to edition, 1788), vol. iv. p. 599, footnote 122.

² According to the *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1891, Syrian Catholics numbered 221,551. They are under the jurisdiction of the Roman Vicars-Apostolic of Kotāyam and Trichūr, but are still distinguished as ‘Catholics of the Syrian Rite.’ According to the *Missiones Catholice*, the Syrian Jacobites numbered 336,100 in 1891; but see *post*, p. 294.

³ See *Protestant Missions in India, Burma, and Ceylon*, Statistical Tables, 1881, drawn up under the authority of the Calcutta Missionary Conference. This valuable compilation returns 138,731 Native Protestant Christians in 1861, and 224,258 in 1871, in India, exclusive of Burma.

⁴ From the time of Claudius Buchanan and Bishop Heber downwards. See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., ‘Account of St. Thomé Christians on the coast of Malabar,’ by Mr. Wrele; Buchanan’s *Christian Researches in Arc.*, 4th ed. (1811), pp. 106, 145; Heber’s *Journal*, vol. ii.; Bishop Middleton’s *Life*, by Dr. Le Bas, chapters ix.–xii. (1831); Hough’s *Hist. of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (1839–60). The evidence has been re-examined from the Protestant point of view in a recent able work, *The Syrian Church in India*, by Professor George Milne Rae, M.A., formerly of the Madras Christian College. Blackwood & Sons (1892).

The three legends of St. Thomas, the missionary of Southern India, may be summarized as follows. According to the Chaldaean Breviary and certain Fathers of the Catholic Church, St. Thomas the Apostle converted many countries of Asia, and found a martyr's death in India. The meagre tradition of the early Church was expanded by the Catholic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The abstract by Vincenzo Maria makes the Apostle commence his work in Mesopotamia, and includes Bactria, Central Asia, China, 'the States of the Great Mogul,' Siam, Germany, Brazil, and Ethiopia, in the circle of his missionary labours. The apostolic traveller is then said to have sailed east again to India, converting the island of Socotra on the way, and, after preaching in Malabar, to have ended his labours on the Coromandel coast.¹ The final development of the tradition fills in the details of his death. It states that on the 21st December 68 A.D., the Bráhmans stirred up a tumult against the Apostle, who, after being stoned by the crowd, was finally thrust through with a spear upon the Little Mount, and his body entombed at Mailapur, a suburb of Madras.

The second legend assigns the conversion of India to Thomas the Manichæan, or disciple of Manes, towards the end of the third century. Another legend ascribes the honour to an Armenian merchant, Thomas Cana, in the eighth century. This story relates that Mar Thomas, the Armenian, settled in Malabar for purposes of trade, married two Indian ladies, and grew into power with the native princes. He found that such Christians as existed before his time had been driven by persecution from the coast into the hill-country. Mar Thomas secured for them the privilege of worshipping according to their faith, led them back to the fertile coast of Malabar, and became their archbishop. On his death, his memory received the gradual and spontaneous honours of canonization by the Christian communities for whom he had laboured, and his name became identified with that of the Apostle.

Whatever may be the claims of the Armenian Thomas as the re-builder of the Church in Southern India, he was probably not its founder. Apart from the legends of Patristic literature, there is local evidence that Christianity flourished in Southern India before the eighth century. About the sixth century, while Buddhism was still at the height of its power, Kalyán, on the Bombay coast, appears to have been the seat

¹ *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*. Colonel Yule's 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 343. note 4 (1875).

of a Christian bishop from Persia.¹ We shall presently see that a missionary from Alexandria came to India about 190 A.D.

the
second
legend ;

The claims of Thomas the Manichæan have the European support of the Church historians, La Croze,² Tillemont, and others. The local testimony of a cross dug up near Madras in 1547, bearing an inscription in the Pehlvi tongue, has also been urged in his favour. The inscription is probably of the 7th or 8th century A.D., and, although somewhat variously deciphered, bears witness to the sufferings of Christ.³

and the
first.

For the claims of St. Thomas the Apostle, a longer and more ancient series of authorities are cited. The apocryphal history of St. Thomas, by Abdias, dating probably from the 2nd century, narrates that a certain Indian king, Gondaphorus, sent a merchant called Abban to Jesus, to seek a skilful architect to build him a palace. The story continues that the Lord sold Thomas to him as a slave expert in that art.⁴ The

¹ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. xiii. part i., Thána District, pp. 66, 200, etc. It is not necessary to dispute whether the seat of this bishopric was the modern Kalyán or Quilon (Coilan), as the coast from Bombay southward to Quilon bore indefinitely the name of Caliana.

² *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, 2 vols. 12mo (The Hague, 1758).

³ Professor Haug reads it thus : 'Whoever believes in the Messiah, and in God above, and also in the Holy Ghost, is in the grace of Him who born the pain of the cross.' Dr. Burnell deciphers it more diffidently : — 'In punishment [?] by the cross [was] the suffering of this [one] : [He] who is the true Christ and God above, and Guide for ever pure.' Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., p. 345, vol. ii.; at p. 339, the cross is figured. See also Professor Milne Rae's *Syrian Church in India*, pp. 119-123 (1892).

⁴ This legend forms the theme of the *Hymnus in Feste Sancti Thomæ Apostoli, ad Vesperas*, in the Mozarabic Breviary, edited by Cardinal Lorenzana in 1775. Its twenty-one verses are given as an appendix in Dr. Kennet's Madras monograph. Three stanzas will here suffice :—

'Nuncius venit de Indis
Quærere artificem :
Architectum construere
Regium palatium :
In foro deambulabat
Cunctorum venalium.

Habeo servum fidelem,
Locutus est Dominus.
Ut exquiris talem, aptum
Fosse hunc artificem :
Abbanes videns, et gaudens,
Suscepit Apostolum.'

The hymn assigns the death of the Apostle to the priest of a Sun temple which had been overtaken by St. Thomas :—

[Footnote continued on next page.]

Apostle converted King Gondaphorus, and then journeyed on to another country of India, under King Meodeus, where he was slain by lances.¹ The existence of a King Gondaphorus has been established by coins, which would place him in the last century B.C., or within the first half of the first century of our era.² But, apart from difficulties of chronology, it is clear that the Gondaphorus of the coins was an Indo-Scythic monarch, reigning in regions which had no connection with Malabar. His coins are still found in numbers in Afghanistan and the Punjab, especially from Pesháwar to Ludhiána. He was essentially a Punjab potentate.

The mention of St. Thomas the Apostle in connection with India by the Fathers, and in the Offices of the Church, does not really bring him nearer to Malabar, or to the supposed site of his martyrdom at Madras. For the term 'India,' at the period to which these authorities belong, referred to the countries beyond Persia, including Afghanistan and the basins of the Upper Oxus, and perhaps of the Indus and Ganges, but certainly not to the southern half of the peninsula. In the early accounts of the labours of St. Thomas, the vague term India is almost always associated with Persia, Media, or Bactria.³ Nor does the appellation of St. Thomas as the Apostle of India in the Commemorations of the Church, help to identify him with the St. Thomas who preached on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. For not only does

‘Tunc sacerdos idolorum
Furibundus astitit,
Gladio transverberavit
Sanctum Christi martyrem.
Glorioso passionis
Laureatum sanguine.’

¹ Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 243. Dr. Kennet, in an interesting monograph, entitled *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India*, p. 19 (Madras, 1882), says:—‘The history of Abchas was published for the first time by Wolfgang Lazius, under the title of *Abchas Babylonia, Episcopi et Apostolorum Discipuli, de Historia antemissis Apostoli, h. r. de. em. ; Julio Africano Interprete*. Basilie, 1532.’ The Acts of St. Thomas are translated in the Ante-Nicene Library, and have been criticised at some length in Mr. Rae's *Syrian Church in India*, chaps. ii. iii. iv. (1892).

² For the various dates, see Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 343. Colonel Yule's *Cathay* deals with the Chinese and Central Asian aspects of the legend of St. Thomas (2 vols., 1866).

³ Thus the *Paschal Chronicle* of Bishop Dorotheus (born A.D. 254) says: ‘The Apostle Thomas, after having preached the gospel to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Germanians [an agricultural people of Persia mentioned by Herodotus, i. 125], Bactrians, and Magi, suffered martyrdom at Calā-
[*Fe. Ind. continued on next p.*]

the indeterminate character of the word still adhere to their use of 'India,' but the area assigned to the Apostle's labours is so wide as to deprive them of value for the purpose of local identification. Thus, the Chaldaean Breviary of the Malabar Church itself states that 'by St. Thomas were the Chinese and the Ethiopians converted to the Truth,' while one of its anthems proclaims: 'The Hindus, the Chinese, the Persians, and all the people of the Isles of the Sea, they who dwell in Syria and Armenia, in Javan and Roumania, call Thomas to remembrance, and adore Thy Name, O Thou our Redeemer!'

and in the
Church
Offices.

First
glimpse
at Indian
Christians,
circa 190
A. D.

The
Roman
fleet from
Egypt.

Jew
settle-
ments in
ancient
Malabar.

Candid inquiry must therefore decline to accept the connection of St. Thomas with the 'India' of the early Church as proof of the Apostle's identity with Thomas the missionary to Malabar. Nevertheless, there is evidence to indicate that Christianity had reached Malabar before the end of the second century A.D., and nearly a hundred years previous to the supposed labours of Thomas the Manichæan (*circa* 277 A.D.). In the 2nd century a Roman merchant fleet of one hundred sail steered regularly from Myos Hormus on the Red Sea, to Arabia, Ceylon, and Malabar. It may have found the ancient Jewish colony, the remnants of which still remain to this day as the Beni-Israels,¹ upon the Bombay coast. Whether these Jews emigrated to India at the time of the Dispersion, or at a later period, local tradition assigns to their settlements an origin anterior to the second century of our era.

The Red Sea fleet from Myos Hormus, which traded with the Bombay coast of India, must in all likelihood have brought with it Jewish merchants or others acquainted with the new religion of Christ, which, starting from Palestine, had penetrated throughout the Roman world. Part of the fleet, moreover, touched at Aden and skirted the Persian Gulf, themselves early seats of Christianity. Indeed, even after the direct sea-course to Malabar by the trade-winds was known, the main navigation to India for some time hugged the Asiatic coast. Christian merchants from that coast, both of Jewish and other race,

mina, a town of India.' Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus (*circa* 220 A.D.), assigns to St. Thomas, Parthia, Media, Persia, Hecania, the Bactri, the Marli; and, while ascribing the conversion of India to St. Bartholomew, mentions Calamina, a city of India, as the place of St. Thomas' martyrdom. The Metropolitan Johannes, who attended the Council of Nicea in 325, subscribed as Bishop of 'India Maxima and Persia.' Dr. Kennet's monograph (Madras, 1882); Hough, i. pp. 30 to 116.

¹ For their present numbers and condition, see the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by Mr. J. M. Campbell, LL.D., of the Bombay Civil Service, vol. xi. pp. 85 and 421; vol. xiii. p. 273.

would in the natural course of trade have reached Malabar within the 2nd century A.D.¹ The Buddhist polity, then supreme in Southern India, was favourable to the reception of a faith whose moral characteristics were humanity and self-sacrifice. Perhaps earlier Jewish settlers had familiarized the native mind with the existence of an ancient and imposing religion in Palestine. When that religion was presented in its new and more attractive form of Christianity, no miraculous intervention was required to commend it to the tolerant Buddhist princes of Southern India.

About 190 A.D., rumours, possibly brought back by the Red Sea fleet, of a Christian community on the Malabar coast, fired the zeal of Pantænus of Alexandria. Pantænus, in his earlier years a Stoic philosopher, was then head of the celebrated school which formed one of the glories of his city. He became the first missionary to India; and although it has been questioned whether he reached India Proper, the evidence seems in favour of his having done so. He 'found his own arrival anticipated by some who were acquainted with the Gospel of Matthew; to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached; and had left them the same Gospel in the Hebrew, which also was preserved until this time.'² His mission to India may be placed at the end of the 2nd century. 'Pantænus,' says Jerome, 'was a man of such learning, both in the sacred scriptures and in secular knowledge, that Demetrius, the Bishop of Alexandria, sent him to India at the request of ambassadors of that nation. And there he found that Bartholomew, one of the twelve Apostles, had preached the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the Gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew, which he brought away with him on his return to Alexandria.'³ Early in the 3rd century, St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus (*circa* 220 A.D.), also assigns the conversion of India to the Apostle Bartholomew. To Thomas he ascribes Persia and the countries of Central Asia, although he mentions Calamina, 'a city of India,' as the place where Thomas suffered death.

Malabar Christians, *circa* 190 A.D.

Pantænus, the first missionary to India: 189-200 A.D.

Hippolytus, *circa* 220 A.D.

¹ The Roman trade with the southern coast of India probably dates from, or before, the apostolic period. Of 522 silver *denarii* found near Coimbatore in 1842, no fewer than 135 were coins of Augustus, and 378 of Tiberius. Another find near Calicut about 1850 contained an *aureus* of Augustus, with several hundred coins, none later than the Emperor Nero.

² Dr. Kennet, quoting Eusebius, in his monograph on *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India*, p. 9 (Madras, 1882).

³ *Liber de Viris Illustribus*, quoted by Professor Müne Raë. *The Syrian Church in India*, pp. 66, 367 (1892).

Cosmas
Indico-
pleustes,
cir. 547
A.D.

Indeed, the traditions of the early Christian writers tend to connect St. Thomas with the India of the ancient world,—that is to say, with Persia and Afghánistán,—and St. Bartholomew with the Christian settlements on the Malabar coast. Cosmas Indico-pleustes writes of a Christian Church in Ceylon, and on the Callian or Malabar sea-board (*cir.* 540 A.D.). But he makes no mention of its foundation by St. Thomas, which, as an Alexandrian monk, he would have been almost sure to do had he heard any local tradition of the circumstance. He states that the Malabar Bishop was consecrated in Persia; from which we may infer that the Christians of Southern India had already been brought within the Nestorian fold. There is but slight evidence for fixing upon the Malabar coast as the seat of the orthodox Bishop Frumentius, sent forth by Athanasius to India and the East, *cir.* 355 A.D. The traditional connection of either St. Thomas or St. Matthew, or of any other missionary of the early apostolic age, with the Indian peninsula (that is to say, with India in the modern sense of the word), must be regarded as apocryphal.

Nestorian-
ism in
Asia.

When Indian Christianity first clearly emerges into history, it formed part of the Nestorian Church. At a very early date in our era, Edessa, the Athens of Syria, had become a centre of Christian teaching, whence missionaries issued to the Eastern world. In the 5th century, Nestorianism, driven forth from Europe and Africa, became definitively the doctrine of the Asiatic Church, and Syriac became the sacred language of Christian colonies far beyond the geographical limits of Syria. Bishops, priests, and deacons from Syria spread a certain uniformity in matters of faith and ritual through Persia and along the Persian and Arabian sea-boards, and thence to the Christian settlements on the Indian coast.

Side by
side with
Buddhism
for 1000
years.

It should be remembered, therefore, that during the thousand years when Christianity flourished in Asia, from the 5th to the 15th century, it was the Christianity of Nestorius. The Jacobite sect dwelt in the midst of the Nestorians; and for nearly a thousand years, the Christianity of these types, together with Buddhism, formed the two highest religions of Central Asia. How far Buddhism and Christianity mutually influenced each other's doctrine and ritual in Asia still remains a complex problem. But Christianity in western Central Asia offered a longer resistance than Buddhism to the advancing avalanche of Islám; and in the countries to the west of Tibet the Christian faith survived its Buddhist rival. 'Under the reign of the Caliphs,' says Gibbon, 'the Nestorian Church

was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions.¹

The marvellous history of the Christian Tartar potentate, Prester John, king, warrior, and priest, is a mediæval legend based on the ascendancy of Christianity in some of the Central Asian States.² The travellers in Tartary and China, from the 12th to the 15th century, bear witness to the extensive survival, and once flourishing condition, of the Nestorian Church, and justify Pierre Bergeron's description of it as 'épandue par toute l'Asie.'³ The term Catholicos, which the Nestorians applied to their Patriarch, and the Jacobites to their Metropolitan, survives in the languages of Central Asia. The mediæval travellers preserve it in various forms;⁴ and the British Embassy to Yarkand, in 1873, still came upon a story of 'a poor and aged *Jâtlik*, or Christian priest.'⁵ Its wide diffusion.

From their first appearance in Indian local history, the Malabar Christians obeyed bishops from Persia of the Nestorian rite.⁶ By the 7th century, the Persian Church had adopted the name of Thomas Christians, and this title would in time be extended to all its branches, including that of Malabar. The early legend of the Manichæan Thomas in the 3rd century, and the later labours of the Armenian Thomas, the rebuilder of the Malabar Church, in the 8th, endeared that name to the Christians of Southern India. In their comparative isolation and ignorance, they perhaps concentrated the three names, and concentrated their legends of Thomas Christians of Persia : and of India.

¹ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 598, vol. iv. (4to ed. 1788). Gibbon quotes his authorities for this statement in a footnote. The whole subject of early Christianity in Central Asia and China has been discussed with exhaustive learning in Colonel Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*. Hakluyt Society, 2 vols., 1866.

² 'Voyage de Rubruquis en Tartarie,' chap. xiv., in the quarto volume of *Voyages en Asie*, published at the Hague in 1735. Guillaume de Rubruquis was an ambassador of Louis IX., sent to Tartary and China in 1253 A.D. Colonel Yule also gives the story of Prester John in *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 229-233 (ed. 1875).

³ 'Traité des Tartares,' par Pierre Bergeron, chap. iii. in the quarto of *Voyages en Asie*, above quoted (1735).

⁴ *Jâthlik, Jâtolic, Jâtelic*; originally *Gâthlik*.

⁵ Dr. Bellew's 'History of Kâshgar,' in the *Official Report of Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission*, p. 127. (Quarto, Foreign Office Press, Calcutta, 1875.)

⁶ Mr. Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, Thana District, chap. iii. (Bombay 1882.)

the three Thomases, in the person of the Apostle.¹ Before the 14th century, they had completed the process by believing that their St. Thomas was Christ.

Legend
of St.
Thomas
localized ;

The fitness of things soon required that the life and death of the Apostle should be localized by the Southern Indian Church. Patristic literature clearly declares that St. Thomas had suffered martyrdom at Calamina, probably in some country east of Persia, or in Northern India itself. The tradition of the Church is equally distinct, that in 394 A.D. the remains of the Apostle were transferred to Edessa in Mesopotamia.² The attempt to localize the death of St. Thomas on the southern coast of India started, therefore, under disadvantages. A suitable site was, however, found at the Mount, near Madras, one of the many famous hill shrines of ancient India which have formed a joint resort of religious persons of diverse faiths, — Buddhist, Muhammadan, and Hindu (*ante*, pp. 252, 253).

in spite of
difficulties,
at Madras.

13th cen-
tury form
of the
legend.

Marco Polo, in an account of Mailapur, where St. Thomas was said to be buried, gives the legend in its undeveloped form in the 13th century. The Apostle had, it seems, been accidentally killed outside his hermitage by a fowler, who, 'not seeing the saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks. And this arrow struck the holy man in the right side, so that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to his Creator.'³ Miracles were wrought at the place, and conflicting creeds claimed the hermit as their own. 'Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage,' says Marco Polo truthfully, although evidently a little puzzled.⁴ 'For the Saracens also do hold the saint in great reverence, and say that he was one of their own Saracens, and a great prophet.' Not only the Muhammadans and Christians, but also the Hindus, seem to have felt the religious attractions of the spot. About thirty years after Marco Polo, the Church itself was, according to Odoric, filled with idols.⁵ Two centuries later, Joseph of Cranganore, the Malabar Christian, still testifies to the joint worship of the Christian and the heathen at St. Thomas' tomb. The Syrian bishops sent to India in

Mixed
worship
at the
shrine.

¹ The Jacobites, or followers of Jacobus Baradaeus, prefer in the same way to deduce their name and pedigree from the Apostle James. Gibbon, iv. 603, footnote (ed. 1788).

² For the authorities, see Dr. Kennet's Madras monograph, *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India* (1882); and Colonel Yule's critical note, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 342 (2nd edition, 1875).

³ Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo* (2nd edition, 1875), vol. ii. p. 340.

⁴ *Idem*, ii. pp. 338, 339.

⁵ *Idem*, ii. p. 344.

1504 heard 'that the church had *begun* to be occupied by some Christian people. But Barbosa, a few years later, found it half in ruins, and in charge of a Muhammadan *fakîr*, who kept a lamp burning.'¹

Brighter days, however, now dawned for the Madras legend. The Portuguese zeal, in its first fervours of Indian evangelization, felt keenly the want of a sustaining local hagiology. Saint Catherine had, indeed, visibly delivered Goa into their hands; and a parish church, afterwards the cathedral, was dedicated to her in 1512. Ten years later, the Governor Duarte de Menezes became ambitious of enriching his capital with the bones of an apostle. A mission from Goa despatched to the Coromandel coast in 1522, proved itself ignorant of, or superior to, the well-established legend of the translation of the saint's remains to Edessa in 394 A.D., and found his sacred relics at the ancient shrine near Madras, side by side with those of a king whom he had converted to the faith. They were brought with pomp to Goa, the Portuguese capital of India, and enshrined anew in the Church of St. Thomas.²

The finding of the Pehlvi cross, mentioned on a previous page (282), at St. Thomas' Mount in 1547, gave a fresh colouring to the legend. So far as its inscription goes, it points to a Persian, and probably to a Manichæan origin. But at the period when it was dug up, no one in Madras could decipher its Pehlvi characters. A Brâhman impostor, knowing that there was a local demand for martyrs, accordingly came forward with a fictitious interpretation. The simple story of Thomas' accidental death from a stray arrow, had before this grown into a cruel martyrdom by stoning and a lance-thrust, with each spot in the tragedy fixed at the Greater and Lesser Mount near Madras. The Brâhman pretended to supply a confirmation of the legend from the inscription on the cross—a confirmation which continued to be accepted until Dr. Burnell and Professor Haug published their decipherments in our own day. 'In the 16th and 17th centuries,' says Colonel Yule, 'Roman Catholic ecclesiastical story-tellers seem to have striven in rivalry who should most recklessly expand the travels of the Apostle.'

The lying interpretation of the Brâhman, and the visible relics in the church at Goa, seem to have influenced the

¹ Colonel Yule's *Mores Populi* (2nd edition, 1875), vol. ii. p. 344.

² *Ibid.* Colonel Yule's *Cathay* (2 vols. 1866) should also be referred to by students of the legend of St. Thomas, and his alleged labours in Asia and India.

but to
which
shrine (2)

popular imagination more powerfully than the clear tradition of the early Church regarding the translation of the Apostle's relics to Edessa. Even a story of our own King Alfred was pressed into the service of St. Thomas of Madras. 'This year,' 883 A.D., the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle had said, 'Sighelm and Athelstane carried to Rome the alms which the king had vowed to send thither, and also to India to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew.'¹ Gibbon suspects 'that the English ambassadors collected their cargo and legend in Egypt.'² It is certain that they never visited the Coromandel coast. The 'India' of Alfred was still the India of the early Church, and his messengers may perhaps have reached the ancient shrine of St. Thomas at Edessa. The legend of St. Thomas' death has in our own century been illustrated by the eloquence and learning of bishops and divines of the Anglo-Indian Church. 'But,' concludes Colonel Yule, 'I see that the authorities now ruling the Catholics at Madras are strong in disparagement of the special sanctity of the localities, and of the whole story connecting St. Thomas with Mailapur,' the alleged place of his burial.³

Troubles
of the
ancient
Indian
Church

As a matter of history, the life of the Nestorian Church in India was a troubled one. A letter from the Patriarch Jesajabus to Simeon, Metropolitan of Persia, shows that before 660 A.D., the Christians along the Indian coast were destitute of a regular ministry.⁴ In the 8th century, the Armenian Mar Thomas found the Malabar Christians driven back into the recesses of the mountains. In the 14th century, Friar Jordanus declared them to be Christians only in name, without baptism. They even confounded St. Thomas with Christ.⁵ A mixed worship, Christian, Muhammadan, and Hindu, went on at the old joint shrine near Madras. In some districts of Southern India the Church developed, like the Sikhs in the Punjab, into a military sovereignty. In others, it dwindled away; its remnants lingering in the mountains and woods, or adopting heathen rites. The family names of a

¹ Hough, i. p. 104 (1839); Dr. Kennet's Madras monograph, *St. Thomas, the Apostle of India*, pp. 6, 7 (1882).

² *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iv. p. 599, footnote 123 (ed. 1788); Hough, vol. i. pp. 105-107.

³ Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. p. 344 (ed. 1875).

⁴ *Assemani Bibliotheca*, quoted by Bishop Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 27, footnote (ed. 1875). Jesajabus died 660 A.D.

⁵ Jordanus, quoted in Mr. J. M. Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xiii. part i. p. 200 (ed. 1882).

forest tribe¹ in Kánara, now Hindus, bear witness to a time when they were Christians; and there were probably other similar reversion to paganism.

The downfall of the Nestorian Church in India was due, however, neither to such reversion to paganism nor to any persecutions of native princes; but to the pressure of the Portuguese Inquisition, and the proselytizing energy of Rome. Before the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498, the St. Thomas Christians had established their position as a powerful military caste in Malabar. The Portuguese found them firmly organized under their spiritual leaders, bishops, archdeacons, and priests, who acted as their representatives in dealing with the Indian princes. For long they had Christian kings, and at a later period chiefs, of their own.² In virtue of an ancient charter, ascribed to Cherumal Perumal, Suzerain of Southern India in the 9th century A.D., the Malabar Christians enjoyed all the rights of nobility.³ They even claimed precedence of the Náirs, who formed the heathen aristocracy. The St. Thomas Christians and the Náirs were, in fact, the most important military castes on the south-west coast.⁴ They supplied the bodyguard of the local kings; and the Christian caste was the first to learn the use of gunpowder and fire-arms. They thus became the matchlock-men of the Indian troops of Southern India, usually placed in the van, or around the person of the prince.

The St. Thomas Christians a military caste;

powerful and respected

The Portuguese, by a happy chance, landed on the very Province of India in which Christianity was most firmly established, and in which Christians had for long formed a recognised and respected caste. The proselytizing energy of the new-comers could not, however, rest satisfied with their good fortune. That energy was vigorously directed both against the natives and the ancient Christian communities. Indeed, the Nestorian heresy of the St. Thomas Christians seemed to the

Portuguese efforts at their conversion to Rome.

¹ The Maráthi Sílís. For an interesting account of them, see Mr. J. M. Campbell's *Bombay Gazetteer*, Kánara District, vol. xv. part 1. p. 397 (ed. 1883).

² *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, par M. V. La Croze, vol. i. p. 72, ii. p. 133, etc. (2 vols. 12mo, The Hague, 1758).

³ *Ibid.* i. p. 67. For details, see *The Syrian Church of Malabar*, by Edavalikel Philippos, p. 23, and footnote (Oxford, 1869). Local legend vainly places Cherumal Perumal and his grant as far back as 345 A.D.

⁴ For the military aspects of the Christian caste of St. Thomas, see La Croze (*op. cit.*), ii. pp. 128, 129, 130, 140, 153, etc. The *History of the Church of Malabar and Synod of Diamper*, by the learned Michael Geddes, Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum (London, 1694), an earlier and independent work, bears out this view.

fervour of the friars to be a direct call from heaven for interference by the orthodox Church. The Portuguese established the Inquisition, as we shall presently see, at Goa in 1560. After various Portuguese attempts, strongly resisted by the St. Thomas Christians, the latter were incorporated into the Catholic Church, by the labours of Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in 1599. The Synod held by him at Udayampura (or Diamper), near Cochin, in that year denounced Nestorius and his heresies, and put an end for a time to the existence of the Indian Nestorian Church.

Synod of
Diamper,
1599.

No document could be more exhaustively complete than the Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper, in its provisions for bringing the Malabar Christians within the Roman fold.¹ The sacred books of the St. Thomas congregations, their missals, their consecrated oil and church ornaments, were publicly burned; and their religious nationality as a separate caste was abolished. But when the firm hand of Archbishop Menezes was withdrawn, his parchment conversions began to lose their force. Notwithstanding the watchfulness of the Goa Inquisition over the new converts, the Decrees of the Synod of Diamper fell into neglect,² and the Malabar Christians chafed under a line of Roman Catholic prelates from 1601 to 1653.

Reversions
and Con-
versions,
1653-1663.

In 1653 they renounced their allegiance to their Catholic bishop. A Carmelite mission was despatched from Rome in 1656 to restore order. The vigorous measures of its head, Joseph of St. Mary, brought back a section of the old Christian communities; and Joseph, having reported his success at Rome, returned to India as their bishop in 1661. He found the Protestant Dutch pressing the Portuguese hard on the Malabar coast, 1661-1663. But the old military caste of Malabar Christians rendered no assistance to their Catholic superiors, and remained tranquil spectators of the struggle, till the capture of Cochin by the Dutch brought about the ruin of the Portuguese power in 1663.

Malabar
Christians-
freed by
the Dutch,
1663;

The Malabar Christians, thus delivered from the temporal power of the Portuguese, reasserted their spiritual independence. The Portuguese had compelled the native princes to persecute the old Christian communities; and by confiscations, imprisonments, and various forms of pressure, to drive the

¹ The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper (*i.e.* Udayampura) occupy 346 pages of the Chancellor of Sarum's *History of the Church of Malabar*, pp. 97-443 (*vol.* 1694).

² La Croze, ii. p. 193.

Indian Nestorians into reconciliation with Rome.¹ Such a persecution of a long-recognised caste, especially of a valued military caste, was as foreign to the tolerant spirit of Hinduism as it was repugnant to the policy of the Indian princes, and it has left a deep impression on the traditions of the south-western coast. The native Jacobite historian of the Church of Malabar rises to the righteous wrath of an old Scottish Covenanter in recounting the bribing of the poorer chiefs by the Portuguese, and the killings, persecutions, and separations of the married clergy from their wives. The new Dutch masters of the southern coast, after a short antagonism to the Carmelite prelate and the native bishop whom he left behind, lapsed into indifference. They allowed the Roman missionaries free scope, but put an end to the exercise of the temporal power in support of the Catholic bishop.²

The chief spiritual weapon of conversion, a weapon dexterously used by the Portuguese Viceroys, had been the interruption of the supply of Nestorian bishops from Persia. This they effected by watching the ports along the west coast of India, and preventing the entrance of any Nestorian prelate. The Syrian Church in India had therefore to struggle on under its archdeacon, with grave doubts disturbing the mind of its clergy and laity as to whether the archidiaconal consecration was sufficient for the ordination of its priests. The overthrow of the Portuguese on the seaboard put an end to this long episcopal blockade. In 1665, the Patriarch of Antioch sent a bishop, Mar Gregory, to the orphaned Syrian Church of India. But the new bishop belonged to the Jacobite instead of the Nestorian branch of the Asiatic Church. Indian Nestorianism may therefore be said to have received its death-blow from the Synod of Diamper in 1599.

Since the arrival of Mar Gregory in 1665, the old Syrian Malabar Church of India has remained divided into two sects. The *Pazheia kúttakár*, or Old Church, owed its foundation to Archbishop Menezes and the Synod of Diamper in 1599, and its reconciliation, after revolt, to the Carmelite bishop, Joseph of St. Mary, in 1656. It retains in its services the Syrian language and in part the Syrian ritual. But it acknowledges the supremacy of the Pope, and his Vicars-Apostolic. Its members are now known as Catholics of the Syrian Rite, to distinguish them from the converts made direct from heathenism

¹ La Croze, ii. pp. 169, 176, 183, 185, 192, 198, 203, etc.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 205.

receive a
Jacobite
bi-hop,
1665.

Christians
since
1665;

(1) Syrian
Catholics,
221,551 in
1891.

(2) Jacobites,
300,000 (?)
in 1890.

Tenets
of the
Malabar
Jacobites.

to the Latin Church by the Roman missionaries. The other section of the Syrian Christians of Malabar is called the *Puttu kúttakár*, or New Church. It adheres to the Jacobite tenets introduced by its first Jacobite bishop, Mar Gregory, in 1665.

The present Jacobites of Malabar condemn equally the errors of Arius, Nestorius, and the Bishops of Rome.¹ They hold that the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist become the Real Body and Blood of Christ, and give communion in both kinds mixed together. They pray for the dead, practise confession, make the sign of the cross, and observe fasts. But they reject the use of images; honour the Mother of Jesus and the Saints only as holy persons and friends of God; allow the consecration of a married layman or deacon to the office of priest; and deny the existence of purgatory. In their Creed they follow the Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.). They believe in the Trinity; assert the One Nature and the One Person of Christ, and declare the procession of the Holy Ghost to be from the Father, instead of from the Father and the Son.²

Nestorianism
extinct in
Malabar.

The Syrian Catholics and Syrian Jacobites of Malabar maintain their differences with a high degree of religious vitality at the present day. Their congregations keep themselves distinct from the Catholics of the Latin Rite converted direct from heathenism, and from the Protestant sects. The Syrian Catholics numbered 221,551 in 1891. The Catholic Archbishop of Verapoli, to whose kind assistance this chapter is indebted in many ways, estimated the Syrian Catholics at 200,000, and the Jacobites at 100,000 about 1880. The *Missiones Catholice*, published by the Propaganda, return the Jacobites at 336,100 in 1891. This is probably an excessive estimate: a safer figure would be perhaps in round numbers 300,000. In 1876, the Jacobite Church of Malabar, or the ecclesiastical province of Malankarai, was divided into seven bishoprics. A disputed succession to its patriarchate, or office of Metran, plunged the Syrian Jacobite Church of Southern India into ten years of litigation, from 1879 to 1889. The case was carried from the Court of First Instance to the High Court of Travancore, and thence to the Royal Court

¹ *The Syrian Christians of Malabar*, being a Catechism of their doctrine and ritual, by Edavalikel Philipos, Chorepiscopus and Cathanar (*i.e.* priests of the Great Church of Cottayam in Travancore, pp. 3, 4, 8 Parker, 1869).

² Condensed from Catechism of E. Philipos, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-13, 17, 19.

of Travancore or Final Court of Appeal; the sitting bench in each Court consisting of a Christian and one or more Hindu judges. The Syrian Christians in India, whether Catholic or Jacobite, owe their survival as organic bodies in no small measure to the fact that they practically formed themselves into castes, dwelling in the territories of a Hindu dynasty—that is to say, with all their surroundings in favour of the perpetuation of any hereditary aggregate of persons who can constitute themselves into a recognised caste. If the Buddhists had in like manner amalgamated into a coherent caste, they would now be numbered probably by millions instead of by hundreds of thousands on the continent of India, exclusive of Burma.

Roman friars had visited India since the 13th century. The first regularly equipped Catholic mission, composed of Franciscan brethren, arrived from Portugal in 1500. Their attacks on the native religions seemed part of the Portuguese policy of aggression on the Native States. The pious Portuguese monks were popularly identified with the brutal Portuguese soldiery, whose cruelties have left so deep a stain on early European enterprise in India. The military attempts of the Portuguese, and their ill-treatment of the native princes and the native population, provoked unmerited hatred against the disinterested, if sometimes ill-judged, zeal of the Portuguese missionaries.

Native reprisals, which certain writers have dignified by the name of persecutions, occasionally took place in return for Portuguese atrocities. But the punishments suffered by the friars were usually inflicted for disobedience to the native civil power, or for public attacks on native objects of veneration; such attacks as are provided for by the clauses in the Anglo-Indian Penal Code, which deal with words or signs calculated to wound the religious feelings of others. Attacks of this kind led to tumults among an excitable population, and to serious breaches of the peace, often attended with bloodshed. The native princes, alarmed at the combined Portuguese assault on their territory and their religion, could not be expected to decide in such cases with the cold neutrality of an Anglo-Indian magistrate. A Roman Catholic friar is said to have been killed in 1500; but this is disputed.

For some time, indeed, missionary work was almost confined to the Portuguese settlements, although King Emmanuel (1498-1521) and his son John III. (1521-57) had much at heart the conversion of the Indians. Their first bishop in India

was Duarte (²) Nunes, a Dominican (1514-17): and John de Albuquerque, a Franciscan, was the first bishop of Goa (1539-53). With St. Francis Xavier, who arrived in 1542, began the labours of the Society of Jesus in the East, and the progress of Christianity became more rapid.

Xavier and
the Jesuits,
1542.

St. Francis' name is associated with the Malabar coast, and with the maritime tracts of Madura and Southern Madras. He completed the conversion of the Páravárs in Tinnevell District.¹ His relics repose in a silver shrine at Goa.² Punnaikáyal, in Tinneveli, was the scene, in 1549, of the death of Father Antonio Criminale, the protomartyr of the Society of Jesus; and in the following year, several other lives were lost in preaching the gospel. Goa became an Archbishopric in 1557. The labours of the Archbishop of Goa, Alexis de Menezes, an Augustinian, in reconciling the Indian Nestorians to Rome, have already been mentioned.

St. Francis
Xavier.

Alexis de
Menezes.

The
Madras
Jesuits.

The Jesuit 'mission of Madura' dates from 1606, and is associated with the names of Robert de Nobili (its founder, who died 1656), John de Britto (killed in Madura 1693), Beschi the great scholar (who died about 1746), and other illustrious Jesuits, chiefly Portuguese.³ They laboured in Madura, Trichinopoli, Tanjore, Tinneveli, Salem, etc. The mission of the Karnátik, also a Jesuit mission, was French in its origin, and due in some measure to Louis XIV. in 1700. Its centre was at Pondicherri.

Good
work done
by the
Jesuits.

The early Jesuit missions are particularly interesting. Their priests became perfect Indians in all secular matters, dress, food, etc., and had equal success among all castes, high and low. In the south of the peninsula, they had a share in bringing, as we have seen, the old Christian settlements of the Syrian Rite into communion with Rome, and converted large sections of the native population throughout extensive districts. The Society of Jesus had also several less important missions in the North of India. During the 17th and 18th centuries, religious troubles and difficulties arose in Southern India through the action of the Catholic missionaries in regard to caste observances. Other difficulties were caused by the Portuguese king and his ecclesiastical nominees claiming a monopoly of the missions. The Dutch adventurers also for a time persecuted the Catholics along the coast.

¹ See article TINNEVELLI DISTRICT, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² See article GOA, *idem*.

³ See articles MADURA and TINNEVELLI, *idem*.

Yet in the 16th century it seemed as if Christianity was destined to be established by Jesuit preachers throughout a large part of India. The literary activity of missionaries belonging to the Order was also very great. Their early efforts in the cause of education, and in printing books in the various languages, are remarkable. De Nobili and Beschi have been named. Fathers Arnauld and Calmette should not be forgotten.

Even apart from works of scholarship, the early Indian Jesuits have left literary memorials of much interest and value. Their letters, addressed to the General of the Order in Europe, afford a vivid glimpse into the state of India during the 16th and 17th centuries. One volume,¹ which deals with the period ending in 1570, furnishes by way of preface a topographical guide to the Jesuit stations in the East. Separate sections are devoted to Goa, Cochin, Bassein, Thána, and other places in Western India, including the island of Socotra, in which Albuquerque had already found remnants of the Christians of St. Thomas.

The letters, as a whole, disclose at once the vitality and the weakness of the Portuguese position in the East. The Lusitanian conquest of India had a deeper fascination, and appeared at the time to have a higher moral significance for Christendom, than afterwards attached to our more hesitating and matter-of-fact operations. The Portuguese progress formed a triumph of military ardour and religious zeal. They resolved not only to conquer India, but also to convert her. Only by slow degrees were they compelled in secret to realize that they had entered on a task the magnitude of which they had not gauged, and the execution of which proved to be altogether beyond their strength. All that chivalry and enthusiastic piety could effect, they accomplished. But they failed to fulfil either their own hopes, or the expectations which they had raised in the minds of their countrymen at home. Their Viceroys had to show to Europe results which they were not able to produce; and so they were fain to accept the shadow for the substance, and in their official despatches to represent appearances as realities. In their military narratives, every petty Rájá or village chief who sent them a few pumpkins or mangoes, becomes a tributary Rex, conquered by their

¹ *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente Gestarum Volumen*. Colonia, anno 1574. It purports to have been translated into Latin from the Spanish. I have to thank Mr. Ernest Satow, formerly of H.B.M.'s Japanese Legation, for a loan of this curious volume.

arms or constrained to submission by the terror of their name. In their ecclesiastical epistles the whole country is a land flowing with milk and honey, and teeming with a population eager for sacramental rites.

Parochial
organiza-
tion of
Portu-
guese
India.

The swift downfall of the Portuguese power, based upon conquest and conversion, will be exhibited in a later chapter. But the Portuguese are the only European nation who have created, or left behind them, a Christian State polity in India. To this day, their East India settlements are territorially arranged in parishes; and the traveller finds himself surrounded by churches and other ecclesiastical features of a Christian country, among the rice-fields and jungles of Goa and Damán. This parochial organization of Portuguese India was the direct result of the political system imposed on the Viceroyalties from Europe. But, indirectly, it represents the method adopted by the Society of Jesus in its efforts at conversion. The Jesuits worked to a large extent by means of industrial settlements. Many of their stations consisted of regular agricultural communities, with lands and a local jurisdiction of their own. Indeed, both in the town and country, conversion went hand in hand with attempts at improved husbandry, or with a training in some mechanical art.

Thána,
a Jesuit
station,
1550 A.D.

This combination of Christianity with organized labour may best be understood from a description of two individual settlements:¹ Thána, a military agricultural station; and Cochin, a collegiate city and naval port. Thána, says a Jesuit letter-writer in the middle of the 16th century, is a fortified town where the Brethren have a number of converts. Once on a time a wrinkled and deformed old man came to them from distant parts, greatly desiring to be made a Christian. He was accordingly placed before a picture of the Blessed Virgin, and, having sought to kiss the Child, was forthwith baptized. He died in peace and joy next morning. Many boys and girls were likewise bought from the barbarians for a few pence a-piece. These swelled the family of Christ, and were trained up in doctrine and handicrafts. During the day they plied their trades as shoemakers, tailors, weavers, and iron-workers; on their return at evening to the College, they sang the Catechism and Litanies in alternate choirs. Others of them

Christian
craftsmen.

¹ The following details were abstracted and condensed chiefly from the *Relação a Sociedade de Jesus in Oriente Gestarum Volumen*, already referred to. This book is no longer in the author's possession, and as he is unable to procure a copy, the pages cannot be cited, nor the exact words verified.

were employed in agriculture, and went forth to collect fruits, or to work with the adult Christian cultivators in the fields.

There was also a Christian village, the Hamlet of the Trinity, 3000 paces off, upon temple lands bought up and consecrated by the Order. The Society had, moreover, certain farms, yielding 300 pieces of gold a year. This money supported the widows and orphans, the sick, and catechumens while engaged in their studies. The poorer converts were encouraged in agriculture by a system of advances. Everything seemed to prosper in the hands of the Jesuit Brethren, and their very goats had kids by couplets and triplets every year. The husbandmen 'are all excellent cultivators and good men,' well skilled in the Mysteries, and constant in the practice of their faith, assembling daily together *ad signum angelicæ salutationis*. 'Even in the woods, boys and men are heard chanting the Ten Commandments in a loud voice from the tops of the palm-trees.'

The management of the mission stations seems to have been admirable. Four or five Brothers of the Order regulated alike the secular and the spiritual affairs of each community. One of them was a surgeon, who cured ulcers, sores, and dangerous maladies. The Christian village of the Trinity had, moreover, certain gardens which the inhabitants held in common, well irrigated, and rich in *vines*, figs, and medicinal fruits. The Catechism was publicly rehearsed once on ordinary days, twice on holidays. They held frequent musical services; the youths chanting the psalms, robed in white. The Thána choristers, indeed, enjoyed such a reputation that they were invited to sing at the larger gatherings at Bassein; and were much employed at funerals, at which they chanted the 'Misericordia' to the admiration alike of Christians and heathens. Besides their civil and secular duties in the town of Thána, and at the Christian village and farms, the Brethren of the Order visited a circle of outposts within a distance of thirty thousand paces; 'to the great gain of their countrymen, whom they strengthen in their faith; and of the natives (*barbari*), whom they reclaim from their errors and superstitions to the religion of Christ.'

The station of Thána discloses the regulated industry, spiritual and secular, which characterized the Jesuit settlements in India. Cochin may be taken to illustrate the educational labours of the Order and its general scheme of operations. The College of the Society, writes Father Hieronymus in

Christian
cultivators.

Jesuit rural
organiza-
tion.

Cochin, a
collegiate
city.

Jesuit
work at
Cochin.

1570,¹ has two grammar schools, attended by 260 pupils, who have made excellent progress both in their studies and in the practice of the Christian sacraments. They are all skilled in the tenets of the faith; many of them have learned the Catechism, arranged in questions and answers, and are now teaching it to the heathen. The rites of confession and communion are in constant use, and resorted to on saints' days by 300 or 400 persons. An equal concourse takes place when indulgences are promulgated; and on a late occasion, when the jubilee granted by the Pope in 1568 was celebrated, 'such was the importunity of those seeking confession, that our priests could not find a breathing space for rest from morning to night.' At the College Church alone a thousand persons received the Eucharist, chiefly new communicants. A wholesale restitution of fraudulent gains took place, with a general reconciliation of enemies, and a great quickening of the faith in all. 'So vast was the concourse at this single church, without mentioning the other churches in the city, that we had from time to time to push out the throngs from the edifice into the courtyard, not without tears and lamentation on their part.'

Jesuit
College at
Cochin.

The College of the Order likewise ministered to the Portuguese fleet stationed off Cochin; and the writer relates, with perhaps pardonable exaggeration, the strict discipline which the Brethren maintained among both officers and men. During the winter they had also collected a fund, and with it redeemed five Portuguese, who, the year before, had fallen into captivity among 'the Moors.' These men, on coming to offer up public thanksgiving in church, edified the worthy fathers by relating how the Christians still remaining in captivity continued firm in the Catholic faith, although sorely tormented *incommodis et cruciatibus*. They told how one youth, in particular, 'who had attended our school, on being tied to a tree and threatened by the Moors with bows and arrows, had bravely answered that he would give up his life rather than his faith.' Upon which the Moors seem to have laid aside their lethal weapons, and let the lad off with a few kicks and cuffs. Another boy had at first apostatized; but his fellow-captives, foremost among them a nobleman of high station, threw themselves at his feet, and begged him to stand firm. The boy burst into tears, and declared that he had been led astray by terror, but that he would now rather die than abandon his religion. He proved himself as good as his word, rushed in front of his persecutors,

¹ Letter to the General of the Order, dated Cochin, February 1570.

and openly proclaimed himself to be still a Christian. 'The Moors,' as usual, seem to have taken the affair with much good nature; and, after another little comedy of tying him to a tree and threatening to shoot him and cut his throat, let their young apostate go.

'I come now,' continues Father Hieronymus, 'to the harvest of this year.' He goes on to describe the work of itinerating, from which we gather that the King of Cochin was friendly rather than otherwise to the members of the Order and their converts, protecting them by letters patent, and even giving rise to hopes of his own conversion. No fewer than 220 natives were baptized in one day; and the Father adduces, as a proof of their sincerity, the fact that they did not expect any material advantage from their conversion. 'For neither do they look for a present of new clothes at their baptism, nor for anything else from us, excepting spiritual food. They think themselves greatly honoured by the name of Christians, and labour to bring others to the truth.' Among the converts the Náirs figure a good deal; and an acolyte of this race, notwithstanding that he was harassed by the 'older Christians,' brought in other Náirs, by twos and threes, for baptism. The worthy Father uses 'Náir' as the name of 'a certain military class,' and so touches on the actual position held by this people three and a half centuries ago.

Conversion was not, however, always without its troubles. The story of a young Moor, whose mother was a cruel woman, and buried him in the ground up to his mouth for turning Christian, is told with honest pride. His unkind parent likewise placed a huge stone round his head, designing that he should die a slow and painful death. But the boy managed to peep through a cleft in the stone, and spied some travellers passing that way, whereupon, although he had formerly known nothing of Latin, he managed to shout out the two words, '*E-ag-to Christum.*' On hearing this, the travellers dug up the lad and took him before the Governor, who, in an obliging manner, gave over the boy to the College to be baptized, and sent the mother to prison. The neophytes seem to have been spirited lads; and the Father narrates how about two thousand of them took part in the military games held when the fleet was lying off Cochin, and distinguished themselves so greatly with various sorts of darts and weapons, that 'they came next to the Portuguese soldiers.'

The College took advantage of the illness of the king during the course of the year to try to convert him; but his majesty,

Jesuit
itineraries.

Conver-
sions.

Efforts at
royal con-
versions.

although civil and friendly, declined their well-meaning efforts. They were more successful with two 'petty Rájás' (*reguli*) in the neighbourhood, who, 'being desirous of the Portuguese friendship,' professed an interest in spiritual matters on behalf of themselves and people. Three hundred, apparently of their subjects, promised to get themselves baptized as soon as a church should be built. 'But,' concludes the candid chronicler, 'as this particular people have a grievously bad reputation as liars, it is much to be prayed for that they will keep their word.' From another instance of a royal conversion, it appears that the introduction of Christianity, with 'letters of privilege' to converts, was a favourite method among the weaker Rájás for securing a Portuguese alliance.

The
Madura
Mission,
17th and
18th cen-
turies.

The story of the Catholic missions thus graphically told by the *Rerum Gestarum Volumen* of the 16th century, is continued for the 17th and 18th, as regards some of them, by the letters from the Jesuit Fathers in what used to be known as the 'Madura mission.' Many of these letters have been edited by Le Père Bertrand in four volumes, which throw an important light, not only upon the progress of Christianity in India, but also upon the social and political state of the native kingdoms in which that progress was made.¹ The keynote to the policy of the Society of Jesus, in Indian evangelization, was:—'The Christian religion cannot be regarded as naturalized in a country, until it is in a position to propagate its own priesthood.'²

(Question
of caste.

This is the secret of the wide and permanent success of the Catholic missions: it was also the source of their chief troubles. For, in founding Christianity on an indigenous basis, the Fathers had to accept the necessity of recognising indigenous customs and native prejudices in regard to caste. The disputes which arose divided the Jesuit missionaries for many years, and had to be referred, not only to the General of the Order, but to the Pope himself. The *Question des Rites Malabares* occupies many pages in Père Bertrand's volumes.³ In the end, one division of the missionaries was told

¹ *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des ordres religieux* (1 vol., 2nd ed., Paris, 1862): *La Mission du Maluré d'après des documents inédits* (3 vols., Paris, 1848, 1850, 1854). The first edition of the *Mémoires Historiques* (Paris, 1847) formed apparently an introduction to the three volumes of Letters which constitute Père Bertrand's *La Mission du Maluré*. The author takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to the authorities of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, for the loan of Père Bertrand's works, and for much kind assistance in his inquiries.

² Condensed from Père Bertrand, *Missions*, vol. i. p. 1.

³ For example, *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. i. pp. 353 *et seq.* Indeed, this

off for the low-castes, while another ministered to the Indians of higher degree. A similar distinction was rigidly maintained in some churches. Père Bertrand gives the plan of a Madura church as laid before the Sovereign Pontiff in 1725, which shows a systematic demarcation between the high and low castes even during divine service. Whatever may have been lost of the primitive Christian equality by this system, it had the merit of being adapted to native habits of thought, and it was perhaps unavoidable in an Indian church which endeavoured to base itself upon an indigenous priesthood.¹ The adoption of native terms by the Jesuit Fathers, such as *guru*, teacher; *sanyāsī*, hermit, etc., also led to embittered discussions.

The letters disclose, however, other and more agreeable aspects of the early missions to India. A few of them complain of the dangers and discomforts of missionary life in a tropical climate and among a suspicious people.² But, as a rule, they are full of keen observation and triumphant faith. Some of them are regularly divided into two parts; the first being devoted to the secular history of the period, or 'Evènements politiques;' the second to the current affairs and progress of the mission. Others are of a topographical and statistical character. Many of them record signs and wonders vouchsafed on behalf of their labours. A pagan woman, for example, who had been possessed of a devil from birth, is delivered from her tormentor by baptism, and enters into a state of joy and peace. Another native lady, who had determined to burn herself on her husband's funeral pile, and had resisted the counter entreaties of her family and the village head, miraculously renounced her intention when sprinkled with ashes consecrated by the priest. Throughout, the letters breathe a desire for martyrdom, and a spiritual exultation in sufferings endured for the cause.

One very touching epistle is written by De Britto from his prison the day before his execution. 'I await death,' he writes to the Father Superior, 'and I await it with impatience. It has always been the object of my prayers. It forms to-day

volume is largely devoted to the polemics of the question. Also *La Mission du Maduré*, vol. ii. pp. 140 et seq.; vol. iv. pp. 464 to 496; and in many other places of Père Bertrand's work.

¹ The plan of the church is given at p. 43; of Père Bertrand's *Mission du Maduré*, vol. iv., ed. 1854. The merits of the question are so fully discussed in that volume that it is unnecessary to reopen the question here.

- For example, *Lettre du P. B. Bazzar*, dated Tanjore. 1653, cf. vol. iii. pp. 1 et seq.

Letters
from
S. India,
17th and
18th cen-
turies.

Political
events.

Miracles.

Martyr-
doms.

the most precious reward of my labours and my sufferings.¹ Another letter relates the punishment of Father de Saa, several of whose teeth were knocked out by blows, so that he almost died under the pain (A.D. 1700). His tormentor was, however, miraculously punished and converted to the faith.² The more striking events take place in the Madura mission. But in other parts of India, also, there were triumphs and sufferings. 'Even here,' writes Père Petit from Pondicherri, 'we are not altogether without some hope of martyrdom, the crown of apostleship.'³ It is natural that such writers should regard as martyrs the few brethren who fell victims to popular tumults stirred up by their own preaching. Penalties for sectarian affrays, or for insults to the native religions, such as would now be punished by the Indian Penal Code, figure as 'persecutions.' The Salvationists have suffered several 'persecutions' of this sort from Anglo-Indian magistrates.

Literary
labours
of the
Jesuits.

Nor are the literary labours of the Fathers without a fitting record. Bishop Caldwell lately expressed his regret that the biography of Father Beschi, the Tamil scholar and poet, should yet be unwritten.⁴ But the defect is supplied, not only in an elaborate notice of Beschi's life and works, but also by Beschi's own letters to the General of the Order.⁵ Several epistles of De Nobili are of scarcely less interest in the annals of Indian Christianity.

The Portu-
guese In-
quisition,
1560-1812

The arguments of the Catholic missionaries were enforced by the weapons of the secular power. In 1560 the Portuguese established the Inquisition at Goa, under the Dominican Order. At first the establishment was of a modest and tentative character; the functionaries numbering only five, and the whole salaries amounting in 1565 to £71 a year.⁶ But by degrees it extended its operations, until in 1800 the functionaries numbered 47. The Goa Inquisition has formed the subject of much exaggerated rumour, and the narrative of one of its prisoners startled and shocked Europe during the 17th century.⁷ Dr. Claudius Buchanan recalled public attention to the subject by his vividly-coloured letters at the beginning of

¹ *La Mission du Maduré*, vol. iii. p. 447. Letter dated 3rd February 1693.

² Vol. iv. pp. 63-68.

³ Vol. iv. p. 158.

⁴ *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely*, by Bishop Caldwell (Madras Government Press, 1881), p. 239.

⁵ Père Bertrand, vol. iv. pp. 342-375.

⁶ *O Chronista de Tisnary*, vol. iv. p. 51. Quoted, Fonseca's *Goa*, p. 217.

⁷ *Rélation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, by the Physician Dellon, who was confined in one of its cells in 1674. Pyrard, Fryer, and other travellers have also left notices of the Goa Inquisition.

the nineteenth century.¹ The calmer narrative of Da Fonseca, derived from the archives of Goa, proves that the reality was sufficiently terrible. No continuous statistics exist of the punishments inflicted. But the records repeatedly speak of the necessity for additional cells, and in 1674 they numbered two hundred. Seventy-one *autos da fé*, or general jail deliveries, are mentioned between 1600 and 1773. The total number of persons condemned on these occasions is unknown. But at a few of the *autos* it is said that '4046 persons were sentenced to various kinds of punishment, of whom 3034 were males and 1012 females.'² These punishments included 105 men and 16 women condemned to the flames, of whom 57 were burned alive and 64 in effigy.

It is not necessary to inquire how far such examples of religious punishment in Portuguese territory were responsible for the persecution of the Catholic missionaries in Cochin and Malabar. Nor, in passing judgment on the Hindu princes, should we forget the perpetual military aggressions and occasional cold-blooded massacres by the Portuguese on the southern and western coasts. Christian missions in Northern India had scarcely anything to fear from the Native powers. Indeed, under Akbar, and almost throughout the entire period of the Mughal Emperors until the accession of Aurangzeb, Christianity seems to have been regarded with an enlightened interest, and certainly without disfavour, by the Delhi court. More than one of the Mughal queens and princes are said to have been Christians; and the faith was represented both by Imperial grants and in the Imperial seraglio. Many of the great Hindu Feudatories also displayed a courteous indifference to the Christian missionaries, and a liberal recognition of their scientific and secular attainments.

The Inquisition at Goa was temporarily suspended in 1774, but re-established in 1779. It was abolished in 1812, and the ancient palace in which it had been held was pulled down in 1820. The *dil'ris* was finally removed in 1859, on the occasion of the exposition of the body of St. Francis Xavier.

¹ See his Letters and Journal, dated 1868, pp. 150-176 of *Christian Researches in Asia*, 4th ed. (1811).

² Da Fonseca's *Goa*, p. 220. The original authorities quoted are *O Chronista de Tisuary, Historia dos Principaes Acontecimentos da Inquisição em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1845, p. 38; and I. N. Xavier in the *Gaceta de Lisboa*, vol. ix, pp. 89 and 220; *Narrativa da Inquisição em Goa*, pp. 143 et seq. (Vitor G. A., 1866).

³ A popular account of its history will be found in Mr. E. K. F. de Holy Inquisition at Goa, *Calcutta Review*, No. 145, April 1881.

The Jesuits
sup-
pressed,
1759-73.

In 1759, Portugal broke up the Society of Jesus, seized its property, and imprisoned its members. France did the same in 1764; and to prevent greater evils, Clement xiv. in 1773 was forced to suppress the Society altogether. The French Revolution followed. These events deprived the Indian Jesuit missions alike of priests and of funds, and for a long time they languished, served in the south only by a few priests from Goa and Pondicherri. That dismal period, however, presents some illustrious names; among them two well-known writers, the Abbé Dubois of Mysore, and the Carmelite Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo (in India 1774-90). In the absence of priests to sustain the courage of the Christians, every occasional or local persecution told. Tipú, about 1784, forcibly circumcised 30,000 Catholics of Kánara, and deported them to the country above the Gháts. Many native Christians lived and died without ever seeing a priest; they baptized their own children, taught them the prayers, and kept up daily worship in their churches.

The
Jesuits
re-es-
tab-
lished,
1814.

Better days, however, dawned. In 1814, the Society of Jesus was re-established; under Gregory xvi. its missions began a new life, and have since made great progress. Their prosperity is, however, hampered by the action taken in Europe against the religious orders. The claims of Portugal to appoint the bishops, and through them to rule the Indian Church, as opposed to the right of the Pope, have occasioned schisms in the past, and still give rise to discord.

Number
of Roman
Catholics
in India.

The Roman Catholics throughout all India, British, Feudatory, and Foreign, numbered altogether 1,594,901 souls, as shown in the tables to be presently given from Catholic ecclesiastical returns for 1891. The Census of 1891 gives a total of 1,315,263 Roman Catholics in British and Feudatory India alone; or, adding 316,975 for the French and Portuguese Settlements, a total of 1,632,238 for all India, including Burma.

Former
organiza-
tion of the
Roman
Catholic
missions.

The Roman Catholic missions are maintained by many of the European nations, and are nearly equally divided between the secular and regular clergy. Almost every mission contains a mixture of races among its priests; even Holland, Scotland, and Germany being ably represented. Although all are directed by Europeans, over two-thirds of the priests are natives. It is also worthy of remark that, in the list of bishops during the last 300 years, the names of several natives are found, some of them Bráhmans. Until the establishment in 1836 of the new Catholic hierarchy for India, to be presently

mentioned, the Roman Catholic missions were governed by vicars and prefects-apostolic. There were seventeen of these vicars (all titular bishops) and three prefects, all dependent on the Congregation *de propaganda fide* at Rome. Within the territories assigned to ten of these vicars-apostolic, the Archbishop of Goa (appointed by the King of Portugal) had an 'extraordinary jurisdiction' over a certain number of persons and churches outside his diocese in various parts of India, but chiefly in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Within the French possessions also there was a species of double jurisdiction. There was a prefect-apostolic of Pondicherry, a priest whose jurisdiction was only over 'those who wear hats,' while a vicar-apostolic (a bishop), resident in the same place, had jurisdiction over all other Catholics in French territory, as well as over all Catholics of several adjacent British districts.

The independent jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, and the dissensions to which it gave rise, have been referred to. It had its origin in the right of patronage (*Padroado*) over bishoprics and benefices in the East, granted by the Popes to the Portuguese Crown. By the Pontifical acts erecting the sees of Goa (1534), Cochin (1558), Angamale (1610, transferred to Cranganore 1629), and S. Thome or Malapour (1626), the Portuguese king was charged with the support of the Catholic churches in India, and in return was granted the privilege of patronage of bishoprics, etc. On the ruin of the Portuguese power in India by the Dutch, the King of Portugal was no longer in a position to fulfil his part of the agreement: the churches and missions were neglected, the bishoprics generally vacant. The Popes therefore were forced to act independently of Portugal: they began to send bishops and missionaries direct to India, and by various measures the limits of the Portuguese jurisdiction were gradually curtailed. Such action produced long and unavailing disputes between Rome and Portugal. Eventually, in 1753, all the *Padroado* bishoprics had been vacant for many years. Gregory XVI. by the Brief *Multa proinde*, suppressed the sees of Cochin, Cranganore, and Malapour, annexed their territories to the vicariates-apostolic created by him or his predecessors, and limited the Goanese jurisdiction to Portuguese possessions.

The Indo-Portuguese controversy as a whole ended in 1857, and a schism continued until 1873. Malapour in 1857, Pondicherry had been visited by bishop of Pondicherry. The conflict with the King of Portugal. The work of Gregory XVI. was continued, and the *Padroado* restored. At last, in 1873, the

be gradually cut up into Portuguese dioceses, and the bishops and missionaries of the Propaganda were to be withdrawn. Pending the delimitation of the dioceses, it was agreed that such churches as were then under the apostolic vicars should remain under the same, while those which then acknowledged the Goanese jurisdiction should continue under the Archbishop of Goa. The Goanese jurisdiction, till then schismatic, was thus legalized over certain persons and churches in ten vicariates, as mentioned above. Though joint commissioners were appointed by Rome and Portugal in 1862 to fix the limits of the dioceses, their labours only proved that the *Padroado* was incapable of supplying the place of the Propaganda clergy. Pius ix. declined to proceed further, and the Concordat remained a dead letter. Meanwhile the temporary jurisdiction exercised by the Archbishop of Goa outside his diocese gave rise to frequent disputes, indeed, to occasional riots and faction fights between the supporters of the *Padroado* and those of the Pope or Propaganda. Finally, in 1886 a new Concordat was issued, by which the *Padroado* was limited to one ecclesiastical province, consisting of the metropolitan see of Goa, and three suffragan sees (Damán, Cochin, and Mailapur). In addition, the Portuguese king was allowed a voice in selecting bishops for Bombay, Quilon, Trichinopoly, and Mangalore. He abandoned his pretended right over the rest of India. The title of honorary Patriarch was conferred on the Archbishop of Goa, and in some other ways the pre-eminence of his see was secured. The Pope was thus at last free to make his arrangements for the rest of India. On September 1, 1886, he issued a constitution converting the sixteen vicariates then existing in India Proper, and also the prefecture of Central Bengal, into regular dioceses, grouped into six ecclesiastical provinces. No change was made in Burma, but by agreement with the French Government the prefecture of Pondicherri was suppressed. In 1887 the diocese of Nágpur was formed from part of the diocese of Vizagapatam, and the Catholics of the Syrian Rite, all, or almost all, resident within the present dioceses of Cochin, Verapoli, and Quilon, were separated from diocesan jurisdiction and made subject to two vicars-apostolic (Kotáyam and Trichúr), appointed for their exclusive care. Three new prefectures have also been erected: Káfiristan and Kashmír (1887), Assam (1889), and Rájputána (1892).¹ The Con-

* Propagandists' and 'Padroadists.'

Concordat of 1886.

Institution of Catholic hierarchy, 1886.

subsequent changes, 1887-92.

¹ Since 1883 a small portion of territory east of Dárjiling has belonged to the vicariate-apostolic of Tibet. This arrangement was made by Rome,

cordat of 1886 has doubtless enabled Rome to establish some of the missions on a firmer basis, by limiting the sphere of the *Padroado*; on the other hand, it has perpetuated a useless, if not mischievous, institution, which had been existing only in a precarious and temporary manner. It has perpetuated the divisions and disputes caused by the double jurisdiction, for the Portuguese prelates are allowed jurisdiction over many churches outside their dioceses. Various missions, against the wishes of the people, have been removed from the missionaries of the Propaganda and handed over to the Portuguese régime. Much indignation is felt among British Catholics at their enforced subjection to Portugal in religious matters, and representative bodies, such as the Bombay and Madras Catholic Unions, have lately petitioned the Pope and the British Government on the subject.

As the ecclesiastical and civil divisions of India do not correspond, it is difficult to compare missionary with official statistics. The Catholics in French territory numbered, according to the *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1891, 35,727, and in Portuguese territory, partly according to the same and partly according to the *Annuário da archidiec. de Goa* for 1890, 281,248. This left 1,277,926 Catholics for British India and the Native States, according to the books just named; in reality, 1,315,263, according to the British Census of 1891. Catholics are most numerous in the Native States of Travancore and Cochin (comprised in the dioceses of Verapoli, Quilon, and Cochin, and the vicariates of Kotiyam and Trichúr). The archdiocese of Goa, with some 657 native priests for a small territory containing over 300,000 Catholics, is a witness to the proselytizing system of the early Portuguese.

The Catholics of the Syrian Rite comprised within the small area of the vicariates of Kotiyam and Trichúr, are chiefly the descendants of the Nestorians converted to Rome in the 16th century, and number about 221,000. Their two bishops (vicars-apostolic) are Europeans: all their priests, some 405 in number, are natives.

The Trichinopoly and Pondicherri dioceses represent parts of the famous Jesuit missions of Madura and of the Karnátuk. In the islands of Bombay, Bassein, and Salsette, and along the fertile maritime strip or Konkan between the Western Ghats

to give the missionaries intended for Tibet a base of operations on the Indian as well as on the Chinese frontier. Added to the vicariate-apostolic of Arabia. Its Catholic population is about 1500.

Defects of the Concordat of 1886.

Distribution of Roman Catholics, 1890-91.

in Cochin, Travancore.

places.

and the sea, the Roman Catholics form an important section of the native population. In South Kánara there are over 3000 Catholic Bráhmans, a prosperous and intelligent community.

Roman
Catholic
ecclesi-
astical
divisions
and popu-
lation,
1891.

The following tables show the present ecclesiastical divisions of India and the Roman Catholic population of each, as returned by the authorities of the Church. The total number of Catholics in British India and Native States, according to these authorities, is 1,277,926, or 37,337 less than the British Census figures for 1891. Considering that the ecclesiastical figures do not tally geographically with those of the Census, the discrepancy is small, and perhaps due to my taking too low an estimate for the diocese of Mailapur, regarding which there is no return. The number taken (50,000) was the estimated number when the Concordat of 1886 was being arranged. My figures for the archbishopric of Goa are from the *Annuario* of that diocese for 1890; for Assam, from the Propaganda's annual *Missiones Catholice* for 1891, published at Rome; the rest are from the *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1891.

Confused
jurisdic-
tion, 1891.

With the exception of the four dioceses which form the ecclesiastical province of Goa under the Portuguese *Padroado*, all the rest of the divisions are under the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome. Of the four Portuguese dioceses, those of Goa and Damán consist partly of Portuguese and partly of British territory; the diocese of Mailapur consists wholly of British territory, and that of Cochin partly of British and partly of Native territory. The archdiocese of Pondicherry is partly composed of French territory and partly of British.

Catholic
progress.

The Roman Catholics in India steadily increase; and, as in former times, the increase is chiefly in the south. The number of Catholics in British and French India and the Native States, but exclusive of the Portuguese Possessions, rose from 732,887 in 1851, to 934,400 in 1871, to 1,103,560 in 1881, and to over 1,350,000 in 1891; or to over 1,600,000 inclusive of returns for the Portuguese Settlements in 1890. The recent reorganization of the Church has given an impetus to native missions under the Propaganda, and a more rapid increase may now be expected. In the *Padroado* dioceses, however, missionary work seems practically extinct.

In 1891, the Census returned 862,897 Roman Catholics in the British Possessions, and 452,366 in the Native States: total, 1,315,263. Of the 1,315,263 Roman Catholic Chris-

[Sentence continued on page 312.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION OF BRITISH INDIA AND NATIVE STATES.

(Chiefly according to the 'Madras Catholic Directory' for 1891. For the
Census figures for British India in 1891, see next page.)

Ecclesiastical Province	Diocese or Division.	Number
Goa, . . .	Archdiocese of Goa (within British territory), . . .	27,013
" . . .	Diocese of Damão (within British territory), . . .	66,056
" . . .	" " Cochin, . . .	70,445
" . . .	" " Mailapur, . . .	50,600
Agra, . . .	Archdiocese of Agra, . . .	8,493
" . . .	Diocese of Allahābād, . . .	8,325
" . . .	" " Lahore, . . .	4,200
" . . .	Prefecture-apostolic of Kāfirī-tan and Kāshmir, . . .	3,250
" . . .	" " Rajputāna, . . .	
Bombay, . . .	Archdiocese of Bombay, . . .	16,279
" . . .	Diocese of Poona, . . .	7,695
Calcutta, . . .	Archdiocese of Calcutta, . . .	55,000
" . . .	Diocese of Pacca, . . .	7,652
" . . .	" " Krishnagar, . . .	2,758
" . . .	Prefecture-apostolic of Assam, . . .	480
Madras, . . .	Archdiocese of Madras, . . .	44,336
" . . .	Diocese of Haidarābād, . . .	11,910
" . . .	" " Nāgpur, . . .	6,465
" . . .	" " Vizagapatam, . . .	9,991
Pondicherry, . . .	Archdiocese of Pondicherry (within British territory), . . .	178,840
" . . .	Diocese of Coimbatore, . . .	28,040
" . . .	" " Mangalore, . . .	60,783
" . . .	" " Mysore, . . .	30,690
" . . .	" " Trichinopoly, . . .	174,756
Verapoli, . . .	Archdiocese of Verapoli, . . .	54,099
" . . .	Diocese of Quilon, . . .	89,000
	Vicariate-Apostolic of Kōtāyam for Syrian Rite), . . .	120,000
	Vicariate-Apostolic of Trichur for Syrian Rite), . . .	101,551
	" " Northern Barma, . . .	3,000
	" " Eastern Barma, . . .	8,400
	" " Southern Barma ¹ , . . .	21,000
Total in British India and Native States, . . .		1,277,920

¹ Exclusive of British troops.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION OF PORTUGUESE INDIA.

(According to 'Anuário da paróquia de Goa' for 1890, and
'Madras Catholic Directory' for 1891.)

Name of Settlement.	Diocese	Number
Goa, . . .	Archdiocese of Goa, . . .	279,146
Damão, . . .	Diocese of Damão, . . .	1,725
Diu, . . .	Diocese of Damão, . . .	377
Total in Portuguese Settlements in India, . . .		281,248

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION OF FRENCH INDIA.

(According to the 'Madras Catholic Directory' for 1891.)

Name of Settlement.	Diocese.	Number
Pondicherri, .	Archdiocese of Pondicherri,	22,300
Karikal, .	" "	12,787
Chandannagar, .	" "	300
Yanaon, .	" "	100
Mahé, . . .	" " . . . say, .	240
Total in French Settlements in India, .		35,727
Total in British, Native, and Foreign India in 1891,		1,594,901

Sentence continued from page 310.]

tians thus enumerated by the Census of 1891 in the British Possessions and the Feudatory States, no fewer than 1,244,283 were natives of India. In the Feudatory States, only 2103 out of 452,366 were not natives of India; and the great proportion of the non-natives among the Roman Catholics in British India were soldiers in British regiments and Eurasians in the three Presidency Towns. For the 316,975 in Portuguese and French India, I have not yet the materials to discriminate between the nationalities, but I am informed that at least 315,000 may be taken as born in India.

Catholic colleges.

The principal Catholic colleges in India are those of the Society of Jesus, at Calcutta, Bombay, Trichinopoli, Mangalore, and Dárjiling. England, being a Protestant country, supplies few priests, and hence Catholic missions have much difficulty in maintaining colleges in which English is the vehicle of higher education. Nevertheless in nearly every diocese or mission there is a college; in some more than one. The statistics of Catholic schools are incomplete, owing mainly to want of information about the *Padroado* dioceses. In British India and the Native States, the children in Catholic schools increased from 28,249 in 1871, to 44,699 in 1881. In 1891 the number of educational institutions¹ in the Propaganda missions was 1529, with about 63,944 pupils. There were also 117 orphanages, with 6474 inmates. Most of these are also schools, but I cannot ascertain how many of them, if any, have been reckoned in the 1529. In India and Burma there are 22 seminaries for candidates for the priesthood: 18 belong to Propaganda missions, 4 to the *Padroado*.

Catholic schools,

and ecclesiastical seminaries.

¹ *Missiones Catholicæ*, Rome, 1891, and *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1891.

The Roman Catholics work in India with slender pecuniary resources. The Propaganda missions derive their main support from two great Catholic organizations, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, and the Society of the Holy Childhood. In 1891 the former contributed about £26,498 to Indian missions, and the latter £15,880, making a total of £42,378. Some benefactions reach India from other sources, and few of the missions are entirely dependent on foreign aid. The native Christians are not illiberal in supporting their churches and priests, and the Indian Government pays about three lacs of rupees¹ a year in salaries and allowances to certain bishops and priests, mainly for services rendered to the army. As to the *Padroado* dioceses, the bishops and priests have to be supported by the Portuguese Crown as one of the conditions of the privilege of patronage. The small salaries paid are, however, charged on the revenues of Goa. The total cost of the *Padroado* is estimated at about Rx. 122,000 a year, one-half of which, or say Rx. 64,000, are spent within British territory. In 1891 there were in India and Burma, under the Propaganda, 26 archbishops and bishops, with 1246 priests, of whom 607 were natives. Under the *Padroado* there were 4 archbishops and bishops, with about 815 priests, of whom only about 12 were Europeans. Total, 30 Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops for India and Burma in 1891—but the number varies slightly. The priests of the Propaganda deny themselves the comforts considered necessities for Europeans in India. They live the frugal and abstemious life of the natives, and their influence reaches deep into the life of the communities among whom they dwell.

Catholic missionary finance, 1891.

The Roman Catholic clergy in India, 1891.

The first Protestant missionaries in India were Lutherans, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, who in 1705 began work, under the patronage of the King of Denmark, at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg and many of the early Lutheran missionaries were men of great ability; and, besides their translations of the Scriptures, some of their writings still hold a high place in missionary literature. Ziegenbalg began the translation of the Bible into Tamil, and his successor Schultze completed it in 1725. This was the first Protestant translation of the Scriptures in India. Schultze also translated the whole Bible into Hindustani. Ziegenbalg died in 1719, leaving 355 converts. In spite of the patronage of the Kings of Denmark and England, and the assistance of friends in

First Protestant missions, 1705.

Translation of the Bible, 1725.

¹ Report of the Finance Committee, 1886 (Calcutta, 1887., vol. ii. p. 148.

Great Britain, the Lutheran mission made at first but slow progress, and was much hindered and opposed by the local Danish authorities. Gradually it extended itself into Madras, Cuddalore, and Tanjore; schools were set up, and conversion and education went hand in hand.

It is not generally known that the success, indeed, the continued existence, of the Lutheran missions in Southern India was largely due to the generous aid of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This body of British philanthropists helped the King of Denmark to support Ziegenbalg. On Ziegenbalg's death in 1719 funds from Denmark failed, and the Danish missions were adopted by the Society. Its first Indian Committee was formed in 1709; Plutschau attended a meeting of the Society in 1712, and Ziegenbalg delivered a 'Malabaric speech' before it in 1715. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge entirely maintained the Indian Lutheran missions for more than a century, indeed until 1824, when they were handed over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Schwartz, to be mentioned in the next paragraph, was appointed and paid by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. One of its minutes still records the sailing of that great missionary for India by *The Lynn* in January 17¹³/₉. Kiernander was also their man. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge thus claims to have preceded even the Baptist Carey by about eighty years, although the fact has been obscured by the Danish names of its agents. The truth was, that no Englishman suitable for the work cared to go to India, and almost the only Protestant communities which had the true missionary spirit in the first half of the 18th century were the Lutherans. But from 1729 to 1824 all the money sent out for the support of the Lutheran missions in India was subscribed by the British Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and that Society both appointed the Lutheran missionaries and directed their work.

Schwartz
in Tan-
jore,
1750-98.
Serampur
mission-
aries.

Kiern-
ander in
Calcutta,
1750.

In 1750 arrived the pious Schwartz, whose name is bound up with the history of Tanjore and adjacent Districts until his death in 1798. He was the founder of the famous Tinneveli missions.¹ Next to the Lutherans come the Baptists of Serampur, with the honoured names of Carey, Marshman, and Ward. In the 18th century the English East India Company did not discourage the labours of Protestant missionaries. It had allowed Kiernander, originally sent out by the Danes, to establish himself at Calcutta in 1758. But subsequently

¹ See article TINNEVELLI, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

it put every obstacle in the way of missionaries, and deported them back to England on their landing. Carey arrived in India Company, he established himself with four other missionaries at Serampur (15 miles from Calcutta), at that time, like Tranquebar, a Danish possession. Then began that wonderful literary activity which has rendered illustrious the group of 'Serampur missionaries.' In ten years the Bible was translated and printed, in whole or part, in 31 languages; and by 1816 the missionaries had about 700 converts. The London Missionary Society (established 1795) entered the field in 1798, and its missions have steadily grown in importance.

The opposition of the East India Company continued till 1813, when it was removed by the new Charter. The same document provided for the establishment of the bishopric of Calcutta, and three archdeaconries, one for each Presidency. Up to this period the Established Church of England had attempted no direct missionary work, although some of the East India Company's chaplains had been men of zeal, like the ardent Henry Martyn (1806-11). The first Bishop of Calcutta (Middleton) arrived in 1814. From this time the Church of England has constantly kept up a missionary connection with India, chiefly by means of its two great Societies—the Church Missionary Society, which sent out its first representative in 1814; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which commenced its Indian labours in 1820 by sending out Dr. Mill as head of Bishop's College, Calcutta. Their most successful stations are in Southern India, where they have gathered in the seed sown by the Lutheran missions. The second Bishop of Calcutta was the well-known Heber (1823-26). In 1835, under a new Charter of the East India Company, the See of Madras was established, and in 1837, that of Bombay. In 1877, owing to the extension of mission work in Tinneveli, two missionaries were appointed bishops, as assistants to the Bishop of Madras; the dioceses of Lahore and Rangoon were also separated from Calcutta. The missionary bishopric of Travancore and Cochín was established in 1879, that of Chutiá Nágpur in 1890, and a bishopric of Lucknow in 1892. The financial relations of the various Indian bishoprics to the Government will be detailed at page 320. On the deaths of the two Assistant Bishops in Tinneveli, their offices were not filled up.

The first missionary of the Church of Scotland was Dr.

Presbyterian
missions,
1830-63.
Other
missions.

Alexander Duff (1830-63), to whom the use of English as the vehicle of higher education in India is largely due. Missionaries of numerous other Protestant societies (European and American) have since entered India, and established numbers of churches and schools. They have furnished memorable names to the roll of Indian educators, such as Judson (Baptist) in Burma, 1813-50, and John Wilson (Presbyterian) of Bombay, 1843-75.

I now propose to exhibit the progress of Protestant missions in India in two forms. I shall first condense the facts and figures from the mission records themselves for the first half-century for which we have a fairly trustworthy record, 1830 to 1881. I shall then conclude this section by a table showing the detailed progress during the last thirty years of that period, for which the information is comparable and complete. I then pass altogether from the mission records to the official enumerations since the first Census of India in 1872, and exhibit in a table at p. 319 the results of the Census enumerations in 1872, 1881, and 1891.

Half a
century
of Pro-
testant
missions,
1830-1881.

The half-century of Protestant missionary work from 1830 to 1881 may be summarized as follows:—In 1830 there were 9 societies at work, and about 27,000 native Protestants in all India, Ceylon, and Burma. By 1870 there were no fewer than 35 societies at work; and in 1871 there were 318,363 converts (including Ceylon, etc., as above). In 1852 there were 459 Protestant missionaries, and in 1872 there were 606. Between 1856 and 1878, the converts made by the Baptist Societies of England and America, in India, Ceylon, and Burma, increased from about 30,000 to between 80,000 and 90,000. Those of the Basel missions of Switzerland multiplied from 1060 to upwards of 6000 from 1856 to 1878; those of the Wesleyan Methodist missions of England and America, from 7500 to 12,000; those of the American Board, from 3302 to about 12,000; those of the Presbyterian missions of Scotland, England, Ireland, and America, connected with 10 societies, from 821 to 10,000; those of the missions of the London Missionary Society, from 20,077 to 48,000; and those of the Church Missionary Society and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from 61,442 to upwards of 164,000,¹ from 1856 to 1878.

The increased activity of the Protestant missionary bodies

¹ The Rev. M. A. Sherring, in the *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, August 1879.

in India, during the past third of a century, may be seen from the table¹ on the following page. Between 1851 and 1890, the number of mission stations increased threefold; while the number of Native Protestant Christians has multiplied by more than fivefold, the number of communicants by nearly fifteenfold, and the number of churches or congregations by sixteenfold. This was largely due to the extended employment of native agency in the work. The native ordained pastors increased from 21 in 1851 to 797 in 1890, and the native lay preachers from 493 to 3,491. The Protestant Church in India greatly gained in strength by making a freer use of, and reposing a more generous confidence in, its native agents. Its responsible representatives reported the increase of Native Christians in India, Burma, and Ceylon,² from 1851 to 1861, at 53 per cent.; from 1861 to 1871, at 61 per cent.; from 1871 to 1881, at 86 per cent.; and from 1881 to 1890, at 53½ per cent. for nine years only.

The activity of the Protestant missions has not, however, been confined to the propagation of their faith. Their services to education, and especially in the instruction of the people in the vernacular languages, will hereafter be referred to. But the vast extension of these services during the half-century under review, is less generally recognised. The number of pupils in Protestant mission schools and colleges rose from 64,043 in 1851 to 196,360 in 1881, and to 295,401 in 1890. The standard of instruction was raised at an equal pace, and the mission institutions successfully competed with the Government colleges at the examinations of the Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore, and Allahabad Universities. Female education has always formed a subject of peculiar care among the missionary bodies. The number of girls' day schools belonging to Protestant missions in India alone rose from 285 in 1851 to 1,120 in 1881, and to 1,507 in 1890. This is exclusive of girls' boarding schools and *zanâna* work. The total number of female pupils under Protestant mission teaching in India alone, and exclusive of Burma, multiplied from 11,193 in 1851 to 57,893 in 1881, and to 104,159 in 1890.

The great success of the missionaries of late years in their

¹ Compiled from *The Statistical Tables for 1890*, issued under instructions of the Calcutta Missionary Conference (Calcutta, 1892). It should be remembered that the statistical organization was more perfect in 1881 and 1890 than in 1851.

² The table given on page 318 deals only with India and Burma, and excludes Ceylon.

Extended
use of
native
agency.

school work, as in their preaching, is due to the extended use of native agency. The following table may be left to speak for itself:—

SUMMARY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN INDIA AND BURMA,
1851 TO 1890.

	Number in 1851.	Number in 1861.	Number in 1871.	Number in 1881.	Number in 1890.
Stations,	222	337	448	601	Not given
Foreign ^a and Eurasian or- dained agents,	339	501	517	622	857
Native ordained agents, . .	21	143	302	575	797
Foreign and Eurasian lay preachers,				77	118
Native lay preachers,	493	1,677	2,344	2,850	3,491
Churches or congregations, .	267	643	2,631	4,180	4,863
Native Christians,	91,002	198,097	286,987	492,882	648,843
Communicants,	14,661	43,415	73,330	138,254	215,759
Male pupils in schools, . . .	52,850 ^b	64,828	100,750	138,477	190,984
Female pupils in schools, . .	11,193 ^b	17,035	27,627	57,893	108,067
Total male and female pupils in mission schools, .	64,043 ^b	81,863	128,377	196,360	299,051 ^c

^a Including British, European, American, and all others not natives of India.

^b The pupils for 1851 were in India only; no returns being available for Burma for that year.

^c The return of total pupils is exclusive of 65,728 boys and girls attending Sunday schools. The returns for 1851 and 1861 are as a whole less complete than those for 1871 and 1881.

^d Exclusive of 144,263 pupils attending Sunday schools.

Denomi-
national
Statistics,
1890.

According to the missionary returns, therefore, the Christian population for all India, British, Feudatory, French, and Portuguese, in 1890, was as follows:—Syrian Jacobites, say 300,000 (p. 294); Roman Catholics, 1,594,901 (pp. 311, 312); Native Protestants, 648,843 (p. 318), thus leaving a balance of say 57,611 for European Protestants and others to make up the Census total of 2,601,355 for all India (p. 319).

General
Statistics
of Chris-
tian popu-
lation in
India.

The foregoing pages have briefly traced the history of Christianity in India, and disclose the recent progress made by its main branches, Catholic and Protestant, chiefly from the records of the missions themselves. It remains to test this progress from the official enumerations taken since the first Census of all India in 1872. In comparing the results, it must be borne in mind that the figures have been derived

from various sources, and that the areas of enumeration in some cases overlap each other. Thus, the jurisdictions of the Catholic bishops and prelates supply a basis for calculation which differs from the territorial areas adopted by the Census of British India. Every effort has been made to allow for such causes of error, and to render the following table a true presentment of the Christian population of India, British, Feudatory, and Foreign. According to the Census, the total number of Christians in all India, including Burma, has risen from 1,782,977 in 1872, to 2,601,355 in 1891, showing an increase of 45·8 per cent. In British India and the Feudatory Native States the increase was from 1,517,977 in 1872, to 2,284,380 in 1891, or over 50 per cent.

The
Census
returns,
1872 to
1891.

In the British territories alone the number of Christians increased from 897,682 in 1872, to 1,491,662 in 1891, or by 66 per cent.

TOTAL CHRISTIAN POPULATION IN INDIA IN 1872, 1881,
AND 1891, ACCORDING TO CENSUS RETURNS.

	1872.	1881	1891.	Increase 1872-1881.	Increase 1881-1891.	Increase 1872-1891
In British India. . .	897,682	1,162,189	1,491,662	50·2	27·6	66·1
In Native States. . .	620,255	694,056	792,713	11·9	14·2	17·7
In Portuguese India. .	235,600	232,477	231,243	7·4	11·3	13·6
In French India. . .	30,000	33,226	35,227	10·7	7·3	19
Total. . .	1,782,977	2,142,228	2,601,355	20·4	21	45·8

The Government of India maintains a moderate ecclesiastical staff, with a view, not to converting the natives, but to provide for the spiritual wants of its European soldiers and officials, as it provides for their medical requirements. The salaries paid in India for the State Ecclesiastical Establishment averaged Rx. 161,525 for the ten years ending 1891, besides about Rx. 27,000 in the military accounts. But this sum does not include the maintenance of churches and buildings, and various other ecclesiastical charges. Sir Theodore Hope, lately member of the Viceroy's Council, made a special study of this department of finance, and has kindly supplied me with an estimate of the entire cost in recent years. He calculates the gross average amount spent on the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment at Rx. 229,740, besides pension charges in

The
Indian
Ecclesi-
astical
Establish-
ment.

Its cost,
1891

England of £45,078. This would give a joint total, taking the rupee at 1s. 3d., of Rs. 302,000. or say £189,000 sterling per annum on an average of recent years.

Strength
of the
Ecclesi-
astical
Establish-
ment,
1892.

In 1892 the State ecclesiastical staff consisted of 159 chaplains of the Church of England, and 13 Presbyterian chaplains. The Anglican clergy in India were directed by eight bishops. Three of these—the Bishop of Calcutta, who is the Metropolitan for all India (salary, Rs. 45,977 per annum), and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay (Rs. 25,600 each)—are entirely paid by the Indian Government. Three others—the Bishops of Lahore, Rangoon, and Lucknow—are also Government servants, and are consecrated under letters-patent. But their bishoprics were endowed by voluntary gifts with a minimum income of £800 a year, in consideration of which the Government gives the pay of a senior chaplain (Rs. 9600) to each. The two remaining bishops, those of Chutiá Nágpur and Travancore, hold special positions. The Bishop of Chutiá Nágpur receives no pay from the Government, but the See is endowed with funds equal to about £17,000, raised by voluntary donations. The Bishop of Travancore is a stipendiary of the Church Missionary Society.

Roman
Catholic
clergy

The Indian Government maintains no Roman Catholic establishment. But certain of the 30 Roman Catholic bishops receive allowances for furnishing ecclesiastical military returns, and certain priests for services rendered to the troops.

Christian
ministra-
tions, 1891.

The Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment is assisted by a smaller body of ministers, sent out to India by private subscriptions, and principally represented by the Additional Clergy Society, and by the Anglo-Indian Evangelization Society (Nonconformist). The Government ecclesiastical staff is distributed among the military and official centres, while the other Societies endeavour to supply the wants of the smaller stations, particularly the little clusters of Europeans along the lines of railway and in the planting districts. Taken together, and including Roman Catholics and Protestants, they ministered in 1891 to 168,000 Europeans and 79,842 Eurasians, according to Sir Theodore Hope's tables; total, 247,842. They render valuable services, both spiritual and temporal, to the increasing population of Eurasians and pure descendants of Europeans who form so serious a problem in the development of British rule in India. In this difficult task they receive the cordial assistance of the missionary bodies of all creeds.

CHAPTER X.

EARLY MUHAMMADAN RULERS (711 TO 1526 A.D.).

WHILE Buddhism was giving place to Hinduism throughout India, and Christianity under Nestorian bishops was spreading along the coast of Malabar, a new faith had arisen in Arabia. Muhammad, born in 570 A.D., created a conquering religion, and died in 632. Within a hundred years after his death, his followers had invaded the countries of Asia as far as the Hindu Kush. Here their progress was stayed, and Islám had to consolidate itself, during three more centuries, before it grew strong enough to grasp the rich prize of India. But, almost from the first, the Arabs had fixed eager eyes upon that wealthy country. Fifteen years after the death of the prophet, Usmán sent a sea-expedition to Thána and Broach on the Bombay coast (647? A.D.) Other raids towards Sind took place in 662 and 664, with no permanent results.

In 711, however, the youthful Kásim advanced into Sind, to claim damages for an Arab ship which had been seized at an Indian port. After a brilliant campaign, he settled himself in the Indus valley; but the advance of the Musalmáns depended on the personal daring of their leader, and was arrested by his death in 714 A.D. The despairing valour of the Hindus struck the invaders with wonder. One Rájput garrison preferred extermination to submission. They raised a huge funeral pile, upon which the women and children first threw themselves. The men then bathed, took a solemn farewell of each other, and, throwing open the gates, rushed upon the besiegers and perished to a man. In 750, the Rájputs are said to have expelled the Muhammadan governor, but it was not till 828 A.D. that the Hindus regained Sind.

The armies of Islám had carried the Crescent from the Hindu Kush westward, through Asia, Africa, and Southern Europe, to distant Spain and France, before they obtained a foothold in the Punjab. This long delay was due, not only to the daring of individual tribes, such as the Sind Rájputs just mentioned, but to the military organization of

Early Arab expeditions to Bombay coast, 636-711 A.D.

Muhammadan settlement in Sind, 711-828 ?)

Their expulsion, 828 A.D.

India on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest, 1000 A.D.

Hindu
kingdoms
—(1) of
the North;

(2) of the
South.

Hindu
power of
resistance.

slow pro-
gress of
Muham-
madans in
India.

the Hindu kingdoms. To the north of the Vindhya, three separate groups of princes governed the great river-valleys. The Rājputs ruled in the north-west, throughout the Indus plains, and along the upper waters of the Jumna. The ancient Middle Land of Sanskrit times (*Madhya-desh*) was divided among powerful kingdoms, with their suzerain at Kanauj. The Lower Gangetic valley, from Behar downwards, was still in part governed by Pāl or Buddhist dynasties, whose names are found from Benares to jungle-buried hamlets deep in the Bengal delta.¹ The Vindhya ranges stretched their wall of forest and mountain between the Northern and Southern halves of India. Their eastern and central regions were peopled by fierce hill tribes. At their western extremity, towards the Bombay coast, lay the Hindu kingdom of Mālwa, with its brilliant literary traditions of Vikramāditya, and a vast feudal array of fighting men. India to the south of the Vindhya was occupied by a number of warlike princes, chiefly of non-Aryan descent, but loosely grouped under three great over-lords, represented by the Chera, Chola, and Pāndya dynasties.²

Each of these groups of Hindu kingdoms, alike in the North and in the South, had a certain power of coherence to oppose to an invader; while the large number of the groups and units rendered conquest a very tedious process. For even when the over-lord or central authority was vanquished, the separate groups and units had to be defeated in detail, and each State supplied a nucleus for subsequent revolt. We have seen how the brilliant attempt in 711, to found a lasting Muhammadan dynasty in Sind, failed. Three centuries later, the utmost efforts of two great Musalmān invaders from the north-west only succeeded in annexing a small portion of the frontier Punjab Province, between 977 and 1176 A.D. The Hindu power in Southern India was not completely broken till the battle of Talikot in 1565; and within a hundred years, in 1650, the great Hindu revival had commenced, which, under the form of the Marāthā Confederacy, was destined to break up the Mughal

¹ For example, at Sābhar, on the northern bank of the Burigangā, once the capital of the Bhuiya or Buddhist Pāl Rājā Harischandra. In 1839, the only trace that remained of his traditional residence was a brick mound, covered with jungle. See my *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. v. pp. 72, 73, 118. In Lower Bengal, the Buddhist Pāls had given place to the Brahmanized Sens of Nadiyā before the Muhammadans reached that Province for the first time in 1190.

² See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, articles CHERA, CHOLA, and PANDYA.

Empire in India. That Empire, even in the North of India, had only been consolidated by Akbar's policy of incorporating Hindu chiefs and statesmen into his government (1556-1605). Up to Akbar's time, and even during the earlier years of his reign, a series of Rājput wars had challenged the Muhammadan supremacy. In less than two centuries after his death, the successor of Akbar was a puppet in the hands of the Hindu Marāthās at Delhi.

The popular notion that India fell an easy prey to the Musalmāns is opposed to the historical facts. Muhammadan rule in India consists of a series of invasions and partial conquests, during eight centuries, from Subuktigin's inroad in 977, to Ahmad Shah's tempest of invasion in 1761 A.D. These invasions represent in Indian history the overflow of the nomad tribes of Central Asia, towards the south-east; as the Huns, Türks, and various Tartar tribes disclose in early European annals the westward movements from the same great breeding-ground of nations. At no time was Islām triumphant throughout the whole of India. Hindu dynasties always ruled over large areas. At the height of the Muhammadan power, the Hindu princes paid tribute, and sent agents to the Imperial court. But even this modified supremacy of Delhi did not last for 150 years (1560-1707). Before the end of that brief period, the Hindus had begun the work of reconquest. The Hindu chivalry of Rājputāna was closing in upon Delhi from the south: the religious confederation of the Sikhs was growing into a military power on the north-west. The Marāthās had combined the fighting powers of the low-castes with the statesmanship of the Brāhmins, and were subjecting the Muhammadan kingdoms throughout all India to tribute. As far as can now be estimated, the advance of the English power at the beginning of the present century alone saved the Mughal Empire from passing to the Hindus.

This chapter will necessarily confine its survey to the essential stages in the spread of the Muhammadan conquest, and will pass lightly over the intermediate princes or minor dynasties who flit across the scene.¹

¹ The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone's *History of India* is still the standard popular work on the Muhammadan period. Professor Cowell's edition (Murray, 1866) incorporated some of the new materials accumulated since Mr. Elphinstone wrote. But much of the original work is a reproduction of *Zur Nama*, and requires to be rewritten from Sir Henry Elliot's *Poona History*, and the results of the Archaeological and Statistical Surveys. The present chapter has chiefly been based

The annexed summary presents a view of the whole :—

SUMMARY OF MUHAMMADAN CONQUERORS AND DYNASTIES
OF INDIA (1001-1857).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>I. HOUSE OF GHAZNI (Türki).
1001-1186. Mahmūd of Ghazni
to Sultān Khusrū. Pp. 325-28.</p> <p>II. HOUSE OF GHOR (Afghān).
1186-1206. Muhammad Ghori
(Shahab-ud-din). Pp. 328-31.</p> <p>III. SLAVE KINGS (chiefly Türki).
1206-1290. Kutab-ud-din to Bal-
ban and Kaikubād. Pp. 331-33.</p> <p>IV. HOUSE OF KHILJI (Türki?).
1290-1320. Jalāl-ud-din to Nāsir-
ud-din Khusrū. Pp. 333-36.</p> <p>V. HOUSE OF TUGHLAK (Punjab
Türks), 1320-1414. Pp. 336-39.
1320. Ghiyās-ud-din Tughlak.
P. 336.
1325. Muhammad Tughlak. Pp.
336-38.
1351. Firuz Tughlak. P. 338.
1414. End of the dynasty. P. 339.
[Irruption of the Mughals under
Timūr (Tamerlane) in 1398-
99, leaving behind him a
fifteen years' anarchy under
the last of the line of Tugh-
lak, until the accession of the
Sayyids in 1414. Pp. 338-39.]</p> <p>VI. THE SAYYIDS.
1414-1450. Curtailed power of
Delhi. P. 339 <i>passim</i>.</p> <p>VII. THE LODIS (Afghāns).
1450-1526. Feeble reigns; inde-
pendent States. P. 339.</p> <p>VIII. HOUSE OF TIMUR (Mughal),
1526-1857. Pp. 344-71.
1526-1530. Bābar. P. 344.
1530-1556. Humāyūn. Pp. 344,
346.</p> | <p>[Sher Shah, the Afghān gover-
nor of Bengal, drives Humā-
yūn out of India in 1540,
and his Afghān dynasty rules
till 1555. P. 346.]</p> <p>1556-1605. Akbar the Great.
Pp. 346-58.
1605-1627. Jahāngir. Pp. 358-60.
1628-1658. Shāh Jahān, deposed.
Pp. 360-63.
1658-1707. Aurangzeb or Alam-
gir I. Pp. 364-70.
1707-1712. Bahadur Shāh, or
Shāh Alam I. P. 370.
1712. Jahandar Shāh. P. 370.
1713-1718. Farrukhsiyar. P. 370.
1719-1748. Muhammad Shāh
(after two boy Emperors). Pp.
370, 371.
[Irruption of Nādir Shāh the
Persian, 1738-1739. Pp.
371-73.]
1748-1754. Death of Muhammad
Shāh; and accession of Ahmad
Shāh, deposed 1754. P. 371.
1754-1759. Alamgir II. P. 371.
[Six invasions of India by
Ahmad Shāh Durāni, the
Afghān, 1748-1761. Pp.
371-73.]
1759-1806. Shāh Alam II, titular
Emperor. P. 371.
1806-1837. Akbar II, titular
King of Delhi. P. 371.
1837-1857. Muhammad Bahadur
Shah, titular King of Delhi;
the seventeenth and last Mughal
King of Delhi; died a
State prisoner at Rangoon in
1862. P. 371.</p> |
|---|---|

Elphinstone, the following works for the Muhammadan period :—(1) Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, i.e. the Arab and Persian travellers and writers, edited by Professor Dowson. 8 vols. 1867-77 (Trübner); (2) Mr. Edward Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, especially for reigns from 1193 to 1554, for which period he gives the initial dates of the Hijra years (Trübner, 1871); (3) Mr. Edward Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, with his manuscript marginal notes; (4) Lieut.-Colonel Briggs' Translation of

The first collision between Hinduism and Islām on the Punjab frontier was the act of the Hindus. In 977, Jaipāl, the Hindu chief of Lahore, annoyed by Afghān raids, led his troops up the passes against the Muhammadan kingdom of Ghaznī, in Afghānistān. Subuktigin, the Ghaznīvide prince, after severe fighting, took advantage of a hurricane to cut off the Hindu retreat through the pass. He allowed them, however, to return to India, on the surrender of fifty elephants, and the promise of one million *dirhams* (about £25,000).¹ Tradition relates how Jaipāl, having regained his capital, was counselled by the Brāhman, standing at his right hand, not to disgrace himself by paying ransom to a barbarian; while his nobles and warrior chiefs, standing at his left, implored him to keep faith. In the end, Subuktigin swept down the passes to enforce his ransom, defeated Jaipāl, and left an Afghān officer with 10,000 horse to garrison Peshāwar. Subuktigin was soon afterwards called away to fight in Central Asia, and his Indian raid left behind it only this outpost.² But henceforth the Afghāns held both ends of the passes.

In 997, Subuktigin died, and was succeeded by his son, Mahmūd of Ghaznī, aged sixteen. This valiant monarch reigned for thirty-three years,³ and extended the limits of his father's little Afghān kingdom from Persia on the west, to

Muhammad Kāsim Firishṭa's *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*; (5) Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, and materials supplied by the Statistical Survey of the various Provinces of India; (6) Professor Blochmann's *Alin-i-Akbari* (Calcutta, 1873), together with Gladwin's older translation (2 vols., 1800). (7) Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's *History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustān*, from their coins, 1892. (8) Valuable ms. notes supplied to me by Mr. Edward Thomas and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole. (9) Ms. suggestions kindly made by Mr. H. G. Keene; also his *Moghul Empire*, and other works. When the dates or figures in this chapter differ from Elphinstone's, they are derived from the original Persian authorities, as adopted by Sir Henry Elliot and Mr. Thomas.

¹ The *Tārīkh Yamīnī*, written *circa* 1020, by Al 'Utbi, a secretary of Sultān Mahmūd, is the contemporary authority for this invasion. It is translated in Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 18-24. The materials for the invasions of Subuktigin are *Firishṭa*, i. pp. 11-25 (ed. 1829); and Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. iii. iv. and vi.

² His chronicler, Al 'Utbi, never mentions Delhi or Lahore.

³ The *Tabakāt-i-Nisrī* (Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. p. 270) speaks of the '37th year of his reign.' But the dates 997 to 1030 seem authoritative. The original materials for the invasions of Mahmūd are *Firishṭa*, i. pp. 37-82; and Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. i. ii. iii. and iv.

Mahmūd's
seventeen
invasions,
1001-1026.

deep into the Punjab on the east. Having spent four years in consolidating his power to the west of the Khāibar Pass, he led forth, in 1001 A.D., the first of his seventeen¹ invasions of India. Of these, thirteen were directed to the subjugation of the Punjab; one was an unsuccessful incursion into Kashmir; the remaining three were short but furious raids against more distant cities—Kanauj, Gwalior, and Somnāth.

Patriotic
devotion
of the
Hindus,
1008 A.D.

Jaipāl, the Hindu frontier chief of Lahore, was again defeated. According to Hindu custom, a twice-conquered prince was deemed unworthy to reign; and Jaipāl, mounting a funeral pile, solemnly made over his kingdom to his son, and burned himself in his regal robes. Another local chief, rather than yield himself to the victor, fell upon his own sword. In the sixth expedition (1008 A.D.), the Hindu ladies melted their ornaments, while the poorer women spun cotton, to support their husbands in the war. In one great battle, the fate of the invaders hung in the balance. Mahmūd, alarmed by a coalition of the Indian kings as far as Oudh and Mālwa, entrenched himself near Peshāwar. A sortie which he made was driven back, and the wild Ghakkar tribe² burst into the camp and slaughtered nearly 4000 Musalmāns.

Mahmūd's
progress
in India,
1001-1024.

But each fresh expedition ended by strengthening the Muhammadan foothold in India. Mahmūd carried away enormous booty from the Hindu temples, such as Thaneswar and Nagarkot, and his sixteenth and most famous expedition was directed against the temple of Somnāth in Gujarāt (1024 A.D.). After bloody repulses, he stormed the town; and the Hindu garrison, leaving 5000 dead, put out in boats to sea. The idol of Somnāth was merely one of the twelve famous

¹ This number, and subsequent details, are taken from the authorities translated in Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. iii. iv.; and critically examined in the Appendix to his second volume, pp. 434-478 (1869).

² Firishta says, '30,000 Ghakkars with their heads and feet bare,' Colonel Briggs' *Firishta*, vol. i. p. 47 (ed. 1829). Elphinstone gives the number of Mahmūd's expeditions somewhat differently from the number and order adopted in the above text from the Persian authorities, translated by Sir Henry Elliot. Thus Elphinstone gives the expedition of 1008 A.D. as the fourth (p. 328), while Sir Henry Elliot gives it as the sixth (*Persian Historians*, vol. i. p. 444). In the same way, Elphinstone gives the Somnāth expedition as the twelfth (p. 334, ed. 1866), while Sir Henry Elliot gives it as the sixteenth (vol. ii. p. 468). These instances must suffice to indicate the differences between Elphinstone and the later materials derived from Sir Henry Elliot and Mr. Edward Thomas. In subsequent pages, the more accurate materials will be used without pausing to point out such differences.

lingas or phallic emblems erected in various parts of India. But Mahmūd having taken the name of the 'Idol-Smasher,' the modern Persian historians gradually converted the plunder of Somnāth into a legend of his pious zeal. Forgetting the contemporary accounts of the idol as a rude stump of stone, Firishta tells how Mahmūd, on entering the temple, was offered an enormous ransom by the priests if he would spare the image.¹ But Mahmūd cried out that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and clove the god open with his mace. Forthwith a vast treasure of jewels poured forth from its vitals, which explained the liberal offers of the priests, and rewarded the disinterested piety of the monarch. The growth of this myth can be clearly traced,² but it is still repeated by uncritical historians. The *linga* or solid stone fetish of Somnāth had no stomach, and could contain no jewels.

Mahmūd carried off the temple gates, with fragments of the phallic emblem, to Ghazni, and on the way nearly perished with his army in the Indus desert. But the famous 'Sandal-wood gates of Somnāth,' brought as a trophy from Ghazni by order of Lord Ellenborough in 1842, and paraded through Northern India, were as clumsy a forgery as the story of the jewel-bellied idol itself. Mahmūd died at Ghazni in 1030 A.D.

As the result of seventeen invasions of India, and twenty-five years' fighting, Mahmūd had reduced the western districts of the Punjab to the control of Ghazni, and left the remembrance of his raids as far as Kanauj on the east and Gujarāt in the south. He never set up as a resident sovereign in India. His expeditions beyond the Punjab were the adventures of a religious knight-errant, with the plunder of a temple-city, or the demolition of an idol, as their object, rather than serious efforts at conquest. But as his father Subuktigīn had left Peshāwar as an outpost garrison, so Mahmūd left the Punjab as an outlying Province of Ghazni.

¹ Colonel Briggs' *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 72, 73 (ed. 1829).

² Sir H. Elliot's *History of India from the Persian History*, vol. ii. p. 279, from the *Ta'rikh-i-Nizāmī*; also Appendix, vol. iii. p. 276; vol. iv. pp. 182, 183, from the *Haft-Awāz-Siyar* of Khondamir. But see, even in 1832, H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. pp. 194 *et seq.* A foundation for Firishta's invention is, however, to be found in the contemporary account of Al-Biruni (970-1029 A.D.), who says that the top of the *linga* was garnished with gems of gold.

³ Of the four fragments, he deposited one in the Jami Masjid at Ghazni, another at the entrance of his palace, and the third he sent to Mecca, and the fourth to Medina. *Ta'rikh-i-Nizāmī*.

Mahmúd's
justice and
thrift.

The Muhammadan chroniclers tell many stories, not only of Mahmúd's valour and piety, but also of his thrift. One day a poor woman complained that her son had been killed by robbers in a distant desert of Irak. Mahmúd said he was very sorry, but that it was difficult to prevent such accidents so far from the capital. The old woman rebuked him with these words, 'Keep therefore no more territory than you can rightly govern.' The Sultán forthwith rewarded her, and sent troops to guard all caravans passing that way. Mahmúd was an enlightened patron of poets, and his liberality drew the great Ferdousi to his court. The Sultán listened with delight to his *Sháh-námah*, or Book of Kings, and promised him a *dirham*, meaning a golden one, for each verse on its completion. After thirty years of labour, the poet claimed his reward. But the Sultán, finding that the poem had run to 60,000 verses, offered him 60,000 silver *dirhams*, instead of *dirhams* of gold. Ferdousi retired in disgust from the court, and wrote a bitter satire which still records the alleged base birth of the monarch. Mahmúd forgave the satire, but remembered the great epic, and, repenting of his meanness, sent 100,000 golden *dirhams* to the poet. The bounty came too late. For, as the royal messengers bearing the bags of gold entered one gate of Ferdousi's city, the poet's corpse was being borne out by another.

House of
Ghor,
1152-1186.

Obtains
the
Punjab,
1186.

During a century and a half, the Punjab remained under Mahmúd's successors, as a Province of Ghazni. But in 1152, the Afgháns of Ghor¹ overthrew the Ghaznívide dynasty; and Khusrú, the last of Mahmúd's line, fled to Lahore, the capital of his outlying Indian territory. In 1186, this also was wrested from him;² and the Ghorian prince Shaháb-ud-dín, better known as Muhammad of Ghor, began the conquest of India on his own account. But most of the Hindu principalities in India fought hard, and some of them still survive, seven centuries after the torrent of Afghán invasion swept over their heads.

On his first expedition towards Delhi, in 1191, Muhammad

¹ Ghor, one of the oldest seats of the Afghán race, is now a ruined town of Western Afghánistán, 120 miles south-east of Herát. The feud between Ghor and Ghazni was of long standing and great bitterness. Mahmúd of Ghazni had subdued Ghor in 1010 A.D.; but about 1051 the Ghorian chief captured Ghazni, and dragged its chief inhabitants to Ghor, where he cut their throats, and used their blood for making mortar for the fortifications. After various reprisals, Ghor finally triumphed over Ghazni in 1152.

² *Ta'rikh-i-Nisrú*. Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. p. 281.

of Ghor was utterly defeated by the Hindus at Thanesar, badly wounded, and barely escaped with his life. His scattered hosts were chased for 40 miles. But he gathered together the wreck at Lahore, and, aided by new hordes from Central Asia, again marched into Hindustán in 1193. Family quarrels among the Rájputs prevented a united effort against him. The cities of Delhi and Kanauj stand forth as the centres of rival Hindu monarchies, each of which claimed the first place in Northern India. A Chauhán prince, ruling over Delhi and Ajmere, bore the proud name of Prithwí Rájá or Suzerain. The Ráhtor King of Kanauj, whose capital can still be traced across 8 square miles of broken bricks and rubbish,¹ celebrated a feast, in the spirit of the ancient Horse-Sacrifice,² to proclaim himself the Over-lord.

At such a feast, all menial offices had to be filled by royal vassals; and the Delhi monarch was summoned as a gate-keeper, along with the other princes of Hindustán. During the ceremony, the daughter of the King of Kanauj was nominally to make her *Swayam-vara*, or 'Own Choice' of a husband, a pageant survival of the reality in the Sanskrit epics. The Delhi Rájá loved the maiden, but he could not brook to stand at another man's gate. As he did not arrive, the Kanauj king set up a mocking image of him at the door. When the princess entered the hall to make her choice, she looked calmly round the circle of kings, then, stepping proudly past them to the door, threw her bridal garland over the neck of the ill-shapen image. Forthwith, says the story, the Delhi monarch rushed in, sprang up with the princess on his horse, and galloped off towards his northern capital. The outraged father led out his army against the runaways, and, having called in the Afgháns to attack Delhi on the other side, brought about the ruin of both the Hindu kingdoms.

The tale serves to record the dissensions among the Rajput princes, which prevented a united resistance to Muhammad of Ghor. He found Delhi occupied by the Tomára clan, Ajmere by the Chauháns, and Kanauj by the Ráhtors. These Rajput States formed the natural breakwaters against invaders from the north-west. But their feuds are said to have left the King of Delhi and Ajmere, then united under one Chauhán Over-lord, only 64 out of his 108 warrior chiefs. In 1193, the Afgháns again swept down on the Punjab. Prithwí Rájá of

¹ See article KANAUJ, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² *Asva-medha*, described in a previous chapter.

Muham
mad of
Ghor's
invasions,
1191-1200.
His first
defeat,
1191.
Dissens-
sions
among
the Hindu
princes.

Court
pageant at
Kanauj,
12th cen-
tury A.D.

A *Sway-
am-vara*,
or
Maiden's
Choice.

Distribu-
tion of
Rájputs,
c. 1184.

Rājput
migrations
into Rāj-
putāna

Delhi and Ajmere¹ was defeated and slain. His heroic princess burned herself on his funeral pile. Muhammad of Ghor, having occupied Delhi, pressed on to Ajmere; and in 1194 overthrew the rival Hindu monarch of Kanauj, whose body was identified on the field of battle by his false teeth. The brave Rāhtor Rājputs of Kanauj, with other of the Rājput clans in Northern India, quitted their homes in large bodies rather than submit to the stranger. They migrated to the regions bordering on the eastern desert of the Indus, and there founded the military kingdoms which bear their race-name, Rājputāna, to this day.

History takes her narrative of these events from the matter-of-fact statements of the Persian annalists.² But the Hindu court-bard of Prithwī Rājā left behind a patriotic version of the fall of his race. His ballad-chronicle, known as the *Prithvirāj Rāsau* of Chānd, is one of the earliest poems in Hindī. It depicts the Musalmān invaders as beaten in all the battles except the last fatal one. Their leader is taken prisoner by the Hindus, and released for a heavy ransom. But the quarrels of the Rājput chiefs ruined the Hindu cause.

Muham-
madan
conquest
of Bengal,
1203.

Setting aside these patriotic songs of the defeated Hindus, Benares and Gwalior mark the south-western limits of Muhammad of Ghor's own advance. But his general, Bakhtiyār Khiljī, conquered Behar in 1199,³ and Lower Bengal down to the delta in 1203. On the approach of the Musalmāns, the Brāhman advised Lakshman Sen, the King of Bengal, to remove his residence from Nadiyā to some more distant city. But the prince, an old man of eighty, could not make up his mind until the Afghān general had seized his capital, and burst into the palace one day while his majesty was at dinner. The monarch slipped out by a back door without having time to put on his shoes, and fled to Purī in Orissa, where he spent his remaining days in the service of Jagannāth.⁴

¹ Descended from the eponymous Rājā Aja of Ajmere, *circa*. 145 A.D.; and on the mother's side, from Anang Pāl Tuar, Rājā of Delhi, who adopted him; thus uniting Delhi to Ajmere. See article AJMERE-MERWARA, in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² *Furūṣṭa* (i. 161-187), the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* of Minhāju-s-Sirāj, and others; translated in Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. v. and vi.

³ *History of Bengal from the first Muhammadan Invasion to 1757*, by Major Charles Stewart, p. 25 (Calcutta, 1847). The nearly contemporary authority is the *Ta'wīḍ-i-Nāsiri* (1227-41); Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 307-309.

⁴ Stewart, p. 27. The *Ta'wīḍ-i-Nāsiri* merely says 'he went towards

Meanwhile the Sultán, Muhammad Ghorí, divided his time between campaigns in Afghánistán and Indian invasions; and he had little time to consolidate his Indian conquests. Even in the Punjab, the tribes were defeated rather than subdued. In 1203, the Ghakkars issued from their mountains, took Lahore,¹ and devastated the whole Province.² In 1206, a party of the same clan swam the Indus, on the bank of which the Afghán camp was pitched, and stabbed the Sultán to death while asleep in his tent.³

Muhammad of Ghor was no religious knight-errant like Mahmúd of Ghazní, but a practical conqueror. The objects of his distant expeditions were not temples, but Provinces. Subuktigin had left Pesháwar as an outpost of Ghazní (977 A.D.); and Mahmúd had reduced the western Punjab to an outlying Province of the same kingdom (1030 A.D.). That was the net result of the Túrki invasions of India. But Muhammad of Ghor left the whole north of India, from the delta of the Indus to the delta of the Ganges, under Muhammadan generals, who on his death set up for themselves.

His Indian Viceroy, Kutab-ud-din, proclaimed himself sovereign of India at Delhi, and founded a line which lasted from 1206 to 1290. Kutab claimed the control over all the Muhammadan leaders and soldiers of fortune in India from Sind to Lower Bengal. His name is preserved at his capital by the Kutab Mosque, with its graceful colonnade of richly-sculptured Hindu pillars, and by the Kutab *Minár*,⁴ which raises its tapering shaft, encrusted with chapters from the Kurán, high above the ruins of old Delhi. Kutab-ud-din had started life as a Túrki slave, and several of his successors rose by valour or intrigue from the same low condition to the throne. His dynasty is accordingly known as that of the Slave Kings. Under them India became for the first time the seat of resident Muhammadan sovereigns. Kutab-ud-din died in 1210.⁵

Sanknat' (*sic*) (Jagannáth ?) ; Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. p. 309.

¹ *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 182-184.

² As far south as the country near Multán, *Tu'uk-Madiri*; Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 233-235; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, v. 163. The Muhammadan historians naturally minimize this episode.

³ Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 235, 297, 393. Briggs's *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186.

⁴ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article DELHI CITY.

⁵ The original materials for Kutab-ud-din Arlak's reign are to be found in *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 189-202 (ed. 1829); and the *Persian Historians*, translated by Sir Henry Elliot, vols. ii. iii. iv. and v.

The Slave Kings, 1206-90. The Slave dynasty found itself face to face with the three perils which have beset the Muhammadan rule in India from the outset, and beneath which that rule eventually succumbed. First, rebellions by its own servants, Musalmán generals, or viceroys of Provinces; second, revolts of the Hindus; third, fresh invasions, chiefly by Mughals, from Central Asia.

Its difficulties. Altamsh, the third and greatest Sultán of the Slave Kings (1211-36 A.D.), had to reduce the Muhammadan Governors of Lower Bengal and Sind, both of whom had set up as independent rulers; and he narrowly escaped destruction by a Mughal invasion. The Mughals under Changiz Khán swept through the Indian passes in pursuit of an Afghán prince; but their progress was stayed by the Indus, and Delhi remained untouched. Before the death of Altamsh (1236 A.D.), the

Altamsh, 1211-36. Hindus had ceased for a time to struggle openly; and the Muhammadan Viceroys of Delhi ruled all India on the north of the Vindhya range, including the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Behar, Lower Bengal, Ajmere, Gwalior, Málwá, and Sind. The Khálif of Bághdád acknowledged India as a separate Muhammadan kingdom during the reign of Altamsh, and struck coins in recognition of the new Empire of Delhi (1229 A.D.).¹ Altamsh died in 1236.

The Empress Raziyá, 1236-39. His daughter Raziyá was the only lady who ever occupied the Muhammadan throne of Delhi (1236-39 A.D.). Learned in the Kurán, industrious in public business, firm and energetic in every crisis, she bears in history the masculine name of the *Sultán* Raziyá. But the favour which she showed to the master of the horse, an Abyssinian slave, offended her Afghán generals; and, after a troubled reign of three and a half years, she was deposed and put to death.²

Mughal irruptions, 1245-88. Mughal irruptions and Hindu revolts soon began to undermine the Slave dynasty. The Mughals are said to have burst through Tibet into North-Eastern Bengal in 1245;³ and,

¹ *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi*, by Edward Thomas, p. 46 (Milne, 1871). Original materials for Shams-ud-dín Altamsh: *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 205-212 (1829); Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. iii. iv.

² Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, pp. 104-108; *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 217-222; Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. ii. and iii.

³ This invasion of Bengal is discredited by the latest and most critical historian, Mr. Edward Thomas, in his *Pathán Kings of Delhi*, p. 121, note (ed. 1871). On the other side, see *Firishta*, vol. i. p. 231, but cf. Col. Briggs' footnote; and the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, in Sir H. Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. ii. pp. 264, 344; 'In March 1245, the infidels of Changiz Khán came to the gates of Lakhnauti' (Gaur).

during the next forty-three years, repeatedly swept down the Afghán passes into the Punjab (1245-88). The wild Indian tribes, such as the Ghakkars¹ and the hillmen of Mewát, ravaged the Muhammadan lowlands almost up to the capital. Rájput revolts foreshadowed that inextinguishable vitality of the Hindu military races, which was to harass, from first to last, the Mughal Empire, and to outlive it. Under the Slave Kings, even the North of India was only half subdued to the Muhammadan sway. The Hindus rose again and again in Málwá, Rájputána, Bundelkhand, along the Ganges, and in the Jumna valley, marching to the river bank opposite Delhi itself.² Rájput revolt.

The last monarch but one of the Slave line, Balban (1265-87 A.D.), had not only to fight the Mughals, the wild non-Aryan tribes, and the Rájput clans; he was also compelled to massacre his own viceroys. Having in his youth entered into a compact for mutual support and advancement with forty of his Túrki fellow-slaves in the palace, he had, when he came to the throne, to break the powerful confederacy thus formed. Some of his provincial governors he publicly scourged; others were beaten to death in his presence; and a general, who failed to reduce the rebel Muhammadan Viceroy of Bengal, was hanged. Balban himself moved down to the delta, and crushed the Bengal revolt with a merciless skill. His severity against Hindu rebels knew no bounds. He nearly exterminated the Jadún Rájputs of Mewát, to the south of Delhi, putting 100,000 persons to the sword. He then cut down the forests which formed their retreats, and opened up the country to tillage. The miseries caused by the Mughal hordes in Central Asia, drove a crowd of princes and poets to seek shelter at the Indian court. Balban boasted that no fewer than fifteen once independent sovereigns had fed on his bounty, and he called the streets of Delhi by the names of their late kingdoms, such as Bághdád, Kharizm, and Ghor. He died in 1287 A.D.³ His successor was poisoned, and the Slave dynasty ended in 1290.⁴ Balban, 1265-87.
His cruelties to the Hindus.
His fifteen royal pensioners.

In that year Jalál-ud-dín, a ruler of Khiljí, succeeded to

¹ For an account of the Ghakkars, see *ante*, p. 234, chap. vii.

² Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, p. 131.

³ Materials for the reign of Balban (Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban): Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. iii. pp. 38, 97, 546, 593 (1871); *Iran*, vol. i. pp. 247-272 (1829).

⁴ Mr. E. Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, pp. 138-142.

House of
Khalji.
1290-1320.

the Delhi throne, and founded a line which lasted for thirty years (1290-1320 A.D.). The Khalji dynasty extended the Muhammadan power into Southern India. Alā-ud-dīn, the nephew and successor of the founder, when Governor of Karra,¹ near Allahābad, pierced through the Vindhya ranges with his cavalry, and plundered the Buddhist temple city of Bhilsa, 300 miles off. After trying his powers against the rebellious Hindu princes of Bundelkhand and Mālwa, he conceived the idea of a grand raid into the Deccan. With a band of 8000 horse, he rode into the heart of Southern India. On the way he gave himself out as flying from his uncle's court, to seek service with the Hindu King of Rājamahendri. The generous Rājput princes abstained from attacking a refugee in his flight, and Alā-ud-dīn surprised the great city of Deogiri, the modern Daulatābād, at that time the capital of the Hindu kingdom of Mahārāshtra. Having suddenly galloped into its streets, he announced himself as only the advance guard of the whole imperial army, levied an immense booty, and carried it back 700 miles to the seat of his Governorship, on the banks of the Ganges. He then lured the Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn, his uncle, to Karra, in order to divide the spoil: and murdered the old man in the act of clasping his hand (1295 A.D.).²

Reign of
Alā-ud-
dīn. 1295-
1315.

Ala-ud-
din's re-
conquest of
Northern
India.
1295-1303.

Alā-ud-dīn scattered his spoils in gifts or charity, and proclaimed himself Sultān (1295-1315 A.D.).³ The twenty years of his reign founded the Muhammadan sway in Southern India. He reconquered Gujarāt from the Hindus in 1297: captured Rintimbur,⁴ after a difficult siege, from the Jaipur Rājputs in 1300; took the fort of Chitor, and partially subjected the Sesodia Rājputs (1303): and, having thus reduced the Hindus on the north of the Vindhya, prepared for the conquest of the Deccan. But before starting on this great expedition, he had to meet five Mughal inroads from the north. In 1295 he defeated a Mughal invasion under the walls of his capital, Delhi; in 1304-5 he encountered four others, sending all prisoners to Delhi, where the chiefs were trampled by elephants, and the common soldiery slaughtered in cold blood. He crushed with equal severity several rebellions which took

¹ Forty miles north-west of Allahābād, once the capital of an important fief, now a ruined town. See *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, article KARRA.

² Thomas' *Putlūn Kūṅṅ*, p. 144.

³ Materials for the reign of Alā-ud-dīn Khalji: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. iii. (1871); *Firishta*, vol. i. pp. 321-382 (1829).

⁴ See article RINTIMBUR, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

place among his own family during the same period; first putting out the eyes of his insurgent nephews, and then beheading them (1299-1300).

Having thus arranged his affairs in Northern India, he undertook the conquest of the South. In 1303 he had sent his eunuch slave, Malik Kafur, with an army through Bengal, to attack Warangal, the capital of the Hindu kingdom of Telangána. In 1306, Kafur marched victoriously through Málwá and Khándesh into the Maráthá country, where he captured Deogiri, and persuaded the Hindu king Rám Deo to return with him to do homage at Delhi. While the Sultán Alá-ud-din was conquering the Rájputs in Márwár, his slave general Kafur made expeditions through the Karnátik and Mahá-ráshtra, as far south as Adam's Bridge, at the extremity of India, where he built a mosque.

The Muhammadan Sultán of India was no longer merely an Afghán King of Delhi. Three great waves of invasion from Central Asia had created a large Muhammadan population in Northern India. First came the Túrki, represented by the house of Ghazní; then the Afgháns (commonly so called), represented by the house of Ghor; finally the Mughals, having failed in their repeated attempts to conquer the Punjab, took service in great numbers with the Sultáns of Delhi. Under the Slave Kings the Mughal mercenaries had become so powerful as to require to be massacred (1286). About 1292, three thousand Mughals, having been converted from their old Tartar rites to Muhammadanism, received a suburb of Delhi, still called Mughalpur, for their residence. Other immigrations of Mughal mercenaries followed. After various plots, Alá-ud-din slaughtered 15,000 of the settlers, and sold their families as slaves (1311 A.D.).

The unlimited supply of soldiers which Alá-ud-din could thus draw upon from the Túrki, Afghán, and Mughal races in Northern India and the countries beyond, enabled him to send armies farther south than any of his predecessors. But in his later years the Hindus revolted in Gujarát; the Rájputs reconquered Chitor; and many of the Muhammadan garrisons were driven out of the Deccan. On the capture of Chitor in 1303, the Hindu garrison preferred death to submission. The peasantry still chant an early Hindí ballad, telling how the queen and thirteen thousand women threw themselves on a funeral pile, while the men rushed upon the swords of the besiegers. A remnant cut their way to the Arávali Hills; and the Rájput independence, although in

His conquest of Southern India, 1303-15.

His general, Malik Kafur.

Extent of the Muhammadan power in India, 1306.

Muhammadan population in India, 1286-1311.

Mughal mercenaries, 1286-1311.

Hindu revolts.

Muham-
mad
Tughlak's
revenue
evictions,
1325-51.

the land-tax between the Ganges and the Jumna; in some Districts tenfold, in others twentyfold. The husbandmen fled before his tax-gatherers, leaving their villages to lapse into jungle, and formed themselves into robber clans. He cruelly punished all who trespassed on his game preserves; and he invented a kind of man-hunt without precedent in the annals of human wickedness. He surrounded a large tract with his army, 'and then gave orders that the circle should close towards the centre, and that all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants) should be slaughtered like wild beasts. This sort of hunt was more than once repeated; and on a subsequent occasion there was a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Kanauj. These horrors led in due time to famine; and the miseries of the country exceeded all powers of description.'¹

His 'man-
hunt.'

Firuz Shāh
Tughlak,
1351-88.

His successor, Firuz Tughlak (1351-88), ruled mercifully, but had to recognise the independence of the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bengal and the Deccan, and suffered much from bodily infirmities and court intrigues.² He undertook many public works, such as dams across rivers for irrigation, tanks, caravan-sarāis, mosques, colleges, hospitals, and bridges. But his greatest achievement was the old Jumna Canal. This work drew its waters from the Jumna, near a point where it leaves the mountains, and connected that river with the Ghaggar and the Sutlej by irrigation channels.³ Part of it has been reconstructed by the British Government, and spreads a margin of fertility on either side to this day. But the dynasty of Tughlak soon sunk amid Muhammadan mutinies and Hindu revolts; and under Mahmūd, its last real king, Northern India fell an easy prey to the great Mughal invasion of 1398.

His canals.

Mahmūd
Tughlak.

Timūr's
(Tamer-
lane's)
invasion,
1398.

In that year, Timūr (Tamerlane) swept through the Afghan passes at the head of the united hordes of Tartary. He defeated the Tughlak king Mahmūd under the walls of Delhi, and entered the capital. During five days a massacre raged; 'some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead,'⁴ while Timūr calmly looked on and held a feast in honour of his victory. On the last day of 1398 he resumed

¹ Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 405, 406 (ed. 1866).

² Materials for his reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. i. in. iv. vi. viii.; *Firākhtā*, vol. i. pp. 444-465 (ed. 1829).

³ Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 294. See article JUMNA CANAL, WESTERN, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁴ *Firākhtā*, vol. i. p. 493. His whole account of Timūr's invasion is very vivid, vol. i. pp. 485-497 (ed. 1829).

his march, with a 'sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise' to God, in Firuz's marble mosque on the banks of the Jumna. He crossed the Ganges, and proceeded as far as Hardwar, after another great massacre at Meerut. Then, skirting the foot of the Himálayas, he retired through their north-western passes into Central Asia (1399).

Timúr left no traces of his power in India, save ruined cities. On his departure, Mahmúd Tughlak crept back from his retreat in Gujarát, and nominally ruled till 1412. The Tughlak line ended in 1414. Ruin of the Tughlaks, 1399.

It was succeeded by the Sayyid dynasty, who ruled from 1414 till 1450. The Afghán house of Lodí followed, from 1450 to 1526. But some of these Sultáns reigned over only a few miles round Delhi; and during the whole period, the Hindu princes and the local Muhammadan kings were practically independent throughout the greater part of India. The house of Lodí was crushed beneath the Mughal invasion of Bábar in 1526. The Sayyids, 1414-50.
The Lodis, 1450-1526.

Bábar founded the Mughal Empire of India, whose last representative died a British State prisoner at Rangoon in 1862. Before entering on the story of that great Empire, we must survey for a moment the kingdoms, Hindu and Muhammadan, on the south of the Vindhya range. The three ancient kingdoms, Chera, Chola, and Pándya occupied, as we have seen,¹ the Dravidian country peopled by Tamil-speaking races. Pándya, the largest of them, had its capital at Madura, and traces its foundation to the 4th century B.C. The Chola kingdom had its headquarters successively at Combaconum and Tanjore. Talkad, in Mysore, now buried by the sands of the Káveri, was the capital of the Chera kingdom. The 116th king of the Pándya dynasty was overthrown by the Muhammadan general Malik Káfur, *circa* 1304. But the Muslims failed to establish their power in the extreme south, and a series of Hindu dynasties ruled from Madura over the old Pándya kingdom until the 18th century. No European kingdom can boast a continuous succession such as that of Madura, traced back by the piety of genealogists to the 4th century B.C. The Chera kingdom enumerates fifty kings, and the Chola sixty-six, besides off-shoot dynasties. Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan
Chera, Chola, and Pándya.

But authentic history in Southern India begins with the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar or Narsinha, which flourished

¹At the beginning of this chapter; and articles, CHERA, CHOLA, 1118-1575. PANDYA, in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

from 1118 to 1565 A.D. The capital can still be traced within the Madras District of Bellary, on the right bank of the Tungabhadra river,—vast ruins of temples, fortifications, tanks, and bridges, now inhabited by hyænas and snakes. For at least three centuries, Vijayanagar dominated the southern part of the Indian peninsula. Its Rájás waged war and made peace on equal terms with the Muhammadan Sultáns of the Deccan.

Muham-
madan
States
in the
Deccan,
1303.

Those Sultáns derived their origin from the conquest of Alá-ud-dín (*post* 1303 A.D.). After a period of confused fighting, the Bahmaní kingdom of the Deccan emerged as the representative of Muhammadan rule in Southern India. Its founder, Zafar Khán, an Afghán general during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak (1325–51), defeated the Delhi troops, and set up as Musalmán sovereign of the Deccan. Having in early youth been the slave of a Bráhmaṇ who had treated him kindly and foretold his future greatness, he took the title of Bahmaní,¹ and transmitted it to his successors.

The
Bahmaní
dynasty,
1347–1525.

The rise of the Bahmaní dynasty is usually assigned to the year 1347, and it lasted for 178 years, until 1525;² although its process of disintegration and dissolution began as early as 1489. Its successive capitals were Gulbargah, Warangal, and Bídár, all in the Haidarábád territory; and it loosely corresponded with the Nizám's dominions of the present day. At the height of their power, the Bahmaní kings claimed sovereignty over half the Deccan, from the Tungabhadra river in the south to Orissa in the north, and from Masulipatam on the east to Goa on the west. Their direct government was, however, much more confined. In their early struggle against the Delhi throne, they derived support from the Hindu southern kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Warangal. But, during the greater part of its career, the Bahmaní dynasty represented the cause of Islám against Hinduism on the south of the Vindhya. Its alliances and its wars alike led to a mingling of the Musalmán and Hindu populations.

Composite
armies,
1347–1525.

For example, the King of Málwá invaded the Bahmaní dominions with a mixed force of 12,000 Afgháns and Rájputs.

¹ His royal name in full was Sultán (or Sháh) Alá-ud-dín Gángo Bahmaní.

² These extreme dates are taken from Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, pp. 340, 341. Materials for the Bahmaní dynasty: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. iv. vii. viii.; *Firishta*, vol. ii. pp. 283–558 (ed. 1829).

The Hindu Rájá of Vijayanagar recruited his armies from Afghán mercenaries, whom he paid by assignments of land, and for whom he built a mosque. The Muhammadan Bahmaní troops, on the other hand, were often led by converted Hindus. The Bahmaní army was itself made up of two hostile sects of Musalmáns. One sect consisted of Shiás, chiefly Persians, Túrks, or Tartars from Central Asia; the other, of native-born Musalmáns of Southern India, together with Abyssinian mercenaries, both of whom professed the Sunní faith. The rivalry between these Musalmán sects frequently imperilled the Bahmani throne. The dynasty reached its highest power under the Bahmaní Alá-ud-din II. about 1437, and was broken up by its discordant elements between 1489 and 1525.

Out of its fragments, five independent Muhammadan kingdoms in the Deccan were formed. These were—(1) The Adil Sháhí dynasty, with its capital at Bijápur, founded in 1489 by a son of Amurath II., Sultán of the Ottomans; annexed by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1686–88. (2) The Kutab Sháhí dynasty, with its capital at Golconda, founded in 1512 by a Túrkomán adventurer; also annexed by Aurangzeb in 1687–88. (3) The Nizám Sháhí dynasty, with its capital at Ahmadnagar, founded in 1490 by a Bráhman renegade from the Vijayanagar court; subverted by the Mughal Emperor Sháh Jahán in 1636. (4) The Imad Sháhí dynasty of Berár, with its capital at Ellichpur, founded in 1484 also by a Hindu from Vijayanagar; annexed to the Ahmadnagar kingdom (No. 3) in 1572. (5) The Barid Sháhí dynasty, with its capital at Bidar, founded 1492–98 by a Túrki or Georgian slave. The Barid Sháhí territories were small and undefined; independent till after 1609. Bidar fort was finally taken by Aurangzeb in 1657.

Space precludes any attempt to trace the history of these local Muhammadan dynasties of Southern India. They preserved their independence until the firm establishment of the Mughal Empire in the north, under Akbar's successors. For a time they had to struggle against the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. In 1565 they combined against that power, and, aided by a rebellion within Vijayanagar itself, they overthrew it at Tálikot in 1565.

The battle of Tálikot marks the final downfall of Vijayanagar as a centralized Hindu kingdom. But its local Hindu chiefs or Náyaks seized upon their respective fiefs, and the Muhammadan kings of the South were only able to annex a

Mingling
of Hindus
and Musal-
máns.

Fall of
Bahmaní
dynasty,
1489-1525.

Five Mu-
hammadan
States
of the
Deccan,
1489-1688.

Fall of
Hindu
kingdom
of Vijaya-
nagar.

Battle of
Tálikot,
1565.

Independent Náyaks and Pálegárs of Southern India. part of its dominions. From the Náyaks are descended the well-known Pálegárs of the Madras Presidency, and the present Mahárájá of Mysore. One of the blood-royal of Vijayanagar fled to Chandragiri and founded a line, which exercised a prerogative of its former sovereignty by granting the site of Madras to the English in 1639. Another scion, claiming the same high descent, lingers to the present day near the ruins of Vijayanagar, and is known as the Rájá of Anagundi, a feudatory of the Nizám of Haidarábád. The independence of the local Hindu chiefs in Southern India, throughout the Muhammadan period, is illustrated by the Manjarábád family, which maintained its authority from 1397 to 1799.¹

Independence of Bengal, 1340-1576; Lower Bengal threw off the authority of Delhi in 1340. Its Muhammadan governor, Fakir-ud-dín, set up as sovereign, with his capital at Gaur, and stamped coin in his own name. A succession of twenty independent kings ruled Bengal until 1538, when it was temporarily annexed to the Mughal Empire by Humáyún. It was finally incorporated with that Empire by Akbar in 1576. of Guj-
rát, 1391-1573; The great Province of Gujarát in Western India had in like manner grown into an independent Muhammadan kingdom, which lasted for two centuries, from 1391 till conquered by Akbar in 1573. Málwá, which had also set up as an independent State under its Muhammadan governors, was annexed by the King of Gujarát in 1531. Even Jaunpur, 1394-1478, including the territory of Benares, in the very centre of the Gangetic valley, maintained its independence as a separate Musalmán State for nearly a hundred years from 1394 to 1478, under the disturbed rule of the Sayyids and of the first Lodí at Delhi.

Weakness of the early Delhi Sultáns. The position of the early Muhammadan rulers of Delhi was a very difficult one. Successive Musalmán hordes of Túrks, Afgháns, and Tartars swept down the passes, and wrested India from the preceding invaders of their own Muhammadan faith. The Delhi Empire was therefore beset by three perpetual dangers. First, new Muhammadan invasions from Central Asia; second, rebellious Muhammadan generals or governors within India; third, the Hindu races whom the early Delhi kings neither conciliated nor crushed. It was reserved for Akbar the Great to remedy the inherent weakness of the position; and, by incorporating the Hindus into his government, to put a curb alike on Muhammadan invaders

¹ See article MANJARABAD, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

from without, and on too powerful Muhammadan subjects within. None of the earlier Delhi dynasties had sufficient permanence to allow of a really imperial policy of this kind being deliberately carried out. Seven distinct dynasties, all foreign to India, and some of them representing races bitterly hostile to each other, arose and perished between 1001 and 1526 A.D. The Mughal house of Bābar, who succeeded to the inheritance of India in 1526, produced a succession of great emperors whose rule endured to the year 1757; and the mere process of breaking up their dominions occupied nearly a century more. The seven dynasties or sets of earlier Delhi Sultāns from 1001 to 1526 had, moreover, one common feature—a fanatical Muhammadanism—which rendered the Native races of India infidels and abominations in their eyes. Bābar and his son belong to the later period, when mediæval Islam, like to mediæval Christianity, had lost something of the bigotry common to both of them down to the fifteenth century. The early Sultāns of Delhi completely failed to conquer many of the great Hindu kingdoms, or even to weld the Indian Muhammadan States into a united Muhammadan Empire.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1526 TO 1761 A.D.).

State of India in 1526.	WHEN, therefore, BABAR invaded India in 1526, he found it divided among a number of local Muhammadan kings and Hindu princes. An Afghán Sultán of the house of Lodi, with his capital at Agra, ruled over what little was left of the historical kingdom of Delhi. Bábar, literally the Lion, born in 1482, was the sixth in descent from Timúr the Tartar. At the early age of twelve, he succeeded his father in the petty kingdom of Ferghána on the Jaxartes (1494); and, after romantic adventures, conquered Samarkand, the capital of Tamerlane's line, in 1497. Overpowered by rebellion, and driven out of the valley of the Oxus, he seized the kingdom of Kábul in 1504. During twenty-two years he grew in strength on the Afghán side of the Indian passes, till in 1526 he burst through them into the Punjab, and defeated the Delhi sovereign, Ibráhim Lodi, at Pánípat. This was the first of the three great battles which decided the fate of India on that same plain, viz. in 1526, 1556, and 1761. Having entered Delhi, he received the allegiance of the Muhammadans, but was speedily attacked by the Rájputs of Chitor. In 1527, Bábar defeated them at Fatehpur Síkri near Agra, after a battle memorable for its perils and for Bábar's vow, in his extremity, never again to touch wine. He rapidly extended his power as far as Múltán and Behar. He died at Agra in 1530, leaving an Empire which stretched from the river Amu in Central Asia to the borders of the Gangetic delta in Lower Bengal.
Invades India, 1526.	
Battles of Pánípat.	
Conquers Northern India, 1526-30.	
Humáyún, Emperor, 1530-56.	His son HUMAYUN succeeded him in India, but had to make over Kábul and the Western Punjab to his rival brother Kámran. ¹ Humáyún was thus left to govern a new conquest,

A.D. ¹ REIGN OF HUMAYUN :—

1530. Accession to the throne. Capture of Lahore and occupation of the Punjab by his rival brother Kámran. Final defeat of the Lodís under Mahmúd Lodi, and acquisition of Jaunpur by Humáyún.
 1532. Humáyún's campaigns in Málwá and Gujarát.

[Footnote continued on p. 346.]

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS.¹
According to the Christian era, as concerted by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole.

(Dates according to the Muhammadan era; the dates in brackets are according to the Christian era.)

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FOR SHAWL

1119. + 1124. 177

J. A. H. A. N. S. D. A. R.

— 277 —

AT AMERICA

LAKEVIEW -

1173 + 1221 = 18

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[illegible]

and at the same time was deprived of the base from which his father had drawn his supplies. The Mughal hordes who had accompanied Bábar were more hateful to the long-settled Indian Afgháns than the Hindus themselves. After ten years of fighting, Humáyún was driven out of India by the Bengali Afgháns under Sher Sháh, the Governor of Bengal. While flying through the desert of Sind as an exile to Persia, his famous son Akbar was born to him, in the petty fort of Umarkot (1542). Sher Sháh set up as Emperor, but was killed while storming the rock-fortress at Kálinjar (1545). His son succeeded to his power. But under his grandson, the third of the Afghán house, the Provinces revolted, including Málwá, the Punjab, and Bengal. Humáyún returned to India. His son Akbar, only in his thirteenth year, with Bairám in command, defeated the Indo-Afghán army, after a desperate battle, at Pá nipat (1556). India passed finally from the Afgháns to the Mughals. Sher Sháh's line disappears; and Humáyún, having recovered his Kábul dominions, reigned again for a few months at Delhi, but died in 1556.

Humáyún
expelled
by Sher
Sháh.

Afghán
dynasty of
Delhi,
1540-56.

Humáyún
regains his
throne.

Akbar the
Great,
1556-1605.

AKBAR THE GREAT, the real founder of the Mughal Empire, as it existed for two centuries, succeeded his father at the age of fourteen.¹ Born in 1542, his reign lasted for almost fifty years, from 1556 to 1605, and was therefore contemporary with that of 1539. Humáyún defeated by Sher Sháh, the Afghán ruler of Bengal, at Chapar Ghát, near Baxár, the Mughal army being utterly routed. Retreats to Agra.

1540. Humáyún finally defeated by Sher Sháh near Kanauj, and escapes to Persia as an exile. Sher Sháh ascends the Delhi throne.

1556. Humáyún's return to India, and defeat of the Afgháns at Pá nipat by his young son Akbar. Humáyún remounts the throne, but dies in a few months, and is succeeded by Akbar.

For dates see Thomas' *Pathán Kings*, pp. 379, 380. Materials for Humáyún's reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. iv. v. vi.; *Firishta*, vol. ii. pp. 154-180 (1829); Elphinstone, pp. 441-472 (1866); Erskine's *History of India, etc., under Bábar and Humáyún*.

¹ Materials for reign of Akbar: the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl (old translation by Francis Gladwin, 2 vols., 1800; best edition by Professor Blochmann (Calcutta, 1873, left unfinished at his death); General Sir Alexander Cunningham's monograph on 'Some Copper Coins of Akbar' (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1885); Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. i. v. and vi.; *Firishta*, vol. ii. pp. 1812-1882; Elphinstone, pp. 495-547 (1866); Graf F. A. Von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1880). The poetical aspects of Akbar's character may be found in P. van Limburg-Brower's Dutch Romance of *Akbar* (Markham's translation, 1879); and in Lord Tennyson's beautiful 'Dream of Akbar,' in his posthumous volume of poems (1892). An admirable popular account of Akbar's reign is given in Colonel Malletson's *Akbar*, 'Rulers of India' Series (1890).

of our own Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603). His father, Humāyūn, left but a small kingdom in India, scarcely extending beyond the districts around Agra and Delhi. At the time of Humāyūn's death, Akbar was absent in the Panjab under the guardianship of Bairām Khān, fighting the revolted Afghāns. Bairām, a Tūrkoman by birth, had been the support of the exiled Humāyūn, and held the real command of the army which restored him to his throne at Pānīpat in 1556. He now became the Regent for the youthful Akbar, under the honoured title of Khān Bāba, equivalent to 'the King's Father.' Brave and skilful as a general, but harsh and overbearing, he raised many enemies; and Akbar, having endured four years of thralldom, took advantage of a hunting-party to throw off his minister's yoke (1560). The fallen Regent, after a struggle between his loyalty and his resentment, revolted, was defeated, and pardoned. Akbar granted him a liberal pension; and Bairām was in the act of starting on a pilgrimage to Mecca, when he fell beneath the knife of an Afghan assassin, whose father he had slain in battle.

The chief events in the reign of Akbar are summarized below.¹ Akbar's work in India.

- A.D. ¹ REIGN OF AKBAR, 1556-1605:—
1542. Born at Umarkot in Sind.
- 1555-56. Regains the Delhi throne for his father by the great victory over the Afghāns at Pānīpat (Bairām Khān in actual command). Succeeds his father after a few months in 1556, under regency of Bairām Khān.
1560. Akbar assumes the direct management of the kingdom. Revolt of Bairām, who is defeated and pardoned.
1566. Invasion of the Panjab by Akbar's rival brother Hākim, who is defeated.
- 1561-68. Akbar subjugates the Rājput king doms to the Mughal Empire.
- 1572-73. Akbar's campaign in Gujarāt, and its reannexation to the Empire.
1576. Akbar's reconquest of Bengal: its final annexation to the Mughal Empire.
- 1581-93. Insurrection in Gujarāt. The Province finally subjugated in 1593 to the Mughal Empire.
1586. Akbar's conquest of Kashmir: its final revolt quelled in 1592.
1592. Akbar's conquest and annexation of Sind to the Mughal Empire.
1594. His subjugation of Kandahar, and consolidation of the Mughal Empire over all India north of the Vindhya as far as Kabul and Kandahar.
1595. Unsuccessful expedition of Akbar's army to the Deccan against Ahmadnagar under his son Prince Murād.
1599. Second expedition against Ahmadnagar by Akbar in person. Captures the town, but fails to establish Mughal rule.
1601. Annexation of Khāndesh, and return of Akbar to Northern India.
1605. Akbar's death at Agra.

N.B.—Such phrases as 'Akbar's conquest' or 'Akbar's campaign' mean the conquest or campaign by Akbar's armies, and do not necessarily imply his personal presence.

India was seething with discordant elements. The earlier invasions by Túrks, Afgháns, and Mughals had left a powerful Muhammadan population in India under their own chiefs. Akbar reduced these Musalmán States to Provinces of the Delhi Empire. Many of the Hindu kings and Rájput nations had also regained their independence; Akbar brought them into political dependence to his authority. This double task he effected partly by force of arms, but in part also by alliances. He enlisted the Rájput princes by marriage and by a sympathetic policy in the support of his throne. He then employed them in high posts, and played off his Hindu generals and Hindu ministers against the Mughal party in Upper India, and against the Afghán faction in Bengal.

Concilia-
tion of
Hindus.

On his accession in 1556, he found the Indian Empire confined to the Punjab, and the districts around Agra and Delhi. He quickly extended it at the expense of his nearest neighbours, namely, the Rájputs. Jaipur was reduced to a fief of the Empire; and Akbar cemented his conquest by marrying the daughter of its Hindu prince. Jodhpur was in like manner overcome; and Akbar caused his heir, Salím, who afterwards reigned under the title of Jahángir, to marry the grand-daughter of the Rájá. The Rájputs of Chitor were

Akbar
extends
the
Empire.

Reduction
of Rájputs,
1561-68.

overpowered after a long struggle, but disdained to mingle their high-caste Kshattriyan blood even with that of an Emperor. They found shelter among the mountains and in the deserts of the Indus, whence they afterwards emerged to recover most of their old dominions, and to found their capital of Udaipur, which they retain to this day. They still boast that alone among the great Rájput clans, they never gave a daughter in marriage to a Mughal Emperor.

Employ-
ment of
Hindus.

Akbar pursued his policy of conciliation towards all the Hindu States. He also took care to provide a career for the lesser Hindu nobility. He appointed his Hindu brother-in-law, the son of the Jaipur Rájá, to be Governor of the Punjab. Rájá Mán Singh, also a Hindu relative, did good war-service for Akbar from Kábul to Orissa. He ruled as Akbar's Governor of Bengal from 1589 to 1604; and again for a short time under Jahángir in 1605-6. Akbar's great finance minister, Rájá Todar Mall, was likewise a Hindu, and carried out the first land settlement and survey of India. Out of 415 *mansabdárs*, or commanders of horse, 51 were Hindus. Akbar abolished the *jazia*, or tax on non-Musalmáns, and placed all his subjects upon a political equality. He had the Sanskrit sacred books and epic poems translated into Persian, and

Mán
Singh.

Todar
Mall.

showed a keen interest in the literature and religion of his Hindu subjects. He respected their laws, but he put down their inhuman rites. He forbade trial by ordeal, animal sacrifices, and child-marriages before the age of puberty. He legalized the re-marriage of Hindu widows, but he failed to abolish widow-burning on the husband's funeral pile, although he took steps to insure that the act should be a voluntary one.

Reform of
Hindu
customs.

Akbar thus incorporated his Hindu subjects into the effective machinery of his Empire. With their aid he reduced the independent Muhammadan kings of Northern India. He subjugated the Musalman potentates from the Punjab to Behar. After a struggle, he also wrested Bengal from its Afghan princes of the following of Sher Shāh, who ruled it from 1539 to 1576. Since the latter date, Bengal remained during nearly two centuries a Province of the Mughal Empire, under governors appointed from Delhi (1576-1765). In 1765 it passed by an imperial grant to the British. Orissa, on the Bengal seaboard, submitted to Akbar's armies under his Hindu general, Todar Mall, in 1574.

Indian
Muham-
madan
States
reduced
by Akbar.

On the opposite coast of India, Gujarāt was reconquered from its Muhammadan king in 1572-73, although not finally subjugated until 1593. Mālwa had been reduced in 1570-72. Kashmir was conquered in 1586, and its last revolt quelled in 1592. Sind was also annexed in 1591-92; and by the recovery of Kandahār in 1594, Akbar had extended the Mughal Empire from the heart of Afghanistan across all India north of the Vindhya to Orissa and Sind. The magnificent circumference of Mughal conquest in Northern India and Afghanistan was thus complete.

Akbar also removed the seat of the Mughal government from Delhi to Agra, and founded Fatehpur Sikri to be the future capital of the Empire. From this latter project he was, however, dissuaded, by the superior position of Agra on the great water-way of the Jumna. In 1566 he built the Agra fort, whose red sandstone battlements majestically overhang the river to this day.

Capital
change - I
from Delhi
to Agra.

His efforts to establish the Mughal Empire in Southern India were less successful. Those efforts began in 1586, but during the first twelve years were frustrated by the valour and statesmanship of Chānd Bibi, the Queen Regent of Ahmadnagar. This celebrated lady skilfully united the Abyssinian and the Persian factions¹ in the Deccan, and strengthened herself by an alliance with Bijāpur and other Muhammadan States of

Akbar's
efforts in
Southern
India.

¹ Professing the hostile Sunni and Shi'ah creeds.

the South. In 1599, Akbar led his armies in person against the princess: but, notwithstanding her assassination by her mutinous troops, Ahmadnagar was not reduced till the reign of Sháh Jahán, in 1637. Akbar subjugated Khándesh; and with this somewhat precarious annexation his conquests in the Deccan ceased. He returned to Northern India, perhaps feeling that the conquest of the South was beyond the strength of his young Empire. His last years were rendered miserable by the intrigues of his family, and by the misconduct of his beloved son, Prince Salím, afterwards Jahángír. In 1605 he died, and was buried in the noble mausoleum at Sikandra, whose mingled architecture of Buddhist design and Arabesque tracery bear witness to the composite faith of the founder of the Mughal Empire. In 1873, the British Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, presented a cloth of honour to cover the plain marble slab beneath which Akbar lies.

Only
annexed
Khandesh.

His death.

Akbar's
religious-
principles.

Akbar's conciliation of the Hindus, and his interest in their literature and religion, made him many enemies among the pious Musalmáns. His favourite wife was a Rájput princess; another of his wives is said to have been a Christian; and he ordered his son, Prince Murád, when a child, to take lessons in Christianity. On Fridays (the Sabbath of Islám) he loved to collect professors of many religions around him. He listened impartially to the arguments of the Bráhmaṇ and the Musalmán, the Pársí, the ancient fire-worshipper, the Jew, the Jesuit, and the sceptic philosopher. The history of his life, the *Akbar-námah*, records such a conference, in which the Christian priest Redíf disputed with a body of Muhammadan *mullís* before an assembly of the doctors of all religions, and is given the best of the argument. Starting from the broad ground of general toleration, Akbar was gradually led on by the stimulant of cosmopolitan discussion to question the truth of his inherited beliefs.

His new
faith.

The counsels of his friend Abul Fazl,¹ coinciding with that sense of superhuman omnipotence which is bred of despotic power, led him at last to promulgate a new State religion,—‘the Divine Faith,’ based upon natural theology, and comprising the best practices of all known creeds. Of this eclectic creed Akbar himself was the prophet, or rather the head of the Church. Every morning he worshipped in public the sun, as

¹ Abul Fazl is accused, by the unanimous voice of the Muhammadan historians, of leading away Akbar's religious sympathies from Islám. See the valuable biography of *Shaiikh Abul Fazl-i-Azamí*, prefixed to Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarí*, p. xxix., etc.

the representative of the divine soul which animates the universe, while he was himself worshipped by the ignorant multitude. It is doubtful how far he encouraged this popular adoration, but he certainly allowed his disciples to prostrate themselves before him in private. The stricter Muhammadans accused him, therefore, of accepting a homage permitted only to God.¹ Divine honours to Akbar

Akbar not only subdued all India to the north of the Vindhya mountains, he also organized it into an Empire. He partitioned it into Provinces, over each of which he placed a Governor, or Viceroy, with full civil and military control. This control was divided into three departments—the military, the judicial, including the police, and the revenue. With a view to preventing mutinies of the troops, or assertions of independence by their leaders, he reorganized the army on a new basis. He substituted, as far as possible, money payments to the soldiers, for the old system of grants of land (*jāgirs*) to the generals. Where this change could not be carried out, he brought the holders of the military fiefs more directly under control of the central authority at Delhi. He further checked the independence of his provincial generals by a sort of feudal organization, in which the Hindu tributary princes took their place side by side with the Mughal nobles. Akbar's organization of the Empire, Army reforms.

The judicial administration was presided over by a lord justice (*Mir-i-ādil*) at the capital, aided by *Kāzīs* or law-officers in the principal towns. The police in the cities were under a superintendent or *kotwāl*, who was also a magistrate. In country districts where police existed at all, they were left to the management of the landholders or revenue-officers. But throughout rural India, no regular police force can be said to have existed for the protection of person and property until after the establishment of British rule. The Hindu village had its hereditary watchman, who in many parts of the country was taken from the predatory castes, and as often leagued with the robbers as opposed them. The landholders and revenue officers had each their own set of myrmidons, who plundered the peasantry in their names. Akbar's system of justice, and police.

Akbar's revenue system was based on the ancient Hindu customs, and survives to this day. He first executed a survey Akbar's revenue system.

¹ Akbar's perversion from Islam has formed the subject of much learned censure by Mulla 'Abdul Kadir Badaiuni and other Muslim writers. The question is exhaustively dealt with by Blochmann in a Note of 46 pages: *Annals of Akbar*, pp. 167-213. See also Sir Henry Elliot's *History of the Sikhs*, vol. v. pp. 477 et seq.

to measure the land. His officers then found out the produce of each acre of land, and settled the Government share, amounting to one-third of the gross produce. Finally, they fixed the rates at which this share of the crop might be commuted into a money payment. These processes, known as the land settlement, were at first repeated every year. But to save the peasant from the extortions and vexations incident to an annual inquiry, Akbar's land settlement was afterwards made for ten years. His officers strictly enforced the payment of a third of the whole produce, and Akbar's land revenue from Northern India exceeded what the British take at the present day.

Akbar's
land
revenue.

From his fifteen Provinces, including Kábul beyond the Afghán frontier, and Khándesh in Southern India, Akbar demanded 14 millions sterling per annum; or, excluding Kábul, Khándesh, and Sind, $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The British land-tax from a much larger area of Northern India was only Rx. $11\frac{2}{4}$ millions in 1883.¹ Allowing for the difference in area and in the purchasing power of silver, Akbar's tax was about three times the amount which the British take. Two later returns show the land revenue of Akbar at $16\frac{1}{2}$ and $17\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. The Provinces had also to support a local militia (*bámi* = *bhími*) in contradistinction to the regular royal army, at a cost of at least 10 millions sterling. Excluding both Kábul and Khándesh, Akbar's demand from the soil of Northern India exceeded 22 millions sterling per annum, under the two items of land revenue and militia cess. There were also a number of miscellaneous taxes. Akbar's total revenue is estimated at 42 millions.²

His total
revenue.

¹ Namely, Bengal, Rx. 3,816,796; A-sam, Rx. 385,504; North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Rx. 5,700,816; and Punjab, Rx. 1,889,807: total, Rx. 11,792,923.—*Administration Reports* (1882-83).

² PROVINCES OF THE DELHI EMPIRE UNDER AKBAR, CIRC. 1580.

	Land-tax in Rupees.
1. Allahábád,	5,310,677
2. Agra,	13,656,257
3. Oudh,	5,043,954
4. Ajmere,	7,153,449
5. Gujarát,	10,924,122
6. Behar,	5,547,985
7. Bengal,	14,961,482
8. Delhi,	15,040,388
9. Lahore,	13,986,460

Carry forward, . . . Rx. 91,624,774

Since the first edition of this work was written, the author has carefully reconsidered the evidence for the large revenue totals under the Mughal Emperors. The principal authority on the subject is Mr. Edward Thomas, F.R.S., who has summed up the results of a lifetime devoted to Indian numismatics, in his *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire* from A.D. 1593 to A.D. 1707.¹ No one can study that work without acknowledging the laborious and accurate research which Mr. Thomas has devoted to the points involved. His results were accepted without reserve in the first edition of my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Since the publication of this work, however, the author has received several communications from Mr. H. G. Keene, questioning the soundness of Mr. Thomas' conclusions. Those conclusions point to a comparatively heavier taxation under the Mughal Emperors than under British rule; and have been made the basis of contrasts flattering to the British administration. The author felt it, therefore, incumbent on him to submit Mr. Keene's views to the scrutiny of the three most eminent Indian numismatists of our time, General Sir Alexander Cunningham, Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, and Mr. Edward Thomas himself.

Mr. Thomas, after examining the counter-statements, ad-

Brought forward,	Rs. 91,624,774
10. Mikan,	9,600,774
11. Malwa,	6,017,376
12. Berar,	17,376,117
13. Khandesh,	7,523,237
14. Ahmदनगर only nominally a Province, yielded no revenue,	
15. Tatta (Sindh),	1,656,274
Total,	Rs. 133,838,552
16. Kabul's owing payments in kind,	8,717,221
Grand Total,	Rs. 142,555,773

The land revenue was returned at 16½ millions sterling in 1504, and £17,450,000 at Akbar's death in 1605. The aggregate taxation of Akbar was 32 millions sterling, with 10 millions for military costs. *Ibid.* total, 42 millions sterling. See Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 5-21 and p. 54 (Trübner, 1871). Thomas and the following conversions are made at the nominal rate of 10 rupees to the pound sterling. But the actual rate was then about 8 or 9 rupees to the £. The real revenues of the Mughal Emperors represented therefore, considerably larger sums in sterling than the amounts stated in the text and foot notes. The purchasing power of silver, expressed in the staple food grains of India, was two or three times greater than it is.

¹ This monograph was written as a supplement to Mr. Thomas' *Coins of the Eastern Empire of India* (Trübner & Co., 1871).

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which they
refer.

General Cunningham is inclined to think that the great totals of revenue recorded by Muhammadan writers could not have been actually enforced from India at the different periods to which they refer. He is of opinion that individual items may be reduced by a technical scrutiny.¹ But that scrutiny only affects certain of the entries. He rests his general conclusion on wider grounds, and believes that the revenues recorded by the Muhammadan writers represent rather the official demand than the amounts actually realized.

The whole question has been carefully re-considered for the present edition of *The Indian Empire* by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, who has kindly drawn up for me the following paragraphs. They may be regarded as conclusive, but I feel not the less obliged to Mr. Keene for pressing the question.

Mr. Stanley
Lane-Poole's
view.

The revenue of the Mughal Empire has been recorded at various periods of the 16th and 17th centuries by Native administrators and by European travellers. Most of the statistics have been carefully collected in the late Edward Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India*, 1871; but the deductions from these authentic data have been adopted by Mr. H. G. Keene. The confusion has arisen not only from mistaken valuations of the money in which the revenue is stated. Mr. Keene reduced all the statistics by taking the rupee at the erroneous value of 1s. 6d. The ground of this low estimate is a misconception of the value of the French *livre* with which the rupee was compared by French travellers. Keene puts the *livre tournois* of 1600-1700 at 100 shillings, whereas, according to Bailly (*Hist. Financière de la France*, ii. 216) the *livre tournois* of 1643-61 (i.e. of Bernier and Tavernier, etc.) was equal to 195 francs of to-day, or about 100 shillings. Taking this corrected value, it will be seen from the following *data* out of many others, that French and English travellers agreed as to 2s. 3d. for the average exchange of the rupee: 1615, Sir T. Roe, 2s. 2d.; 1640-67, Tavernier, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *livres* (30 sols) = 2s. 3½d.; 1659-66, Bernier, 30 *sols*; 1666, Thavenot, 30 or 29 sols; 1673, Fryer, 2s. 3d. 'in the Company's books'; 1689, Ovington, 2s. 3d. Perfectly unworn rupees fetched rather more; worn specimens fell to 2s., but no lower. But 2s. 3d. was the ordinary price. Reducing the various estimates of revenue to English pounds sterling of the time, at this value of 2s. 3d. for the rupee, and neglecting

¹ See General Cunningham's Letter, dated 5th July 1883, printed in the Appendix to the *Copper Coins of A.D. 1700* in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xli. pt. i. p. 1, 1885.

sums below a lakh (100,000 rupees), we find that in round figures the revenue of the Mughal Emperors from 1594 to 1707, as recorded by the authorities cited by Thomas, and by two others which have since been published in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, was as follows:—

Akbar,	1594	£18,650,000
„	1605	19,430,000
Jahāngir,	1628	18,760,000
„	[another estimate]	19,680,000
Shah-Jahān,	1648	24,750,000
„	1655	30,000,000
Aurangzeb,	1660 (rev.)	25,410,000
„	1666	26,700,000
„	1667	30,750,000
„	1668	40,000,000
„	1697	43,500,000
„	1707	33,950,000

These figures show a consistent progress in the wealth of the country. The decrease in 1660 and 1707 is explained by the civil wars and famine that accompanied Aurangzeb's accession in 1658, and by the protracted campaigns in the Deccan which preceded his death in 1707. The figures agree with Thomas', if it is remembered that he took the conventional value (2s.) of the rupee, whilst it is here given at its true value (2s. 3d.) at the time. The return of Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad in the *Ta'rikh-i Akbari*, of 640,000,000 *murīdī tankahs*, in 1593, has been neglected in the above list, because it has been the subject of dispute. Thomas maintained that the *murīdī tankah* was one-twentieth of the rupee, or a double dām, which would make the return equivalent to £36,000,000, instead of £18,000,000. *Tankah* and *dām*, however, are interchangeable terms in the inscriptions of the coins themselves; the dām was the recognised fiscal unit in the revenue returns, and there is no reason to assume a distinct basis of reckoning. The return of £18,650,000 in 1594 makes the sum of £18,000,000 in 1593 probable and consistent.

Thomas explained his erroneous estimate of £36,000,000 (based on the double dām hypothesis) by the theory that this sum represented the gross revenue from all sources, whilst the later returns of £18,650,000, etc., he believed to represent merely the yield of the *land-tax*, which averaged a third of the produce. There is more to be said in favour of this theory (though not of its primary evidence, the double dām hypothesis) than has been sometimes allowed. William Hawkins, who lived at the court of Jahāngir in 1609-11, states

of
double
revenue,

= double
the land-
tax.

that the Emperor's revenue amounted to 50 crores of rupees, or £56,250,000. He adds "from his crown lands," but this is obviously absurd, and his statement at the best would seem to be only a rough guess. Bernier, in giving the estimate of *cir.* 1660, distinctly adds "from his lands alone," and Catrou, in commenting on Manucci's return of 1697, explains (presumably on the authority of his Venetian informant) that the sum derived from taxes other than the land-tax would more than double the revenue he has recorded. Finally, Gemelli Careri, who visited the camp of Aurangzeb at Galgala in 1695, says he was told that the revenue the Emperor drew "from only his hereditary countries," excluding the conquered kingdoms of the Deccan (Bijápur and Golconda), was eighty crores of rupees, or £90,000,000. If we understand by this the revenue of Hindustán prior to the conquest of Bijápur, etc., but including the tribute from the Deccan, the sum is rather more than double the revenue (£40,000,000) returned at some period later than 1666, and thus fits in accurately enough with Catrou's statement that the gross revenue was more than double that derived from rent alone, and almost justifies Hawkins' estimate for the reign of Jahángir. One would expect a considerable increase by 1695 from the *jazia* or poll-tax on Hindus, which had never been levied from the accession of Akbar till reimposed by Aurangzeb in 1680. This tax produced nearly £30,000 from the town of Burhánpur alone; but it was irregularly levied, and cannot be regarded as a fixed source of revenue. It would, however, go far to substantiate Gemelli Careri's estimate of the gross income. It is true, the native historians do not say that the cited returns of revenue from the various Provinces represent the land-tax only; but they were writing for natives, who would not need to be told so obvious a fact, if such it were.

'On the whole, it is impossible to reject the statements of Bernier and Catrou, that the returns they quote are of land revenue only. And if this be admitted, it is obvious that to be consistent the native returns must also be confined to the same source of income. The conclusion thus reached is that the revenue from land rose from about 19 millions under Akbar to 43½ millions towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb; but that the gross revenue from all sources was about double these sums, and reached the total of £90,000,000 in 1695.'

¹ See Thomas' *Revenue Resources*, 1871; S. Lane-Poole's *History of the Mughal Emperors, illustrated by their Coins*, xcii-xciv.; and his *Aurangzeb, 'Rulers of India' Series*, chap. v.

Subject to the foregoing re-examination of the evidence by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, it may now be convenient to exhibit the revenues of the Mughal Empire in India, as compiled by Mr. Edward Thomas from Muhammadan authorities and European travellers during the century, from its practical foundation by Akbar to its final expansion under Aurangzeb in 1697, and thence to its fall in 1761:—

REVENUES OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS AT THIRTEEN VARIOUS PERIODS FROM 1593 TO 1761,¹ FROM A SMALLER POPULATION THAN THAT OF BRITISH INDIA—AT THE NOMINAL RATE OF 2S. PER RUPEE:—
 (SEE *ibid.*, p. 354.)

Mughal Emperors.	Authority	Land Revenue.	Revenue from all Sources.
1 Akbar, A.D. 1593.	Nizam-ul-din Ahmad: not for all India, Allowance for Provincial Troops (<i>himat</i>).		£32,000,000 10,000,000
2 " 1594.	Abul Fazl MSS.: not for all India.	net £16,574,388	net £42,000,000
3 " " "	Official Documents: not for all India.	net 16,582,440	
4 " 1605.	Indian Authorities quoted by De Lach.	net 17,450,000	
5 Jahangir, 1609-11.	Captain Hawkins.		
6 " 1628.	Abdul Hamid Lahori.		
7 Shah Jahan, 1648-49.	"	net 17,500,000	net 50,000,000
8 Aurangzeb, 1655.	Official Documents.	net 22,000,000	
9 " 1670?	Later Official Documents.	gross 26,743,970	
10 " 1695.	Gemelli Careri.	net 24,056,114	
11 " 1697.	Manneri (Caton).	gross 35,641,431	
12 " 1707.	Kanungo.	net 34,505,890	
13 Shah Alam, 1761.	Official Statement presented to Ahmad Shah Abdali on his entering Delhi.	net 38,719,400 net 39,479,692 net 34,506,640	net 80,000,000 net 77,438,800

¹ The above Table is not adapted from Mr. Edward Thomas' *Revenues of the Mughal Empire*, published in 1871. Mr. Thomas has kindly revised it for this book in materials collected since that date. The word *net* and *gross* are inserted by the direction

Rājā:
Todar
Mall.

Abul Fazl.

Akbar's Hindu minister, Rājā Todar Mall, conducted the revenue settlement, and his name is still a household word among the husbandmen of Bengal. Abul Fazl, the man of letters and Finance Minister of Akbar, compiled a Statistical Survey of the Empire, together with many vivid pictures of his master's court and daily life, in the *Ain-i-Akbari*—a work of perennial interest, and one which has proved of great value in carrying out the Statistical Survey of India at the present day.¹ Abul Fazl was killed in 1602, at the instigation of Prince Salim, the heir to the throne.

Jahāngīr,
Emperor,
1605-27.

SALIM, the favourite son of Akbar, succeeded his father in 1605, and ruled until 1627 under the title of JAHANGIR, or Conqueror of the World. The chief events of his reign are summarized below.² His reign of twenty-two years was spent in reducing the rebellions of his sons, in exalting the influence

¹ The old translation is by Gladwin (1800); the best is by the late Mr. Blochmann, Principal of the Calcutta *Madrasa*, or Muhammadan college, whose early death was one of the greatest losses which Persian scholarship has sustained in this century.

A.D.

² REIGN OF JAHANGIR, 1605-27.—

- 1605. Accession of Jahāngir.
 - 1606. Flight, rebellion, and imprisonment of his eldest son, Khurru.
 - 1610. Mālik Ambar recovers Ahmadnagar from the Mughals, and reasserts the independence of the Deccan dynasty, with its new capital at Aurangābād.
 - 1611. Jahāngir's marriage with Nūr Jahān.
 - 1612. Jahāngir again defeated by Mālik Ambar in an attempt to recover Ahmadnagar.
 - 1613-14. Defeat of the Udaipur Rājā by Jahāngir's son, Shāh Jahān. Unsuccessful revolt in Kābul against Jahāngir.
 - 1615. Embassy of Sir T. Roe to the court of Jahāngir.
 - 1616-17. Temporary reconquest of Ahmadnagar by Jahāngir's son, Shāh Jahān.
 - 1621. Renewed disturbances in the Deccan; ending in treaty with Shāh Jahān. Capture of Kandahār from Jahāngir's troops by the Persians.
 - 1623-25. Rebellion against Jahāngir by his son, Shāh Jahān, who, after defeating the Governor of Bengal at Rājmahāl, seized that Province and Behar, but was himself overthrown by Mahābat Khān, his father's general, and sought refuge in the Deccan, where he unites with his old opponent, Mālik Ambar.
 - 1626. The successful general, Mahābat Khān, seizes the person of Jahāngir. Intrigues of the Empress Nūr Jahān.
 - 1627. Jahāngir recovers his liberty, and sends Mahābat Khān against Shāh Jahān in the Deccan. Mahābat joins the rebel prince against the Emperor Jahāngir.
 - 1627. Death of Jahāngir.
- Materials for Jahāngir's reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vols. v. vi. and vii.; Elphinstone, pp. 556-603.

of his wife, and in drunken self-indulgence. In spite of long wars in the Deccan, he added little to his father's territories. India south of the Vindhya still continued apart from the Northern Empire of Delhi. Málik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of Ahmदनगर, maintained, in spite of reverses, the independence of that kingdom. At the end of Jahángir's reign, his rebel son, Prince Sháh Jahán, was a refugee in the Deccan, in alliance with Málik Ambar against the Mughal troops. The Rájputs also began to reassert their independence. In 1614, Prince Sháh Jahán, on behalf of the Emperor, defeated the Udaipur Rájá. But the conquest was only partial and for a time. Meanwhile, the Rájputs formed an important contingent of the imperial armies, and 5000 of their cavalry aided Sháh Jahán to put down a revolt in Kábul. The Afghán Province of Kandahár was wrested from Jahángir by the Persians in 1621. The land-tax of the Mughal Empire remained at 17½ millions under Jahángir, but his total revenues were estimated at 50 millions sterling.¹

The principal figure in Jahángir's reign is his Empress, Núr Jahán,² the Light of the World. Born in great poverty, but of a noble Persian family, her beauty won the love of Jahángir while they were both in their first youth, during the reign of Akbar. The old Emperor tried to put her out of his son's way, by marrying her to a brave soldier, who obtained high employment in Bengal. Jahángir, on his accession to the throne, commanded her divorce. Her husband refused, and was killed. His wife, being brought into the imperial palace, lived for some time in chaste seclusion as his widow, but in the end emerged as Núr Jahán, the Light of the World. She surrounded herself with her relatives, and at first influenced Jahángir for his good. But the jealousy of the imperial princes and of the Mughal generals against her party led to intrigue and rebellion. In 1626, her successful general, Mahábat Khán, found himself compelled, in self-defence, to turn against her. He seized the Emperor, whom he kept, together with Núr Jahán, in captivity for six months. Jahángir died in the following year, 1627, in the midst of a rebellion against him by his son, Sháh Jahán, and his greatest general, Mahábat Khán.

Jahángir's personal character is vividly portrayed by Sir Thomas Roe, the first British Ambassador to India (1615).

¹ Mr. Edward Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 21-26 and p. 54. See also on p. 357, in this chapter.

² Otherwise known as Núr Mahál, the Light of the Palace.

His
drunken
feasts.

Agra continued to be the central seat of the government, but the imperial army on the march formed in itself a splendid capital. Jahāngir thought that Akbar had too openly severed himself from the Muhammadan faith. The new Emperor conformed more strictly to outward observances, but lacked the inward religious feeling of his father. While he forbade the use of wine to his subjects, he spent his own nights in drunken revelry. He talked religion over his cups until he reached a certain stage of intoxication, when he 'fell to weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight.' In public he maintained a strict appearance of virtue, and never allowed any person whose breath smelled of wine to enter his presence. A courtier who had shared his midnight revels, and indiscreetly referred to them next morning, was gravely examined as to who were the companions of his debauch, and one of them was bastinadoed so that he died.

Jahāngir's
justice.

During the day-time, when sober, Jahāngir tried to work wisely for his Empire. A chain hung down from the citadel to the ground, and communicated with a cluster of golden bells in his own chamber, so that every suitor might apprise the Emperor of his demand for justice without the intervention of the courtiers. Many European adventurers repaired to his court, and Jahāngir patronized alike their arts and their religion. In his earlier years he had accepted the eclectic faith of his father. It is said that on his accession he had even permitted the divine honours paid to Akbar to be continued to himself. His first wife was a Hindu princess: figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary adorned his rosary, and two of his nephews embraced Christianity with his full approval.¹

His
religion.

Shah
Jahān,
Emperor,
1628-58.

SHAH JAHAN hurried north from the Deccan in 1627, and proclaimed himself Emperor at Agra in January 1628.² He

¹ Elphinstone's *Hist.* p. 560 (ed. 1866), on the authority of Roe, Hawkins, Terry, Coryat.

² Materials for Shah Jahān's reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian History*, vols. vi. vii. and viii.; Elphinstone, pp. 574-603.

A.D. REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN, 1628-58:—

1627. Imprisonment of Nūr Jahān on the death of Jahāngir, by Asaf Khān on behalf of Shāh Jahān.

1628. Shāh Jahān returns from the Deccan and ascends the throne (January). He marries his brother and kin-men.

1628-30. Afghān uprisings against Shāh Jahān in Northern India and in the Deccan.

[Footnote continued on next page.]

put down for ever the court faction of the Empress Nûr Jahan, by confining her to private life upon a liberal allowance; and by murdering his brother Shahriyâr, with all other members of the house of Akbar who might prove rivals to the throne. He was, however, just to his people, blameless in his private habits, a good financier, and as economical as a magnificent court, splendid public works, and distant military expeditions could permit.

Under Shâh Jahân, the Mughal Empire was finally shorn of its Afghân Province of Kandahâr; but it extended its conquests in the Deccan, and raised the magnificent buildings in Northern India which now form its most splendid memorials. After a temporary occupation of Bâikh, and the actual reconquest of Kandahâr by the Delhi troops in 1637, Shah Jahân lost much of his Afghân territories, and the Province of Kandahâr was severed from the Mughal Empire by the Persians in 1653. On the other hand, in the Deccan, the kingdom of Ahmadnagar (to which Ellichpur had been united in 1572) was at last annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1636. Bîdar fort was taken in 1657, while the remaining two of the five Muhammadan kingdoms of Southern India,¹ namely Bijâpur and Golconda, were forced to pay tribute, although not finally reduced until the succeeding reign of Aurangzeb. But the Marâthâs now appear on the scene, and commenced,

Shah
Jahân
loses
Kandahâr
finally in
1653

Conquests
in the
Deccan.

- 1629-35. Shâh Jahan's wars in the Deccan with Ahmadnagar and Bijâpur; unsuccessful siege of Bijâpur.
1634. Shâhji Bhonsla, grandfather of Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha power, attempts to restore the independent King of Ahmadnagar, but fails, and in 1636 makes peace with the Emperor Shah Jahan.
1636. Bijâpur and Golconda agree to pay tribute to Shah Jahan. Final submission of Ahmadnagar to the Mughal Empire.
1637. Reconquest of Kandahâr by Shah Jahân from the Persians.
1645. Invasion and temporary conquest of Bâikh by Shah Jahan. Bâikh was abandoned two years later.
- 1647-53. Kandahâr again taken by the Persians, and three unsuccessful attempts made by the Emperor's sons, Aurangzeb and Dara, to recapture it. Kandahâr finally lost to the Mughal Empire, 1653.
- 1655-56. Renewal of the war in the Deccan under Prince Aurangzeb. His attack on Haidarabad, and the temporary submission of the Golconda king to the Mughal Empire.
1656. Renewed campaign of Shâh Jahan's armies against Bijâpur.
- 1657-58. Dispute as to the succession between the Emperor's sons. Aurangzeb defeats Dara: imprisons Murâd, his other brother; he loses his father by confining him in his palace, and openly assumes the government. Shah Jahan dies, practically a State prisoner in the fort of Agra, in 1658.

¹ *Vid. ante*, end of c'ap. x.

unsuccessfully at Ahmadnagar in 1637, that series of persistent Hindu attacks which were destined in the next century to break down the Mughal Empire.

Aurangzeb and his brothers carried on the wars in Southern India and in Afghánistán for their father, Sháh Jahán. Save for one or two expeditions, the Emperor lived a magnificent life in the North of India. At Agra he raised the Taj Mahal, an exquisite mausoleum of the Taj Mahál, a dream in marble, designed by Titans and finished by jewellers.¹ His Pearl Mosque, the *Moti Masjid*, within the Agra fort, is perhaps the purest and loveliest house of prayer in the world. Not content with enriching his grandfather Akbar's capital, Agra, with these and other architectural glories, he planned the re-transfer of the seat of Government to Delhi, and adorned that city with buildings of unrivalled magnificence. Its Great Mosque, or *Jamá Masjid*, was commenced in the fourth year of his reign, and completed in the tenth. The palace at Delhi, now the fort, covered a vast parallelogram, 1600 feet by 3200, with exquisite and sumptuous buildings in marble and fine stone. A deeply-recessed portal leads into a vaulted hall, rising two storeys like the nave of a gigantic Gothic cathedral, 375 feet in length; 'the noblest entrance,' says the historian of architecture, 'to any existing palace.'² The *Diwán-i-Khás*, or Court of Private Audience, overlooks the river, a masterpiece of delicate inlaid work and poetic design. Sháh Jahán spent many years of his reign at Delhi, and prepared the city for its destiny as the most magnificent capital in the world under his successor Aurangzeb. But exquisite as are its public buildings, the manly vigour of Akbar's red-stone fort at Agra, with its bold sculptures and square Hindu construction, has given place to a certain effeminate beauty in the marble structures of Sháh Jahán.³

¹ Sháh Jahán's architectural works are admirably described in Dr. James Fergusson's *Hist. Architecture*, vol. iii. pp. 589-602 (ed. 1876). See also article AGRA CITY, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² Fergusson's *Hist. Architecture*, vol. iii. p. 592. See also article DELHI CITY, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ PROVINCES OF THE DELHI EMPIRE UNDER SHAH JAHAN, 1648-49:—

In India—	Land-tax in Rupees.
1. Delhi,	25,000,000
2. Agra,	22,500,000
3. Lahore,	22,500,000
4. Ajmere,	15,000,000
Carry forward,	Rs. 85,000,000

Akbar's dynasty lay under the curse of rebellious sons. As Jahángír had risen against his most loving father, Akbar ; and as Sháh Jahán had mutinied against Jahángír ; so Sháh Jahán in his turn suffered from the intrigues and rebellions of his family. In 1658, Sháh Jahán, old and worn out, fell ill ; and his son Aurangzeb, after a treacherous conflict with his brethren, deposed his father, and proclaimed himself Emperor in his stead. The unhappy old Sháh Jahán was kept in confinement for seven years, and died a State prisoner in the fort of Agra in 1666.

Rebellion of Prince Aurangzeb, 1657.

Shah Jahán deposed, 1658.

Under Sháh Jahán, the Mughal Empire attained its highest union of strength with magnificence. His son Aurangzeb added to its extent, but at the same time sowed the seeds of its decay. Akbar's land revenue of 17½ millions had been raised, chiefly by new conquests, to 22 millions sterling under Sháh Jahán. But this sum included Kashmír, and five Provinces in Afghánistán, some of which were lost during Sháh Jahán's reign. The land revenue of the Mughal Empire within India, under Sháh Jahán, reached 20¾ millions stg. The magnificence of Sháh Jahán's court was the wonder of European travellers. His Peacock Throne, with its tail blazing in the shifting natural colours of rubies, sapphires, and emeralds, was valued by the jeweller Tavernier at 6½ millions sterling

Shah Jahán's revenue.

Brought forward,	Rs. 85,000,000
5. Daulatábád,	13,750,000
6. Berár,	13,750,000
7. Ahmadábád,	13,250,000
8. Bengal,	12,500,000
9. Allahábád,	10,000,000
10. Behar,	10,000,000
11. Málwá,	10,000,000
12. Khándesh,	10,000,000
13. Oudh,	7,500,000
14. Telungána,	7,500,000
15. Múltán,	7,500,000
16. Orissa,	5,000,000
17. Tatta (Sind),	2,000,000
18. Baglínah,	500,000

Land Revenue of India,	Rs. 207,750,000
19. Kashmír,	3,750,000
20. Kábul,	4,500,000
21. Báikh,	2,000,000
22. Kandahar,	1,500,000
23. Badakhshan,	1,000,000

Total Rs. 220,000,000

Aurang-
zeb's
usurpa-
tion, 1658. AURANGZEB proclaimed himself Emperor in 1658, in the room of his imprisoned father, with the title of Alamgir, the Conqueror of the Universe, and reigned until 1707. Under Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire reached its widest limits.¹ But his long rule of forty-nine years merely presents on a more magnificent stage the old unhappy type of a Mughal reign. In its personal character, it commenced with his rebellion against his father; consolidated itself by the murder of his brethren; and darkened to a close amid the mutinies, intrigues, and gloomy jealousies of his own sons. Its public aspects consisted of a magnificent court in Northern India; conquests of the independent Muhammadan kings in the South; and wars against the Hindu powers, which, alike in Rájputána and the Deccan, were gathering strength for the overthrow of the Mughal Empire.

His reign,
1658-1707.

The chief events of the reign of Aurangzeb are summarized below.² The year after his accession, he defeated and put to death his eldest brother, the noble but impetuous Dára

¹ Materials for Aurangzeb's reign: Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Histories*, vols. vii. and viii.; Elphinstone, pp. 598-673.

A. D.

² REIGN OF AURANGZEB, 1658-1707:—

1658. Deposition of Sháh Jahán, and usurpation of Aurangzeb.

1659. Aurangzeb defeats his brothers Shujá and Dára. Dára, his flight being betrayed by a chief with whom he sought refuge, is put to death by order of Aurangzeb.

1660. Continued struggle of Aurangzeb with his brother Shujá, who ultimately fled to Arakan, and there perished miserably.

1661. Aurangzeb executes his youngest brother, Murád, in prison.

1662. Unsuccessful invasion of Assam by Aurangzeb's general, Mir Jumlá. Disturbances in the Deccan. War between Bijápur and the Maráthás under Sivají. After various changes of fortune, Sivají, the founder of the Maráthá power, retains a considerable territory.

1662-1665. Sivají in rebellion against the Mughal Empire. In 1664 he assumed the title of Rájá, and asserted his independence; but in 1665, on a large army being sent against him, he made submission, and proceeded to Delhi, where he was placed under restraint, but soon afterwards escaped.

1666. Death of the deposed Emperor, Sháh Jahán. War in the Deccan, and defeat of the Mughals by the King of Bijápur.

1667. Sivají makes peace on favourable terms with Aurangzeb, and obtains an extension of territory. Sivají levies tribute from Bijápur and Golconda.

1670. Sivají ravages Khánlesh and the Deccan, and there levies for the first time *chauth*, or a contribution of one-fourth of the revenue.

1672. Defeat of the Mughals by the Maráthá Sivají.

1677. Aurangzeb revives the *jazi* or poll-tax on non-Muhammadans.

[Footnote continued on next page.]

(1659). After another twelve months' struggle, he drove out of India his second brother, the self-indulgent Shujá, who perished miserably among the insolent savages of Arakan (1660-61).¹ His remaining brother, the brave young Murád, was executed in prison the following year (1661). Aurangzeb, having thus killed off his brethren, set up as an orthodox sovereign of the strictest sect of Islám; while his invalid father, Sháh Jahán, lingered on in prison, mourning over his murdered sons, until 1666, when he died.

He murders his brothers.

Aurangzeb continued, as Emperor, that persistent policy of the subjugation of Southern India which he had so brilliantly commenced as the lieutenant of his father, Sháh Jahán. Of the five Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan, three, namely Bídár, and Ahmadnagar-with-Ellichpur, had fallen to Aurangzeb's arms before his accession to the Delhi throne.² The two others, Bijápur and Golconda, struggled longer, but Aurangzeb was determined at any cost to annex them to the Mughal Empire. During the first half of his reign, or exactly twenty-five years, he waged war in the south by means of his generals (1658-83). A new Hindu power had arisen in the Deccan, the Maráthás.³ The task before Aurangzeb's armies was not only the old one of subduing the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijápur and Golconda,

Subjugation of Southern India.

Rise of the Maráthá power.

- 1679. Aurangzeb at war with the Rájputs. Rebellion of Prince Akbar, Aurangzeb's youngest son, who joins the Rájputs, but whose army deserts him. Prince Akbar is forced to fly to the Maráthas.
- 1681. Aurangzeb has to continue the war with the Rájputs.
- [1672-1680. Maráthá progress in the Deccan. Sivaji crowns himself an independent sovereign at Ráigarh in 1674. His wars with Bijápur and the Mughals. Sivaji dies in 1680, and is succeeded by his son, Sambhaji.]
- 1683. Aurangzeb invades the Deccan in person, at the head of his Grand Army.
- 1686-88. Aurangzeb conquers Bijápur and Golconda, and annexes them to the Empire (1688).
- 1689. Aurangzeb captures Sambhaji, and barbarously puts him to death.
- 1692. Guerrilla war with the Maráthás under independent leaders.
- 1698. Aurangzeb captures Gingi (Jingli) from the Maráthas.
- 1699-1701. The Maráthá war. Capture of Sátara and Maudhá forts by the Mughals under Aurangzeb. Apparent ruin of Maráthas.
- 1702-5. New and unexpected successes of the Maráthas.
- 1706. Aurangzeb retreats to Ahmadnagar, and
- 1707. Miserably dies there (February).

¹ See article AKBAR, *The Imperial Court of India*.

² The five kingdoms have been described at end of chapter x.

³ For the rise and history of the Maráthas, see next chapter, xii.

but also of crushing the quick growth of the Maráthá Confederacy.

Sivaji
crowns
himself.

Aurang-
zeb's
Southern
campaign,
1683-1707.

His 20
years'
Maráthá
war,
1688-1707.

His
'Grand
Army'
worn out,
1705.

Aurangzeb
hemmed
in.

During a quarter of a century his efforts failed to conquer Bijápur and Golconda (1658-73). In 1670, the Maráthá leader Sivaji levied *chauth*, or one-fourth of the revenues, as tribute from the Mughal Provinces in Southern India; and in 1674 enthroned himself an independent sovereign at Raigarh. In 1680-81, Aurangzeb's rebel son, Prince Akbar, gave the prestige of his presence to the Maráthá army. Aurangzeb felt that he must either give up his magnificent life in the north for a soldier's lot in the Deccan, or he must relinquish his most cherished scheme of conquering Southern India. He accordingly prepared an expedition on an unrivalled scale of numbers and splendour, to be led by himself. In 1683 he arrived at the head of his Grand Army in the Deccan, and spent the next half of his reign, or twenty-four years, in the field. Golconda and Bijápur fell after another long struggle, and were finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1688.

But the conquests of these last two of the five Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan only left the arena bare for the Maráthás. Indeed, the attacks of the Maráthás on the two Muhammadan States had prepared the way for the annexation of those States by Aurangzeb. The Emperor waged war during the remaining twenty years of his life (1688-1707) against the rising Hindu power of the Maráthás. Their first great leader, Sivaji, had proclaimed himself king in 1674, and died in 1680. Aurangzeb captured his son and successor, Sambhaji, in 1689, and cruelly put him to death; seized the Maráthá capital, with many of their forts, and seemed in the first year of the new century to have almost stamped out their existence (1701). But after a guerilla warfare, the Maráthás again sprang up into a vast fighting nation. In 1705 they recovered their forts; while Aurangzeb had exhausted his health, his treasures, and his troops, in the long and fruitless struggle. His soldiery murmured for arrears; and the Emperor, now old and peevish, told the malcontents that if they did not like his service they might quit it, while he disbanded some of his cavalry to ease his finances.

Meanwhile the Maráthás were pressing hungrily on the imperial camp. The Grand Army of Aurangzeb had grown during a quarter of a century into an unwieldy capital. Its movements were slow, and incapable of concealment. If Aurangzeb sent out a rapid small expedition against the Maráthás who plundered and insulted the outskirts of his camp,

they cut it to pieces. If he moved out against them in force, they vanished. His own soldiery feasted with the enemy, who prayed with mock ejaculations for the health of the Emperor as their best friend. In 1706, the Grand Army was so dis-^{His}organized that Aurangzeb opened negotiations with the Mar-^{despair,}áthás. He even thought of submitting the Mughal Provinces ^{1706.}to their tribute or *chauth*. But their insolent exultation broke off the treaty, and the despairing Aurangzeb, in 1706, sought shelter in Ahmadnagar, where he died the next year. Dark suspicion of his sons' loyalty, and just fears lest they should subject him to the fate which he had inflicted on his own father, left him alone in his last days. On the approach of death, he gave utterance in broken sentences to his worldly counsels and adieus, mingled with terror and remorse, and closing ^{Aurang-}in an agony of desperate resignation: 'Come what may, I ^{zeb's} have launched my vessel on the waves. Farewell! Farewell! ^{death,} ^{1707.}Farewell!'

The conquest of Southern India was the one inflexible purpose of Aurangzeb's life, and has therefore been dealt with here in a continuous narrative. In the North of India, great events had also transpired. Mir Jumlá led the imperial troops as far as Assam, the extreme eastern Province of India (1662). But amid the pestilential swamps of the rainy season, the army melted away, its supplies were cut off, and ^{Mir}its march was harassed by swarms of natives, who knew ^{Jumlá's}the country and defied the climate. Mir Jumlá succeeded in ^{expedition}extricating the main body of his troops, but died of exhaustion ^{to Assam,}and a broken heart before he reached Dacca in Eastern Bengal. ^{1662.}

In the west of India, Aurangzeb was not more fortunate. During his time the Sikhs were growing into a power, but it was not till the succeeding reigns that they commenced the series of operations which in the end wrested the Punjab from the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb's bigotry arrayed ^{Aurang-}against him the Hindu princes and peoples of Northern India. ^{zeb's}He revived the *jiziah* or insulting poll-tax on non-Muslims. ^{policy}(1677), drove the Hindus out of the administration, and ^{the}oppressed the widow and children of his father's faithful ^{Hindu}Hindu general, Jaswant Singh. A local sect of Hindus was forced into rebellion in 1676: and in 1677 the Rájput States ^{combined}combined against him. The Emperor waged a protracted war ^{1677.}

¹ Aurangzeb's *Letters* form a popular Persian book in India to this day. His counsels to his sons are edifying and most pathetic; and the whole work is written in a deeply religious tone which could scarcely have been assumed.

against them; at one time devastating Rājasthāna, at another time saving himself and his army from extermination only by a stroke of genius and rare presence of mind. In 1679, his son, Prince Akbar, rebelled and joined the Rājputs with his division of the Mughal army. From that year the permanent alienation of the Rājputs from the Mughal Empire dates; and the Hindu chivalry, which had been a source of strength to Akbar the Great, became an element of ruin to Aurangzeb and his successors. The Emperor sacked and slaughtered throughout the Rājput States of Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur. The Rājputs retaliated by ravaging the Muhammadan Province of Mālwa, defacing the mosques, insulting the ministers of Islām, and burning the Kurān. In 1681, the Emperor patched up a peace in order to allow him to lead the Grand Army into the Deccan, from which he was destined never to return.

and cannot be subdued.

Aurangzeb's revenues.

The land revenue, 30 to 38 millions.

All Northern India except Assam, and the greater part of Southern India, paid revenue to Aurangzeb. His Indian Provinces covered nearly as large an area as the British Empire at the present day, although their dependence on the central Government was less direct. From these Provinces his nett land-revenue demand is returned at 30 to 38 millions sterling; a sum which represented at least three times the purchasing power of the land revenue of British India at the present day. But it is doubtful whether the enormous demand of 38 millions was fully realized during any series of years, even at the height of Aurangzeb's power before he left Delhi for his long Southern wars. It was estimated at only 30 millions in the last year of his reign, after his absence of a quarter of a century in the Deccan. Fiscal oppressions led to evasions and revolts, while some or other of the Provinces were always in open war against the Emperor.

Maximum Mughal land-tax.

The following statements exhibit the Mughal Empire in its final development, just before it began to break up. The standard return of Aurangzeb's land revenue was *nett* £34,505,890; and this remained the nominal demand in the accounts of the central exchequer during the next half-century, notwithstanding that the Empire had fallen to pieces. When the Afghān invader, Ahmad Shāh Durānī, entered Delhi in 1761, the treasury officers presented him with a statement showing the land revenue of the Empire at £34,506,640. The highest land revenue of Aurangzeb, after his annexations in Southern India, and before his final reverses, was 38½ millions sterling;

of which close on 38 millions were from Indian Provinces.¹ The total revenue of Aurangzeb was estimated in 1695 at 80 millions, and in 1697 at 77½ millions sterling.² The gross taxation levied from British India, deducting the opium excise, which is paid by the Chinese consumer, averaged 35½ millions sterling during the ten years ending 1879; and 40½ millions from 1879 to 1883. The following table, and that on p. 357, showing the growth of the revenues of the Mughal Empire from Akbar to Aurangzeb, may be contrasted with the taxation of British India, as given in chapter xv.

¹ PROVINCES OF THE DELHI EMPIRE UNDER AURANGZEB.

LAND REVENUE OF AURANGZEB IN 1697 (according to Manucci).		LAND REVENUE OF AURANGZEB IN 1707 (according to Ramusio).	
	Rupees.		Rupees.
1. Delhi, . . .	12,550,000	1. Delhi, . . .	30,548,753
2. Agra, . . .	22,203,550	2. Agra, . . .	28,609,003
3. Lahore, . . .	23,305,000	3. Ajmere, . . .	16,308,634
4. Ajmere, . . .	21,900,002	4. Allahābād, . . .	11,413,581
5. Gujarāt, . . .	23,305,000	5. Punjab, . . .	20,653,302
6. Mālwa, . . .	9,906,250	6. Oudh, . . .	8,058,195
7. Behar, . . .	12,150,000	7. Miltan, . . .	5,361,073
8. Miltan, . . .	5,025,000	8. Gujarat, . . .	15,196,228
9. Tatta (Sind), . . .	6,002,000	9. Behar, . . .	10,179,025
10. Bakar, . . .	2,400,000	10. Sind, . . .	2,295,420
11. Orissa, . . .	5,707,500	11. Daulatābād, . . .	25,873,627
12. Allahābād, . . .	7,738,000	12. Malwa, . . .	10,007,541
13. Deccan, . . .	16,204,750	13. Berar, . . .	15,350,025
14. Berar, . . .	15,807,500	14. Khandesh, . . .	11,215,750
15. Khandesh, . . .	11,105,000	15. Bakar, . . .	9,324,359
16. Baglāna, . . .	6,885,000	16. Bengal, . . .	13,115,000
17. Nande (Nandaur), . . .	7,200,000	17. Orissa, . . .	3,570,500
18. Bengal, . . .	40,000,000	18. Handarabad, . . .	27,834,000
19. Ujjain, . . .	20,000,000	19. Bijapur, . . .	26,957,625
20. Rajmahāl, . . .	10,050,000		
21. Bijapur, . . .	50,000,000	Total, . . .	262,123,147
22. Golconda, . . .	50,000,000	20. Kashmir, . . .	5,747,734
		21. Kabul, . . .	4,025,083
Total, . . .	370,534,552	Grand Total, . . .	3,176,804
23. Kashmir, . . .	3,550,000		or £20,170,000
24. Kabul, . . .	3,257,250		
Grand Total, . . .	380,246,802		
	or £38,624,680		

The above lists are taken from Mr. Edward Thomas' *History of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 46 and 50. The whole subject is ably discussed in his chapter entitled 'Aurangzeb's Revenues,' pp. 33 et seq. The four returns of the land revenue for his reign are, *namely*, 24 millions in 1655; 34½ millions in later official documents; 38½ millions in 1697; 30 millions in 1707.

— Mr. Edward Thomas, *History of the Mughal Empire*, p. 34, etc. 1871—earliest record of 28½ to the rupee, p. 354.

Character
of Aurang-
zeb.

Aurangzeb tried to live the life of a model Muhammadan Emperor. Magnificent in his public appearances, simple in his private habits, diligent in business, exact in his religious observances, an elegant letter-writer, and ever ready with choice passages alike from the poets and the Kurán, his life would have been a blameless one, if he had had no father to depose, no brethren to murder, and no Hindu subjects to oppress. But his bigotry made an enemy of every one who did not share his own faith; and the slaughter of his kindred compelled him to entrust his government to strangers. The Hindus never forgave him; and the Sikhs, the Rájputs, and the Maráthás, immediately after his reign, began to close in upon the Empire. His Muhammadan generals and viceroys, as a rule, served him well during his vigorous life. But at his death they usurped his children's inheritance. The succeeding Emperors were puppets in the hands of the too powerful soldiers or statesmen who raised them to the throne, controlled them while on it, and killed them when it suited their purposes to do so. The subsequent history of the Empire is a mere record of ruin. The chief events in its decline and fall are summarized below.¹

Decline
of the
Mughal
Empire.

¹ THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

From death of Aurangzeb to that of Muhammad Bahádúr Sháh, 1707-1862. A.D.

- 1707. Succession contest between Muázizim and Azam, two sons of Aurangzeb; victory of the former, and his accession under the title of Bahádúr Sháh; controlled by the General Zul-fikar Khán. Revolt of Prince Kambaksh; his defeat and death.
- 1710. Expedition against the Sikhs.
- 1712. Death of Bahádúr Sháh, and accession of his eldest son, Jahándar Sháh, after a struggle for the succession; an incapable monarch, who only ruled through his *Wazir*, Zul-fikar Khán. Revolt of his nephew, Farukhsiyyar; defeat of the Imperial army, and execution of the Emperor and his prime minister.
- 1713. Accession of Farukhsiyyar, under the auspices and control of Husain Ali, Governor of Behar, and Abdullá, Governor of Allahábád.
- 1716. Invasion by the Sikhs; their defeat, and cruel persecution.
- 1719. Deposition and murder of Farukhsiyyar by the Sayyid chiefs Husain Ali and Abdullá. They nominate in succession three boy Emperors, the first two of whom died within a few months after their accession. The third, Muhammad Sháh, commenced his reign in September 1719.
- 1720. Murder of Husain Ali, and overthrow of the Sayyid 'king-makers'.
- 1720-48. The Governor of the Deccan, or Nizám-ul-Mulk, establishes his independence, and severs the Haidarábad Provinces from the Mughal Empire.
- 1732-43. The Governor of Oudh, who was also *Wazir* of the Empire, becomes practically independent of Delhi.

[Footnote continued on next page.]

For a time, Mutual Engineers did ruled India. But only for a time. Of the six immediate successors of Akbar, the two who were under the control of an unservile and unfeeling Zahir al-Khalifa, while the four others were the creatures of a couple of Syrian adventurers, who well earned their title of the "king makers." From the year 1720, the breaking up of the Empire took a more open form. The Nizamul Mulk, or Governor of the

- 1735-51. General decline of the Empire in the Deccan, and invasion of Nahr Shahr, from Persia, 1735. The Marathas, under Mawla, 1741, followed by the accession of S. Chattram, 1742, to the throne, 1741-51. First invasion of India by Ahmad Shah Durrani, who obtained the throne of Kabul in 1747, and defeated the Sikhs in 1748.
1748. Death of Muhammad Shah.
- 1748-50. Accession of Ahmad Shah Durrani to the throne by the help of Afghans in Oudh, and defeat of the Imperialists.
1751. The Rohilla insurrection ended with the aid of the Marathas.
- 1751-52. Second invasion of India by Ahmad Shah Durrani, and capture of the Punjab to Islam.
1754. Deposition of the Emperor, and accession of Alamgir II.
1756. Third invasion of India by Ahmad Shah Durrani, and attack of Delhi.
- 1759-61. Fourth invasion of India by Ahmad Shah Durrani, and capture of the Emperor Alamgir II by his British General, Clive. The Marathas conquests in Northern India. The Mohammedans, and their regiments, no longer interested in Hindustan, retire to Oudh.
- 1761-1857. The final struggle of India, 1761-1857. The Marathas, under Ahmad Shah, and the Mohammedans, under Tipu Sultan, and Hydrabad, since the Marathas, 1761, and the Mohammedans, 1762, and the victory of Hydrabad, 1762, and the Marathas, 1763, and the Mohammedans, 1764, and the Marathas, 1765, and the Mohammedans, 1766, and the Marathas, 1767, and the Mohammedans, 1768, and the Marathas, 1769, and the Mohammedans, 1770, and the Marathas, 1771, and the Mohammedans, 1772, and the Marathas, 1773, and the Mohammedans, 1774, and the Marathas, 1775, and the Mohammedans, 1776, and the Marathas, 1777, and the Mohammedans, 1778, and the Marathas, 1779, and the Mohammedans, 1780, and the Marathas, 1781, and the Mohammedans, 1782, and the Marathas, 1783, and the Mohammedans, 1784, and the Marathas, 1785, and the Mohammedans, 1786, and the Marathas, 1787, and the Mohammedans, 1788, and the Marathas, 1789, and the Mohammedans, 1790, and the Marathas, 1791, and the Mohammedans, 1792, and the Marathas, 1793, and the Mohammedans, 1794, and the 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Independence of the Deccan, 1720-48 ; of Oudh, 1732-43. Deccan,¹ established his independence, and severed the largest part of Southern India from the Delhi rule (1720-48). The Governor of Oudh,² originally a Persian merchant, who had risen to the post of Wazir or Prime Minister of the Empire, erected his own dynasty in the Provinces which had been committed to his care (1732-43).

Hindu risings. The Hindu subjects of the Empire were at the same time establishing their independence. The Sikh sect in the Punjab, driven by oppression into revolt, had been mercilessly crushed in 1710-16. The indelible memory of the cruelties then inflicted by the Mughal troops nerved the Sikh nation with that hatred to Delhi which served the British cause so well in 1857. In 1716, the Sikh leader Banda was carried about by the insulting Mughals in an iron cage, tricked out in the mockery of imperial robes, with scarlet turban and cloth of gold. His son's heart was torn out before his eyes, and thrown in his face. He himself was then pulled to pieces with red-hot pincers, and the Sikhs were exterminated like mad dogs (1716). The Hindu princes of Rájputána were more fortunate. Ajít Singh of Jodhpur asserted his independence, and Rájputána practically severed its connection with the Mughal Empire in 1715. The Maráthás having enforced their claim to black-mail (*chauth*) throughout Southern India, burst through the Vindhya into the North, obtained the cession of Málwá (1743) and Orissa (1751), with an imperial grant for tribute from Bengal (1751). But the great Hindu military revival represented by the Maráthá power demands a separate section for itself, and will be narrated in the next chapter.

Invasions from the north-west, 1739-61. Nádir Sháh, 1739.

While the Muhammadan governors and Hindu subjects of the Empire were thus asserting their independence, two new sets of external enemies appeared. The first of these consisted of invasions from the north-west. In 1739, Nádir Sháh, the Persian, swept down with his destroying host, and, after a massacre in the streets of Delhi and a fifty-eight days' sack, went off with a booty estimated at 32 millions sterling.³ Six times the Afgháns burst through the passes under Ahmad Sháh Durání, plundering, slaughtering, and then scornfully retiring to their homes with the plunder of the Empire. In 1738, Kábul, the last Afghán Province of the Mughals, had

¹ Chín Kílich Khán or Asaf Jáh, a Túrkomán Sunni.

² Saádat Ali Khán, a Persian Shiah.

³ Mill's *History of British India*, vol. ii. p. 456 (Wilson's edition, 1840).

been severed from Delhi; and in 1752, Ahmad Shah, the Ahmad Shah, 1748-61
 Afghán, obtained the cession of the Punjab. The cruelties inflicted upon Delhi and Northern India during these six Afghan invasions, 1747-61.
 invasions form an appalling tale of bloodshed and wanton cruelty. The miserable capital opened her gates, and was fain to receive the Afgháns as guests. Yet on one occasion it suffered for six weeks every enormity which a barbarian army can inflict upon a prostrate foe. Meanwhile the Afghán cavalry were scouring the country, slaying, burning, and mutilating in the meanest hamlet as in the greatest town. They took especial delight in sacking the holy places of the Hindus, and murdering the defenceless votaries at the shrines.

A horde of 25,000 Afghan horsemen swooped down upon the sacred city of Muttra during a festival, while it was thronged with peaceful Hindu pilgrims engaged in their devotions. 'They burned the houses,' says the Tyrolese Jesuit Tieffenthaler, who was in India at that time, 'together with their inmates, slaughtering others with the sword and the lance; hauling off into captivity maidens and youths, men and women. In the temples they slaughtered cows,' the sacred animal of the Hindus, 'and smeared the images and pavement with the blood.' The border-land between Afghánistán and India lay silent and waste; indeed, districts far within the frontier, which had once been densely inhabited, and which are now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants. Misery of the Provinces, 1747-61
 Afghan atrocities

Another set of invaders came from the sea. In the wars between the French and English in Southern India, the last vestiges of the Delhi authority in the Madras Presidency disappeared (1748-61). The victory of Baxar, gained by Major Munro in 1764, broke the Mughal power in Northern India, and drove the Emperor himself to seek shelter in our camp. Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were handed over to the English by an imperial grant in 1765. We technically obtained these fertile Provinces as the nominee of the Emperor; but the third battle of Pánipt had four years previously reduced the throne of Delhi to a shadow. This third battle of Pánipt was fought in 1761, between the Afghan invader Ahmad Shah and the Maráthá powers, on the memorable plain on which Bábbar in 1526, and Akbar in 1556, had each won the sovereignty of India. Invasions from the sea.
 Fall of the Empire

That sovereignty was now, after little more than two centuries of Mughal rule, lost for ever by their degenerate descendants. The Afgháns defeated the Maráthas at Pánipt in 1761, and

during the anarchy which followed, the British patiently built up a new power out of the wreck of the Mughal Empire. Mughal pensioners and imperial puppets still reigned at Delhi over a numerous seraglio, under such lofty titles as Akbar II. or Alamgir (Aurangzeb) II. But their power was confined to the palace, while Maráthás, Sikhs, and Englishmen struggled for the real sovereignty of India. The last nominal Emperor emerged for a moment as a rebel during the Mutiny of 1857, and died a State prisoner in Rangoon in 1862.

Last of the
Mughals,
1862.

Causes
of the fall
of the
Mughal
Empire.

Akbar had rendered a great Empire possible in India by conciliating the native Hindu races. He thus raised up a powerful third party, consisting of the native military peoples of India, which enabled him alike to prevent new Muhammadan invasions from Central Asia, and to keep in subjection his own Muhammadan Governors of Provinces. Under Aurangzeb and his miserable successors this wise policy of conciliation was given up. Accordingly, new Muhammadan hordes soon swept down from Afghánistán; the Muhammadan Governors of Indian Provinces set up as independent potentates; and the warlike Hindu races, who had helped Akbar to create the Mughal Empire, became, under his foolish posterity, the chief agents of its ruin.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MARATHA POWER (1634 TO 1818 A.D.).

THE British won India, not from the Mughals, but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal Empire had broken up. Our conclusive wars were neither with the Delhi king, nor with his revolted governors, but with the two Hindu confederacies, the Maráthás and the Sikhs. Our last Maráthá war dates as late as 1818, and the Sikh Confederation was not finally overcome until 1849.

About the year 1634, a Rájput soldier of fortune, SHAMJI BHOONSLA by name, began to play a conspicuous part in Southern India.¹ He fought on the side of the two independent Muhammadan States, Ahmadnagar and Bijápur, against the Mughals; and left a band of followers, together with a military fief, to his son Sivaji, born in 1627.² Sivaji formed a national party out of the Hindu tribes of South-Western India, as

¹ The original authorities for the Maráthá history are—1) James Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthas*, 3 vols. Bombay reprint, 1863; 2) Edward Scott Waring's *History of the Maráthas* (4to, 1810); 3) Major William Thorne's *Memoir of the War in India conducted by General Lord L.,* (4to, 1818); (4) Sidney J. Owens's *Selection from the Dispatches of the Marquis of Wellesley* (1877); 5) his *Selections from the Indian Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington* (1880); and 6) Henry T. Parnell's *Narrative of Political and Military Transactions of British India under the Marquis of Hastings* (4to, 1820). The very brief notice of the Maráthas which the scope of the present work allows, includes an exhaustive use of these storehouses. But it should be mentioned that the later history of the Maráthas (since 1819) has yet to be written. Mr. H. G. Krump's volume on *Maráthá Rájá Sindhia* in the 'Rulers of India' Series gives an account of the chief Maráthá leader in the second half of the 18th century. Major Ross of Blakenburg's *Lord Hastings*, in the same series, deals with the last Maráthá war, and the extinction of the Maráthá Confederacy as a military power. The leading incidents of that history are described in separate articles in my *Imperial Character of India*. To save space, this chapter confines itself, as far as practicable, to referring in footnotes to those articles. Ample materials will be found in the Gazetteers of the Bombay Districts and of the Central Provinces.

² Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthas*, vol. i. p. 95 ed. 1863.

opposed alike to the imperial armies from the North, and to the independent Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan. There were thus, from 1650 onwards, three powers in the Deccan: first, the ever-invading troops of the Delhi Empire; second, the forces of the two remaining independent Muhammadan States of Southern India, namely, Ahinadnagar and Bijapur; third, the military organization of the local Hindu tribes, which ultimately grew into the Maráthá Confederacy.

Three
parties
in the
Deccan,
1650.

Strength
of the
Hindu or
third
party.

Courted
by the
other two.

During the eighty years' war of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzeb, with a view to the conquest of Southern India (1627-1707), the third or Hindu party fought from time to time on either side, and obtained a constantly-increasing importance. The Mughal armies from the North, and the independent Muhammadan kingdoms of the South, gradually exterminated each other. Being foreigners, they had to recruit their exhausted forces chiefly from outside. The Hindu confederacy drew its inexhaustible native levies from the wide tract known as Maháráshtra, stretching from the Berárs in Central India to near the south of the Bombay Presidency. The Maráthás were therefore courted alike by the imperial generals and by the independent Muhammadan sovereigns of the Deccan. With true Hindu statecraft, their leader Sivaji from time to time aided the independent Musalmán kingdoms of the Deccan against the Mughal avalanche from the north. Those kingdoms, with the help of the Maráthás, long proved a match for the imperial troops. But no sooner were the Delhi armies driven back, than the Maráthás proceeded to despoil the independent Musalmán kingdoms. On the other hand, the Delhi generals, when allied with the Maráthás, could completely overpower the independent Muhammadan States.

Sivaji,
born 1627,
died 1680.

His hill
forts.

His army
of horse-
men.

SIVAJI saw the strength of his position, and, by a course of treachery, assassination, and hard fighting, won for the Maráthás the practical supremacy in Southern India.¹ As a basis for his operations, he perched himself safe in a number of impregnable hill forts in the Bombay Presidency. His troops consisted of Hindu spearmen, mounted on hardy ponies. They were the peasant proprietors of Southern India, and could be dispersed or called together on a moment's notice, at the proper seasons of the agricultural year. Sivaji had therefore the command of an unlimited body of troops, without the expense of a standing army. With these he

¹ The career of Sivaji is traced in Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i pp. 90-220. The Bombay reprint of Grant Duff's *History*, in three volumes, 1863, is invariably referred to in this chapter.

swooped down upon his enemies, exacted tribute, or forced them to come to terms. He then paid off his soldiery by a part of the plunder; and, while they returned to the sowing or reaping of their fields, he retreated with the lion's share to his hill forts. In 1659 he lured the Bijapur general into an ambush, stabbed him at a friendly conference, and exterminated his army. In 1662-64, Sivají raided as far as the extreme north of the Bombay Presidency, and sacked the imperial city of Surat. In 1664 he assumed the title of King (Rájá), with the royal prerogative of coining money in his own name.¹

The year 1665 found Sivají helping the Mughal armies against the independent Musalmán State of Bijápur. In 1666 he was induced to visit Delhi. Being coldly received by the Emperor Aurangzeb, and placed under restraint, he escaped to the south, and raised the standard of revolt.² In 1674, Sivají enthroned himself with great pomp at Raigarh, weighing himself in a balance against gold, and distributing the precious counterpoise among his Bráhmans.³ After sending forth his hosts as far as the Karnátik in 1676, he died in 1680.

The Emperor Aurangzeb would have done wisely to have left the independent Musalmán Kings of the Deccan alone, until he had crushed the rising Maráthá power. Indeed, a great statesman would have buried the old quarrel between the Muhammadans of the north and south, and united the whole forces of Islám against the Hindu confederacy which was rapidly organizing itself in the Deccan. But the fixed resolve of Aurangzeb's life was to annex to Delhi the Muhammadan kingdoms of Southern India. By the time he had carried out this scheme, he had wasted his armies, and left the Mughal Empire ready to break into pieces at the first touch of the Maráthás.

SAMBHAJI succeeded his father Sivají in 1680, and reigned till 1689.⁴ His life was entirely spent in wars with the Portuguese and Mughals. In 1689, Aurangzeb captured him. The Emperor burnt out his eyes with a red-hot iron, cut out the tongue which had blasphemed the Prophet, and struck off his head.

His son SAHU, then six years of age, was also captured, and kept a prisoner till the death of Aurangzeb. In 1707 he was

¹ Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. p. 146.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. chap. v. *ad finem*.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 161-163.

⁴ For the career of Sambhaji, see Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 220-261.

restored, on acknowledging allegiance to Delhi. But his long captivity among the Mughals left him only half a Maráthá.¹ He wasted his life in his seraglio, and resigned the rule of his territories to his Bráhma minister Bálaji Vishwanáth, with the title of Peshwá.² This office became hereditary, and the power of the Peshwá superseded that of the Maráthá kings. The family of Sivaji only retained the little principalities of Sátára and Kolhápúr; and Kolhápúr. Sátára lapsed, for want of a direct heir, to the British in 1848. Kolhápúr has survived through their clemency, and was ruled, under their control, by the last adopted representative of Sivaji's line³ until 1883. On his death, in December 1883, another Maráthá youth of high family was placed by the British Government, in virtue of the adoption *sanad*, on the State cushion of Kolhápúr.

Rise of the Peshwás.

Sátára and Kolhápúr; the last of Sivaji's line.

Progress of the Peshwás, 1718.

Second Peshwá conquers the Deccan, 1721-40.

Third Peshwá, 1740-61.

Conquests in the Deccan.

The Bráhma PESHWAS firmly built up at Poona the great Maráthá Confederacy. In 1718, Bálaji, the first Peshwá, marched an army to Delhi in support of the Sayyid 'king-makers.'⁴ In 1720⁵ he extorted an imperial grant of the *chauth* or 'one-fourth' of the revenues of the Deccan. The Maráthás were also confirmed in the sovereignty of the countries round Poona and Sátára. The second Peshwá, Bájí Ráo (1721-40), converted the tribute of the Deccan granted to his father into a practical sovereignty. In fifteen years he wrested the Province of Málwá from the Empire (1736), together with the country on the north-west of the Vindhya, from the Narbadá to the Chambal.⁶ In 1739⁷ he captured Bassein from the Portuguese. Málwá was finally ceded by the Delhi Emperor to the Maráthás in 1743.

The third Peshwá, Bálaji Bájí Ráo, succeeded in 1740, and carried the Maráthá terror into the heart of the Mughal Empire.⁸ The Deccan became merely a starting-point for his almost yearly expeditions to the north and the east. Within the Deccan itself he augmented his sovereignty, at the expense of the Nizám, after two wars. The great centres of the Maráthá power were now fixed at Poona in Bombay and Nágpur

¹ The career of Sahu is traced in Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 297-306.

² For Bálaji's career, see Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 307-339.

³ See articles KOLHAPUR and SATARA, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁴ *Vide ante*, p. 371.

⁵ Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 324, 325.

⁶ Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. i. pp. 393-395.

⁷ For Bájí Ráo's career, see *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 344-410.

⁸ His career is sketched in *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 1-115.

in the Berárs. In 1741-42, a general of the Berár branch of the Maráthás known as the Bhonslas, swept down upon Bengal; but, after plundering to the suburbs of the Muhammadan capital Murshidábád, he was driven back through Orissa by the Viceroy, Alí Vardí Khán. The 'Maráthá Ditch,' or semicircular moat around part of Calcutta, records to this day the panic which then spread throughout Bengal. Next year, 1743, the head of the Berár Maráthás, Raghuji Bhonsla, himself invaded Bengal in force. From this date, in spite of quarrels between the Poona and Berár Maráthás over the spoil, the fertile Provinces of the Lower Ganges became a plundering ground of the Bhonslas. In 1751 they obtained a formal grant from the Viceroy, Alí Vardí, of the *chauth* or 'quarter-revenue' of Bengal, together with the cession of Orissa. In Northern India, the Poona Maráthás raided as far as the Punjab, and drew down upon them the wrath of Ahmad Sháh, the Afghán, who had wrested that Province from Delhi. At the third battle of Pánípat, the Maráthás were overthrown, by the combined Muhammadan forces of the Afgháns and of the Provinces still nominally remaining to the Mughal Empire (1761).

Expeditions beyond it.

to Bengal. 1742-51;

to the Punjab, 1760.

Pánípat, 1761.

The fourth Peshwá, Madhu Ráo, succeeded to the Maráthá sovereignty in this moment of ruin.¹ The Hindu confederacy seemed doomed to destruction, alike by internal treachery and by the superior force of the Afghán arms. As early as 1742, the Poona and Berár branches had taken the field against each other, in their quarrels over the plunder of Bengal. Before 1761, two other branches, under Holkar and Sindhia, had set up for themselves in the old Mughal Province of Málwá and the neighbouring tracts, now divided between the States of Indore and Gwalior. At Pánípat, Holkar, the head of the Indore branch, deserted the Hindu line of battle when he saw the tide turn, and his treachery rendered the Maráthá rout complete. The fourth Peshwá was little more than the nominal centre of the five great Maráthá branches, with their respective headquarters at Poona, the seat of the Peshwás; at Nágpur, the capital of the Bhonslas, in Berár; at Gwalior, the residence of Sindhia; at Indore, the capital of Holkar; and at Baroda, the seat of the rising power of the Gáekwárs. Madhu Ráo, the fourth Peshwá, just managed to hold his own against the Muhammadan princes of Haidarábád and Mysore, and against the Bhonsla branch of the Maráthás in Berar.

Fourth Peshwá, 1761-72.

The five Maráthá branches.

¹ For his career, see Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás* vol. ii. 11. 115-172.

Fifth Peshwá, 1772. His younger brother, Náráyan Ráo, succeeded him as fifth Peshwá in 1772, but was quickly assassinated.¹

Decline of the Peshwás, 1772-1818. From this time the Peshwá's power at Poona begins to recede, as that of his nominal masters, the lineal descendants of Sivaji, had faded out of sight at Sátara and Kolhápur. The Peshwás came of a high Bráhman lineage, while the actual fighting force of the Maráthas consisted of low-caste Hindus. It thus happened that each Maráthá general who rose to independent territorial sway, was inferior in caste, although possessed of more real power than the Peshwá, the titular head of the Confederacy. Of the two great Northern houses, Holkar was descended from a shepherd,² and Sindhia from a slipper-bearer.³ These potentates lay quiet for a time after their crushing disaster at Pánipat. But within ten years of that fatal field, they had finally established themselves throughout Málwá, and invaded the Rájput, Ját, and Rohillá Provinces, from the Punjab on the west to Oudh on the east (1761-71). In 1765, the titular Emperor, Sháh Alam, had sunk into a British pensioner after his defeat at Baxár. In 1771 he made overtures to the Maráthás. Holkar and Sindhia nominally restored him to his throne at Delhi, but held him a virtual prisoner till 1803-4, when they were overthrown by our second Maráthá war.

Progress of the Northern Maráthás.

Sindhia and Holkar, 1761-1803.

The Bhonslas of Berar, 1751-1853.

The third of the Northern Maráthá houses, namely, the Bhonslas of Berár and the Central Provinces, occupied themselves with raids to the east. Operating from their basis at Nágpur,⁴ they had extorted, by 1751, the *chauth* or 'quarter-revenue' of Bengal, together with the sovereignty of Orissa. The accession of the British in Bengal (1756-65) put a stop to their raids in that Province. In 1803, a division of our army drove them out of Orissa. In 1817, their power was finally broken by our last Maráthá war. Their headquarter territories, now forming the Central Provinces,⁵ were administered under the guidance of British Residents from 1817 to 1853. On the death of the last Raghují Bhonsla, without issue, in 1853, Nágpur lapsed to the British.

The Gaekwárs of Baroda.

The fourth of the Northern Maráthá houses, namely, Baroda,⁶ extended its power throughout Gujarát, on the north-

¹ Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. ii. pp. 174-178.

² See article INDORE, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ See article GWALIOR, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁴ See article NÁGPUR, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁵ See article CENTRAL PROVINCES, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

⁶ See article BARODA, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

western coast of Bombay, and the adjacent peninsula of Káthiáwár. The scattered but wealthy dominions known as the Territories of the Gáekwár were thus formed. Since the last Maráthá war, in 1817, Baroda has been ruled by the Gáekwár, with the help of a British Resident and a subsidiary force. In 1874, the reigning Gáekwár, having attempted to poison the Resident, was tried by a High Commission, consisting of three European and three native members, found guilty, and deposed. But the British Government refrained from annexing the State, and raised a descendant of the founder of the family from poverty to the State cushion.

Baroda in
1874.

While these four Northern houses of the Maráthás were pursuing their separate careers, the Peshwá's power was being broken to pieces by family intrigues. The sixth Peshwá, Madhu Ráo Náráyan, was born after his father's death, and during his short life of twenty-one years the power remained in the hands of his minister, Náná Farnavis. Raghubá, the uncle of the late Peshwá, disputed the birth of the posthumous child, and claimed for himself the office of Peshwá. The infant's guardian, Náná Farnavis, having invoked the aid of the French, the British sided with Raghubá. These alliances brought on the first Maráthá war (1779-81), ending with the treaty of Salbái (1782). That treaty ceded the islands of Salsette and Elephanta with two others to the British, secured to Raghubá a handsome pension, and confirmed the child-Peshwá in his sovereignty. The latter, however, only reached manhood to commit suicide at the age of twenty-one.

Sixth
Peshwá,
1774-95.

First Mar-
áthá war,
1779-81.

His cousin, Bájí Ráo II., succeeded him in 1795 as the seventh and last Peshwá. The Northern Maráthá house of Holkar now took the lead among the Maráthás, and forced the Peshwá into the arms of the English. By the treaty of Bassein in 1802, the Peshwá agreed to receive and pay for a British force to maintain him in his dominions. The Northern Maráthá houses combined to break down this treaty. The second Maráthá war followed (1803-4). General Wellesley crushed the forces of the Sindhia and Nágpur houses on the great fields of Assaye and Argaum in the south, while Lord Lake disposed of the Maráthá armies at Laswári and Delhi in the north. In 1804, Holkar was completely defeated at Díg. These campaigns led to large cessions of territory to the British, the overthrow of the French influence in India, and the replacement of the titular Delhi Emperor under the protection of the English. In 1817-18, the Peshwá Holkar and the Bhonsla Maráthás at Nágpur took up arms, each on

Seventh
and last
Peshwá,
1795-1818.

Second
Maráthá
war,
1803-4.

Last Mar-
áthá war,
1817-18.

his own account, against the British, and were defeated in detail. That war finally broke the Maráthá power. The Peshwá Bájí Ráo surrendered to the British, and his territories were annexed to our Bombay Presidency (1818).¹ The Peshwá remained a British pensioner at Bithúr, near Cawnpur, on a magnificent allowance, till his death. His adopted son grew up into the infamous Náná Sáhíb of the Mutiny of 1857, when the last relic of the Peshwás disappeared from the eyes of men.

End of the
Peshwás,
1859.

¹ For a summary of the events of this last Maráthá war (1817-18), *vide Post*, pp. 472, 473. Also Grant Duff's *History of the Maráthás*, vol. iii. *passim*; and Major Ross of Bladensburg's volume on *Lord Hastings*, in the 'Rulers of India' Series (Clarendon Press, 1893). A vivid account of the military aspects of Maráthá life, that is to say, of its really essential aspects, will be found in Captain (afterwards Colonel) Thomas Duer Broughton's *Letters written in a Maráthá Camp during the Year 1809*. Constable's admirable reprint. London, 1892.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INDIAN VERNACULARS AND THEIR LITERATURE.

THE foregoing chapters have summarized the successive settlements of Asiatic peoples on the south of the Himālayas, and their struggles for supremacy in India. The remainder of this volume will deal with altogether different aspects of Indian history. For the three essential stages in that history are—first, the long struggle for India by the races of Asia narrated in the previous pages; second, a shorter struggle for India by European nations; third, the consolidation of India under British rule. The second and third phases of Indian history occupy the following chapters. From the great contest of five thousand years, England emerged the victor. We have seen how the tidal waves of Asiatic populations—pre-Aryan, Aryan, Scythic, Afghan, and Mughal—swept across India from the north; and how Hindu and Muhammadan, Mughal and Maráthá, fought for the supreme power on the Indian continent. The chapter which follows the present one will exhibit the briefer, but not less eventful, struggles of the European maritime powers to enter India from the sea. The conquest of India by the British, and an account of the administration which they have established throughout its widely-separated Provinces, will conclude this volume.

The inroads under Alexander the Great and his successors had proved momentary episodes,—episodes, moreover, of an Asiatic rather than of a European type. The Greek and Græco-Bactrian hosts entered India from the north; they effected no settlements beyond the frontier Province; and the permanent element in their forces consisted of Asiatic rather than of European troops. The civilisation and organization of India, from a prehistoric period many thousand years before Christ down to the 15th century A.D., had been essentially the work of Asiatic races. Since the end of that century, when the Portuguese landed on the Malabar coast, the course of Indian history has been profoundly influenced by European nations.

The three stages in Indian history :

Struggle for India (1) by the Asiatic races :

(2) by the European nations :

(3) consolidation of India under British rule.

Greek inroads temporary, and semi-Asiatic in type.

Asiatic
civilisation
of India,

Before entering on this new period, therefore, it is desirable to obtain a clear idea of India, as moulded by the survival of the fittest among the Asiatic peoples who had struggled for the Indian supremacy during thousands of years. The social constitution of the Indian races on the twofold basis of religion and caste, has been fully explained. Their later political organization under the Afgháns, Mughals, and Maráthás, has been more briefly summarized. It remains, however, to exhibit the geographical distribution of the Indian races, and the local landmarks, literatures, and languages, which the Europeans found on their arrival in India.

as found
by the
European
Powers.

India in
the 1st
century
A.D.

Before the beginning of the Christian era, Northern India was partitioned out among civilised communities in which the Aryan element prevailed, while the Southern peninsula was covered with forests, and dotted with the settlements of non-Aryan peoples. The Northern Aryans had a highly developed literary language, Sanskrit. They spoke less artificial cognate dialects, called Prákrits, which (equally with the Sanskrit) had grown out of the primitive Indo-Germanic tongue. The non-Aryans of Southern India at that period knew nothing of the philosophy or sciences which flourished in the North. They had not even a grammatical settlement of the principles of their own language; and they used vernaculars so uncouth as to earn for them, from the civilised Aryans, the name of Mlechchhas, meaning the people of imperfect utterance or broken speech.¹

India in
the 16th
century
A.D.

When the European nations arrived in India during the 16th and 17th centuries, all this had changed. The stately Sanskrit of the Northern Aryans had sunk into a dead language, still used as a literary vehicle by the learned, but already pressed hard by a popular literature in the speech of the people. The Prákrits, or ancient-spoken dialects, had given place to the modern vernaculars of Northern India. In Southern India a still greater change had taken place. The obscure non-Aryan races had there developed a political organization and a copious literature, written in vernaculars of their own,—vernaculars which, while richly endowed for literary uses, remained non-Aryan in all essentials of structure and type.

¹ For the ideas connoted by this word, and its later application to the Huns and Musalmáns, see Mr. Justice K. T. Telang's *Essay on the Mlechchhas*, pp. 4-7, 12, etc., and footnotes. Bombay.

Leaving aside, for the moment, the changes among the Indo-Aryans in the North, let us briefly examine this survival of prehistoric non-Aryan life in the Southern peninsula. The non-Aryan races of the South were spoken of by Sanskrit authors under the general name of Dravidas, and their languages under the vague term *Parsāchi*. The latter term covered, however, a wider linguistic area, from the speech of the Bhotas of Tibet to that of the Pāndyas or Tamil-speaking tribes of Southern India.

Modern philology, rejecting any generic term, proves that the scattered non-Aryan languages of India belong to separate stocks. Some of the isolated tribes, who still survive in their hill and forest retreats around Bengal, entered from the north-east, and brought with them dialects akin to the Chinese. The great body of Dravidian speech in the South seems, however, to have had its origin, equally with the Aryan languages, to the north-west of the Himālayas. It would appear that long before the Aryan invasions, a people speaking a very primitive Central Asian language, had entered by the Sind passes. These were the Dravidas or Dravidians of later times. Other non-Aryan races from the north pushed them onwards to the present Dravidian country in the south of the peninsula. But the Dravidians had left more than one colony on their line of march. The Brāhūis of the Sind frontier, the Gonds and Kus of the Central Provinces, the Urdūs of Chhattī Nāgpur, with a tribal offshoot in the Rājmahal hills overlooking the Gangetic valley,¹ remain to this day as landmarks along the Dravidian route through India.

The Dravidian language contains words apparently belonging to a phase of human speech anterior to the separation of the Indo-Germanic from the Scythian stocks.² It presents affinities to the present Ugrian of Siberia, and to the present Finnish of Northern Europe; while its analogies to the ancient Hittite tablets of Media have been worked out by the great Dravidian scholar of our times.³ Those tablets recorded the life of

¹ *See a note to the Middle Indus valley, Agra, 1884, by the late Ernest Driese; to whom the author is indebted for valuable local details which he hopes to incorporate hereafter in a larger work.*

² *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, by F. C. Colwell, p. 46, ed. 1875. Unfortunately, the pagination of this work respects itself, running as far as p. 154 in the introduction, or for grammatical items in a slightly different type, at p. 1 of the Grammar itself. From when otherwise mentioned, the pages cited in this book refer to the introductory series of F. C. Colwell's numbering.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-72 and 111-113.

Its place
in philo-
logy.

Darius Hystaspes in the old Persian, together with a rendering in the speech of the Scythians of the Medo-Persian Empire. They date from the 5th century B.C., and they indicate a common starting-place of the Turanian family of languages, whose fragments have been scattered to the shores of the Baltic, the Steppes of Northern Siberia, and the Malabar coast. This family belongs to the primæval agglutinative phase of human speech, as opposed to the inflectional stage which the later Aryan migrations into India represent. The Dravidians found refuge, after their long wanderings, in the sea-girt extremity of the Indian peninsula. In that isolation their Turanian speech has preserved its primitive type, and forms one of the most ancient relics of the prehistoric world.

The Dra-
vidians in
Sanskrit
literature.

The extrusion of the Dravidians from Northern India had taken place before the arrival of the Aryan-speaking races. The Dravidians are to be distinguished from the later non-Aryan immigrants, whom the Vedic tribes found in possession of the valleys of the Indus and Ganges. These later non-Aryans were in their turn subjugated or pushed out by the Aryan new-comers; and they accordingly appear in the Vedic hymns as the 'enemies' (Dasyus) and 'serfs' (Súdras) of the Indo-Aryan settlers. The Dravidian non-Aryans of the south, on the other hand, appear from the first in the Sanskrit as friendly forest folk, the monkey armies who helped the Aryan hero Ráma on his march through Southern India against the demon king of Ceylon.

Pre-Aryan
Dravidian
civiliza-
tion.

The Tamil language still preserves evidence of a Dravidian civilisation before the southern advance of the Aryans which the Rámáyana represents. 'They had "kings,"' writes Bishop Caldwell,¹ 'who dwelt in "strong houses," and ruled over small "districts of country." They had "minstrels" who recited "songs" at "festivals," and they seem to have had alphabetical "characters" written with a stylus on palmyra leaves. A bundle of those leaves was called a "book." They acknowledged the existence of God, whom they styled Kô or King. They erected to his honour a "temple," which they called Kô-il, God's house. Marriage existed among them. They were acquainted with the ordinary metals, with the exception of tin, lead, and zinc; with all the planets ordinarily known to the ancients, excepting Mercury and Saturn. They had numerals up to a hundred, some of them up to a thousand.

¹ *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, condensed from pp. 117, 118.

They had "medicines;" "hamlets" and "towns," but no cities; "canoes," "boats," and even "ships" (small cocked coasting vessels).

They were well versed in "agriculture," and delighted in "war." They were armed with "bows" and "arrows," and with "spears" and "swords." All the ordinary or necessary arts of life, including "spinning," "weaving," and "dyeing," existed among them. They excelled in "pottery," as their places of sepulture show. They were ignorant not only of every branch of "philosophy," but even of "grammar." Their undeveloped intellectual condition is especially evident in words relating to the operations of the mind. To express "the will," they would have been obliged to describe it as "that which in the inner part says, I am going to do so and so."

While the Dravidians appear in Sanskrit literature as friends or allies, the Aryans were not their conquerors, but their *Agastya* 'instructors' or 'fathers.' The first Brahman settlers in the south came as hermits or sages, who diffused around them a halo of higher civilisation. The earliest of such Pralayan colonies among the Dravidians, led by the holy *Agastya*, has long faded into the realms of mythology. The *Vindhya Mountains*, it is said, represented themselves to the *Agastya*, still fondly remembered as the "Laurintha" sage, as the Sage to the "Laurin" race. He replied, "I will play in the court of the first Pundarikanga, who is my preceptor, and my royal disciple, and now lives for ever in the heavens." Canopus, the long lost star of the Southern Indian horizon, He is worshipped as *Agastya* near the Little Agastya near Cape Comorin. But the orthodox will have it that the *Agastya*, although my old friend, is not the same as the *Agastya*, the colonial immortal called *Agastya*. He is now the *Agastya* of the *Upanishads*.

The legends surrounding the influence of the sage on the culture and history of the Dravidians are of a very old date. It is said that he lived a thousand years. The *Upanishads* contain traditions of his life, and his disciples are said to have founded the *Upanishad* schools. Some legends say he did not come to the South until the time of the great inundations which were said to have driven the Aryans to the North. The *Upanishads* mention him as a teacher of the Aryans, and as a teacher of the Dravidians, and as a teacher of the *Upanishads*. He is said to have been a great sage, and a great teacher, and a great philosopher.

Com-
mence-
ment of
that
influence.

Bishop Caldwell takes the Aryan emigration under Vijaya, from Magadha in Bengal to Ceylon, *circa* B.C. 550, as the starting-point of Aryan civilisation in Southern India. Dr. Burnell, however, believes that Aryan civilisation had not penetrated deeply among the Dravidians until the advent of Kumánila, the Bráhmian reformer from Behar in the 8th century A.D.¹ Bráhmian hermits had doubtless taught the Dravidian peoples, and Bráhmian sages had adorned Dravidian courts long before this latter date. But it was from the great religious revival of the 8th century A.D. that the continuous and widespread influence of Bráhmian civilisation in Southern India took its rise.

Dravidian
speech
developed

into ver-
nacular
literatures.

The Bráhmian apostles of the Sivaite and Vishnuite faith, from the 8th to the 12th century A.D.,² composed their religious treatises in Sanskrit. The intellectual awakening produced by their teaching, also gave the first impulse to the use of the vernacular languages of India for literary purposes. The Dravidians gratefully acknowledge that they owe the settlement of the grammatical principles of their speech to Sanskrit sages, among whom the legendary Agastya holds the highest rank. But the development of that speech into a vernacular literature was chiefly the work of the Dravidians themselves. Indeed, the first outburst of their vernacular literature sprang from the resistance of their previous Buddhist faith to the Bráhmanical religious revival.

The
Dravidian
dialects.

The
Tamil.

Before the arrival of the European nations in the 16th and 17th centuries, four Dravidian dialects had developed literatures. The Tamil, the Telugu, the Kánarese, and the Malayálam are now literary languages of established reputation. But space compels me to concentrate attention on the oldest and most influential of the vernacular literatures of Southern India,—the Tamil. This language, in its structure and its vocabulary, forms the best representative of cultivated Dravidian speech. It has not feared to incorporate such philosophical, religious, and abstract terms as it required from the Sanskrit. But its borrowings in this respect are the mere luxuries or delicacies of the language, and they have left unaffected its robust native fabric. ‘Tamil,’ writes Bishop Caldwell, ‘can readily dispense with the greater part or the whole of its Sanskrit, and, by dispensing with it, rises to a purer and more refined style.’³ He maintains that the Ten Com-

¹ Dr. Burnell’s article in the *Indian Antiquary* for October 1872.

² *Ibid ante*, pp. 259 and 267. ³ *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 50, 51.

mandments can be translated into classical Tamil with the addition of a single Sanskrit word. That word is 'image.'

According to native tradition, Tamil was first cultivated by the sage Agastya. Many works, besides a grammar and treatises on philosophy and science, are ascribed to him. His name served indeed as a centre around which Tamil compositions of widely separated periods, including some of recent date, gather. The oldest Tamil grammar now extant, the *Tol-Káppiyam*, is assigned to one of his disciples. But the rise of a continuous Tamil literature belongs to a later period. The Sivaite and Vishnuite revival of the Bráhman apostles in Southern India, from the 8th century onwards, stirred up a counter movement on the part of the Jains. Before that period, the Buddhism of the Dravidian kingdoms had modelled itself on the Jain type. We shall see hereafter that early Buddhism in Northern India adopted the Prakrit or vernacular speech for its religious treatises. On the same analogy, Buddhism in Southern India, as the religion of the people, defended itself against the Bráhmanical revival of the 8th century by works in the popular dialects. The Dravidian Buddhists or Jains created a cycle of Tamil literature, anti-Bráhmanical in tone, stretching from the 9th to the 13th century A.D. First cultivation of Tamil literature :

Its first great composition, the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar, not later than the 10th century A.D., is said to have been the work of a poet sprung from the Pariah or lowest caste. It enforces the old Sankya philosophy in 1330 distichs or poetical aphorisms, dealing with the three chief desires of the human heart—wealth, pleasure, and virtue. To the sister of its author, a Pariah poetess, are ascribed many compositions of the highest moral excellence, and of undying popularity in Southern India. The Jain period of Tamil literature includes works on ethics and language; among them the *Dvikaram*, literally the 'Day-making' Dictionary. The period culminated in the *Chintámáni*, a romantic epic of 15,000 lines by an unknown Jain author. Its per-
Pariah
Poet, 900
A.D. (?) The Jain
Epic. Indeed, it is worthy of remark that several of the best Indian authors, whether Sanskrit or vernacular, have left no indication of their names. As it was the chief desire of an Indian sage to merge his individual existence in the Universal Existence; so it appears to have been the wish of many Indian men of letters of the highest type, to lose their literary individuality in the school or cycle of literature to which they belonged.

Contemporaneous with the Jain cycle of Tamil literature,

The Tamil the great adaptation of the Rámáyana was composed by
 Rámá- Kambar for the Dravidian races. This work is a Tamil para-
 yana. phrase or imitation, rather than a translation of the ancient
 Sanskrit epic. A stanza prefixed to the work states that it
 was finished in the year corresponding to 886 A.D. But that
 stanza may itself be a later addition; and Bishop Caldwell,
 after a careful examination of the whole evidence, places the
 work after 1100 A.D.

Tamil Between this period and the 16th century, two encyclopædic
 Sivaite hymno- collections of Tamil hymns in praise of Siva were gradually
 logics. formed. They breathe a deeply religious spirit, and the
 earlier collection (*post* 1200 A.D.) still holds its place in the
 affections of the Tamil-speaking people. The later collection
 was the work of a Sivaite devotee and his disciples, who
 devoted themselves to uprooting Jainism (*circa* 1500 A.D.).
 During the same centuries, the Vishnuite apostles were equally
 Tamil prolific in Tamil religious song. Their Great Book of the Four
 Vishnuite Thousand Psalms constitutes a huge hymnology, dating from
 hymno- the 12th century onwards. After a period of literary inactivity,
 logy. the Tamil genius again blossomed forth in the 16th and
 17th centuries, with a poet-king as the leader of the literary
 revival.

The Sittar In the 17th century arose an anti-Bráhmancial Tamil litera-
 Tamil ture known as the Sittar school. The Sittars or sages were a
 poets. Tamil sect, who, while retaining Siva as the name of the One
 God, rejected everything in Siva-worship inconsistent with
 Their pure pure theism. They were quietists in religion, and alchemists
 theism. in science. They professed to base their creed upon the true
 original teaching of the Rishís, and indeed assumed to
 themselves the names of these ancient inspired teachers of
 mankind. They thus obtained for their poems, although
 written in a modern colloquial style, the sanction of a
 venerable antiquity. Some scholars believe that they detect
 Christian influences in works of the Sittar school. But
 it must be remembered that the doctrines and even the
 phraseology of ancient Indian theism and of Indian Buddhism
 approach closely to the subsequent teaching, and, in some
 instances, to the very language of Christ.¹

Modern The Tamil writers of the 18th and 19th centuries are
 Tamil classified as modern. The honours of that period are divided
 writers.

¹ The following specimens of the Sittar school of Tamil poetry are taken
 from Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 147, 148. The first
 is a version of a poem of Siva-vákya, given by Mr. R. C. Caldwell, the
 Bishop's son, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1872. He unconsciously

between a pious Sivane and the Italian Jesuit, but the latter, a missionary of genius and learning not only wrote Tamil prose of the highest excellence, but he composed a great religious epic in classical Tamil, which has won for him a comparatively high rank among Dravidian poets. His work, the 'Ten' Avana, gives a Tamil adaptation of the narrative and even of the geography of the Bible, suited to the Hindu taste of the 18th century.

It translates the verses to Christian religion, for example, 'I am the Shepherd of the Worlds,' which Bishop Colwell has translated into English to the poet only 'King of the Gods.'

THE SHEPHERD OF THE WORLD

How many various flowers
Did I, in bygone days,
Call for the gods, and in their honour throw,
In vain how many a prayer
I threw into the air,
And made, with many forms, offerings to
Beating my breast, and
How oft I called the powers
To drag the village cart; how oft I stray'd
In man's evil's power, to drive
Sawards the living world,
And, ending Sava-fun, my life longed for
But they, the gods, were
Whom now I know
Where dwells the Shepherd of the World
To my visit he came,
As if it were his own,
Deign to ring hands of worship to his feet.

THE UNITY OF GOD AND OF TRUTH

God is one, and the Vedas one;
The disinterested German, who said he was not a Jew,
When the is a man, I have heard of him,
There is but one birth of man on the earth,
And only one way for all men to walk in,
But as for those who differ in Vedas and in castes,
And different customs for different people,
And believe in a plurality of gods,
Down they will go to the fire of Hell.

GOD IS LOVE

The ignorant think that God is ill; we are not
None knows that God will love the sinner
Let all men know that God will love a sinner
They will bow together in prayer to him.

The
modern
Tamil
Press.

Since the introduction of printing, the Tamil press has been prolific. A catalogue of Tamil printed books, issued in Madras up to 1865, enumerated 1409 works. In the single year 1882, no fewer than 558 works were printed in the vernaculars in Madras, the great proportion of them being in Tamil; and the number is still increasing.

Aryan
languages
of North-
ern India;

While the non-Aryans of Southern India had thus evolved a copious literature, and cultivated spoken dialects out of their isolated fragments of prehistoric speech, a more stately linguistic development was going on in the Aryan North.

Sanskrit.

The achievements of Sanskrit as a literary vehicle in the various departments of poetry, philosophy, and science, have been described in chapter iv. at such length as the scope of this work permits. But Sanskrit was only the most famous of several Aryan dialects in the North. One of its eminent modern teachers defines it as 'that dialect which, regulated and established by the labours of the native grammarians, has led for the last 2000 years or more an artificial life, like that of the Latin during most of the same period in Europe.'¹ The Aryan vernaculars of modern India are the descendants not of Sanskrit, but of the spoken languages of the Aryan immigrants into the North. The Brāhmanical theory is that these ancient spoken dialects, or Prākritis, were corruptions of the purer Sanskrit. European philology has disproved this view, and the question has arisen whether Sanskrit was ever a spoken language at all.

Was San-
skrit ever
a verna-
cular?

Dr. John
Muir's
affirmative
answer.

This question has a deep significance in the history of the Indian vernaculars, and it is necessary to present, with the utmost brevity, the views of the leading authorities on the subject. Dr. John Muir, that *clarum et venerabile nomen* in Anglo-Indian scholarship, devotes many pages to 'reasons for supposing that the Sanskrit was originally a spoken language.'² He traces the Sanskrit of the philosophical period to the earlier forms in the Vedic hymns, and concludes 'that the old spoken language of India and the Sanskrit of the Vedas were at one time identical.'³

Professor
Benfey's
view;

Professor Benfey gives the results of his long study of the question in even greater detail. He believes that Sanskrit-speaking migrations from beyond the Himālayas continued to

¹ Professor Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. ix. Leipzig, 1879.

² Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii. pp. 144-160, ed. 1874.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 160, and Dr. Muir's long footnote, No. 181.

follow one another into India down to perhaps the 9th century B.C. That Sanskrit became the prevailing Indian vernacular ^{affirma-} dialect throughout Hindustán, and as far as the southern ^{tive.} borders of the Maráthá country. That it began to die out as a spoken language from the 9th century B.C., and had become extinct as a vernacular in the 6th century B.C.; its place being taken by derivative dialects or Prakrits. But that it still lingered in the schools of the Bráhmans; and that, about the 3rd century B.C., it was brought back into public life as a sacred language, with a view to refuting the Buddhistic teachers who wrote in the vernacular or Prakrit dialects. Professor Benfey also holds that about the 5th century A.D. Sanskrit had diffused itself over the whole of India as a literary language. We know that a subsequent revival of Sanskrit for the Puránic or orthodox treatises of the Bráhmans, as opposed to the new doctrines of the reformers, who used the vernacular, actually took place about the 10th century A.D.

Lassen inclines to the same general view. He thinks that, ^{Lassen's} in the time of Asoka, the main body of Aryans of Northern ^{view.} India spoke local dialects; while Sanskrit still remained the speech of Bráhmans, and of dignitaries of State.

Sanskrit scholars of not less eminence have come to the ^{Sanskrit} conclusion that Sanskrit was not at any time a vernacular ^{never a} tongue. Professor Weber assigns it to the learned alone. He ^{spoken} thinks that the Prakrits, or Aryan vernaculars of Northern ^{language.} India, were derived directly from the more ancient Vedic ^{Weber's} dialects; while Sanskrit was 'the sum of the Vedic dialects ^{view.} constructed by the labour and zeal of grammarians, and polished by the skill of learned men.' Professor Aufrecht ^{Aufrecht's} agrees 'in believing that Sanskrit proper (*i.e.* the language ^{view.} of the epic poems, the law books, nay, even that of the Bráhmanas) was never actually spoken, except in schools or by the learned.'

The question has been decided, however, not by Sanskrit ^{Evidence} scholars in Europe, but by students of the modern Aryan ^{from} vernaculars in India. During the past twenty years, a bright ^{present} light has been brought to bear upon the language and literature ^{Indian} of ancient India, by an examination of the actual speech of ^{speech.} the people at the present day.

Two learned Indian civilians, Mr. Salmon Growse and Mr. John Beames, led the way from not always concurrent points

The new
study of
the ver-
naculars,
1872-92.

of view. In 1872, Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*¹ opened up a new field of human knowledge, and began to effect for the Aryan dialects of the North, what Bishop Caldwell's great work accomplished for non-Aryan speech in Southern India. Dr. Ernest Trumpp's *Grammar of the Sindhi Language* followed, and would probably have modified some of Mr. Beames' views. Another learned German officer of the Indian Government, Professor Rudolf Hoernle, further specialized the research by his *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages* (1880), with particular reference to the Hindî. The same scholar and Mr. George Grierson, of the Civil Service, undertook a *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihâri Language*, which will enable every European inquirer to study the structure and framework of a modern Aryan vernacular for himself. These and other cognate works have accumulated a mass of new evidence, which seems to settle the relationship of the present Aryan vernaculars to the languages of ancient India.

Results
disclosed
by the ver-
naculars.

They prove that those vernaculars do not descend directly from Sanskrit. They indicate the existence of an Aryan speech older than Sanskrit—older, perhaps, than the Vedic hymns; from which the Sanskrit, the Prākritis or ancient spoken dialects of India, and the modern vernaculars, were alike derived. Passing beyond the Vedic period, they show that ancient Aryan speech diverged into two channels. The one channel poured its stream into the ocean of Sanskrit, a language 'at once archaic and artificial,' elaborated by the Brāhmanical schools.² The other channel branched out into the Prākritis or ancient spoken vernaculars. The artificial Sanskrit (*Samskrita*, i.e. the perfected language) attained its complete development in the grammar of Pānini (circ. 350 B.C.).³ The Prākritis (i.e. naturally evolved dialects) found their earliest extant exposition in the grammar of Vararuchi, about the 1st century B.C.⁴ But the 4000 algebraic aphorisms

Diver-
gence of
Sanskrit
and
Prākrit.

Pānini and
Vararuchi.

¹ Three volumes, Trübner & Co. The first volume was published in 1872; the last in 1879.

² Hoernle and Grierson's *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihâri Language*, pp. 33 and 34. Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1885. It should be remembered that Indian grammarians, when speaking of the Vedic language technically, do not call it Sanskrit, but *Chhandas*. They restrict the technical application of Sanskrit to the scholastic language of the Brāhmanas, elaborated on the lines of the earlier Vedic.

³ *Id. ante*, pp. 142-145.

⁴ Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, pp. xviii. et seq., ed. 1880.

of Pāṇini mark the climax of the labours of probably a long antecedent series of Sanskrit elaborators, while Vararuchi stands at the head of a long series of subsequent Prakrit grammarians.

The spread of the Aryans from Northern India is best marked by the southern advance of their languages. The three great routes of Prakrit speech to the southward were—down the Indus valley on the west; along the Ganges valley to the east; and through certain historical passes of the Vindhya in the centre. Between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D., the western or Apabhramsa dialects of Prakrit had spread across the Indus basin, and down the Bombay coast. During the same period dialects of Eastern or Magadhī Prakrit had occupied the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges. Aryan tribes, speaking the Mahārāshtri and Sauraseni Prakrits, had poured through the Vindhyan passes, one of their great lines of march being that followed by the Jabalpur Railway at the present day. The Mahārāshtri dialect reached as far south as Goa on the western coast. The peninsula, to the south and east of the Mahārāshtri linguistic frontier, was inhabited by the Dravidian or Paisāchī-speaking races.

By degrees the main Prakrits, or spoken Aryan dialects, differentiated themselves into local vernaculars, each occupying a more contracted area. A series of maps has been compiled, showing the stages of this process between 500 B.C. and 1800 A.D.¹ Various classifications have been framed, both of the modern vernaculars and of the ancient Prakrits. Vararuchi, the earliest Prakrit grammarian extant, enumerates four classes in the 1st century B.C.,—Mahārāshtri, now Marāṭhi; Sauraseni, now the Braj of the North-Western Provinces; Magadhī, now Bihārī; and Paisāchī, loosely applied to outlying non-Aryan dialects from Nepal to Cape Comorin.

Apart from the last-named Paisāchī, the literary Prakrits really divide themselves between two great linguistic areas. Sauraseni, with the so-called Mahārāshtri, occupied the upper part of the North-Western Provinces, and sent forth offshoots

¹ Prefixed to Hornle and Grierson's *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. See also the Language Map appended to Hornle's *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, p. 34, 2.

² Mr. Beames thinks that there is as much of the Magadhī and Sauraseni type in the modern Marāṭhi as there is of the Mahārāshtri. In his *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, p. 34, 2, 1872. He holds that Marāṭhi represents the name rather than the substance of Mahārāshtri.

through the Vindhya passes as far south as Goa. Magadhí spread itself across the middle valley of the Ganges, with its brightest literary centre in Behar. These were the two parents of the most highly developed of the Aryan vernaculars of modern India. The Apabhramsa, or 'broken' dialects of the Indus region, may for the moment be left out of sight.

Prákrits
developed
by Buddh-
ists,

for their
scriptures ;

and by the
Jains.

The Prákrits, or spoken Aryan dialects of ancient India, received their first literary impulse from Buddhism. As the Bráhmans elaborated Sanskrit into the written vehicle for their orthodox religion, so the teachers of the new faith appealed to the people by works in the popular tongues. The Buddhist missionaries to Ceylon, *circa* 307 B.C., carried with them the spoken Prákrit of the Gangetic kingdom of Magadha. This dialect of Northern India became the Páli, or language of the Buddhist scriptures in Ceylon. While the early Buddhists thus raised the Eastern or Magadhí Prákrit of Behar to a sacred language, the Jains made use of the Mahár-ášhtrí Prákrit of Western India for their religious treatises. In this way, the two most characteristic of the spoken Aryan dialects of ancient India obtained a literary fixity, during the centuries shortly before and after the commencement of our era.

The
Prákrits
also
remained
spoken
languages.

The Prákrits also remained the speech of the people, and underwent those processes of development, decay, and re-generation to which all spoken languages are subject. On the one hand, therefore, we have the literary Magadhí and Mahárášhtrí Prákrits of the beginning of the Christian era, the former embalmed in the Buddhist scriptures of Ceylon, the latter in the Jain sacred books of Western India. On the other hand, we have the spoken representatives of these two ancient Prákrits in the modern vernaculars of Behar and of the Maráthá country.¹

Evolution
of modern
vernacu-
lars from
Prákrits.

The evolution of the modern vernaculars from the ancient Prákrits is involved in deep obscurity. The curtain falls on the era of Prákrit speech within a few hundred years after the birth of Christ, and does not again draw up until the 10th century. When it rises, Prákrit dialects have receded from

¹ This statement leaves untouched the question how far Maráthí is the direct representative of Mahárášhtrí, or how far it is derived from the Sauraseni Prákrit. As already mentioned, both the Sauraseni and Mahár-ášhtrí poured through the Vindhya passes into South-Western India, and combined to form the second of the two main Prákrits referred to in the classification on the previous page.

the stage, and their place has been taken by the modern vernaculars. During the dark interval, linguistic changes had taken place in the old Prakrits not less important than those which transformed Latin into Italian and Anglo-Saxon into English. Those changes are now being elucidated by the series of comparative grammars and dictionaries mentioned on pp. 393, 394. It is only practicable here to state the most important of the results.

The old Prakrits were synthetical in structure. The modern Aryan vernaculars of India are essentially analytical. During the eight centuries while the curtain hangs down before the stage, the synthetic inflections of the Prakrits had worn out. The terminals of their nouns and verbs have given place to post-positions, and to the disjointed modern particles to indicate time, place, or relation. The functions performed in the European languages by prepositions for the nouns, are discharged, as a rule, by post-positions in the modern Indian vernaculars. The process was spontaneous, and it represents the natural course of the human mind. 'The flower of synthesis,' to use the words at once eloquent and accurate of Mr. Beames, 'budded and opened; and when full-blown began, like all other flowers, to fade. Its petals, that is its inflections, dropped off one by one; and in due course the fruit of analytical structure sprung up beneath it, and grew and ripened in its stead.'¹

As regards their vocabularies, the Aryan vernaculars of modern India are made up of three elements. One class of their words is named Tatsama, 'the same as' the corresponding words in Sanskrit. A second class is termed Tadbhava, 'similar in nature or origin' to the corresponding words in Sanskrit. The third class is called Desaja, or 'country-born.' This classification is an ancient one of the Indian grammarians, and it is so far artificial that it refers the modern vernaculars to Sanskrit standards; while we know that the modern vernaculars were derived not from the Sanskrit, but from the Prakrits. It suffices, however, for practical purposes.

The great body of modern Indian speech belongs to the second or Tadbhava class of words, and may be taken loosely to represent its inheritance from the old spoken dialects or Prakrits. But the vernaculars have enriched themselves for literary purposes by many terms imported directly from the Sanskrit, to represent religious, philosophical, or abstract ideas.

¹ Mr. Peares' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, Vol. II, p. 45 (ed. 1872).

These are the Tatsamas, 'the same as' in Sanskrit. The different vernaculars borrow such 'identical' words from Sanskrit in widely varying proportions. The strongest of the vernaculars, such as Hindi and Maráthi, trust most to their own Tadbhava or Prākṛit element; while the more artificial of them, like the Bengali and Uriyá, are most largely indebted to direct importations of Sanskrit words.

Non-Aryan element in the vernaculars;

The third element in modern vernacular speech is the Desaja, or 'country-born.' This represents the non-Aryan and other words not derived either from the Sanskrit or the Prākṛits. At one time it was supposed, indeed, that the modern vernaculars of India were simply made up of the Sanskrit of the Aryan settlers, modified by, and amalgamated with, the speech of the ruder non-Aryan races whom they subdued. Modern philology renders this theory no longer tenable. It has proved that Sanskrit played a comparatively unimportant function in the formation of those vernaculars. It also tends to show that the non-Aryan element is less influential than was supposed. Both in structure and in vocabulary the modern vernaculars of India are the descendants neither of the written Sanskrit, nor of the aboriginal tongues, but of the Prākṛits or spoken dialects of the ancient Aryans.

less important than formerly supposed.

Proportion of non-Aryan words;

In regard to grammatical structure, this position is now firmly established. But the proportion of aboriginal or non-Aryan words in the modern Indian vernaculars still remains undetermined. The non-Aryan scholars, with Brian Hodgson and Bishop Caldwell at their head, assign a considerable influence to the non-Aryan element in the modern vernaculars.¹ Dr. Ernest Trumpp believes that nearly three-fourths of the Sindhí words commencing with a cerebral are taken from some non-Aryan or Scythic language, which he would prefer to call Tátár. He thinks, indeed, that there is very strong proof to show that the cerebral letters themselves were borrowed, by the Prākṛits and modern Indian vernaculars, from some idiom anterior to the introduction of the Aryan languages into India. Bishop Caldwell states that the non-Aryan element, even in the Northern Indian languages, has been estimated at one-tenth of the whole, and in the Maráthi at one-fifth.²

in Sindhí,

in Gangetic vernaculars,

in Maráthi.

¹ See Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson's *Aborigines of India*, Calcutta, 1849; and pp. 1-152 of vol. ii. of his *Miscellaneous Essays* (Trubner, 1880). Also the Rev. Dr. Stevenson's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*.

² Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*,

Such generalizations are not now accepted by the most eminent students of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Mr. Beames strongly expresses his view that the speech of the conquering Aryans completely overmastered that of the aboriginal tribes. The early grammarians were wont to regard as Desaja, or non-Aryan, all words for which they could not discover a Tatsama or Tadbhava origin. But the more delicate processes of modern philology have reduced the number of this class, and tend still further to diminish it. The truth is, that until a complete examination is made with the new lights, both of the vocabulary and of the structure of the Indian vernaculars, no final conclusion can be arrived at.

Dr. Hœrnle thus sums up the existing knowledge in regard to the group of Indian vernaculars on which he is the highest authority: 'That there are non-Aryan elements in the Bihārī, I have no doubt. Considering that the Aryans immigrated into India, and absorbed large masses of the indigenous population into their ranks, it would be a wonder if no portion of the aboriginal languages had become incorporated into the Aryan speech. But what the several constituents of that aboriginal portion are, and what proportion they bear to the Aryan element in the vernacular language, it is impossible at present to form any scientific opinion. And what is more,—it is impossible to say whether the assumed aboriginal portion of the Aryan speech was Dravidian, or some other language, such as Kolarian or Tibeto-Burman.' ¹

Introd. p. 57 (ed. 1875). Lassen held that the aboriginal tribes not only introduced 'peculiar varieties into the Prakrit dialects,' but also 'occasioned very great corruptions of sound and form in the Indo-Aryan languages' (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1149). But the more recent investigations of Beames, Hœrnle, and Grierson render these *dicta* doubtful.

¹ Letter from Dr. Rudolf Hœrnle to the author, dated 28th May 1885. Dr. Hœrnle continues—'Attempts have been made now and then (e.g. in *The Indian Antiquary*) to show that some particular selected words of the North Indian languages are really Dravidian. But these, even supposing they had been successful, would not enable any one to pronounce an opinion on the general question of the proportion of non-Aryan words in the Gaudian languages. As a matter of fact, some of these attempts, notably those referring to the genitive and dative post-positions (*ka, ke, ki*, etc.), have been conspicuous failures. It is now, I think, generally admitted that these post-positions are thoroughly Aryan. The truth is, that the way in which the question of the non-Aryan element in the vernaculars should be approached has been hitherto almost entirely mis-conceived. A little consideration must convince any one that whatever aboriginal elements there may be in the vernaculars, they must have been incorporated into them before the present vernacular times, that is, in the period when Sanskrit and Prakrit flourished. The question therefore properly stands

Fourfold
composition
of the verna-
culars :

(1) Prākṛit
element ;

(2) Abori-
ginal
element ;

(3) Sans-
krit bor-
rowings ;

(4) Persian
terms.

At present, therefore, we cannot advance farther than the four following conclusions:—First, that in grammatical structure and in their vocabularies, the modern analytical vernaculars of India represent the old synthetic Prakrits; after a process of development, decay, and regeneration, which has been going on, as the result of definite linguistic laws, during the past fifteen hundred years. Second, that the modern vernaculars contain a non-Aryan element, derived from the so-called aborigines of India; but that this element has very slightly affected their grammatical structure, and that the proportion which it holds in their vocabularies is yet undetermined. Third, that the modern vernaculars have enriched themselves, for literary and philosophical purposes, by direct and conscious borrowings from the Sanskrit. Fourth, that they have also imported many terms connected with the administration, the land revenue, judicial business, and official life, from the Persian court language of the Afghān and Mughal dynasties.

The seven
Aryan
verna-
culars :

(1) Sindhī ;

(2) Pun-
jabī ;

The Aryan vernaculars of modern India may be distributed according to their geographical areas into seven main languages.

Towards the North-Western frontier, Sindhī is spoken by the descendants of the shepherd tribes and the settlements who were left behind by the main stream of the prehistoric Aryan immigrants. The Sindhī language abounds in words of non-Aryan origin; it contains very few Tatsamas, *i.e.* Sanskrit words in their original shape; and it is almost destitute of an original literature. The Punjabī language is spoken in the

thus—What are the aboriginal elements in Sanskrit and Prākṛit? The vernaculars arose from Prākṛit (and in a certain sense from Sanskrit) according to certain phonetic laws peculiar to the Aryan languages. Hence it is next to useless to try to refer Bihāri (or any Aryan) vernacular words direct to the Dravidian. They must in the first place be referred back (by the well-known Aryan phonetic laws) to their earlier forms in Prākṛit and Sanskrit. Only when this is done, the question can properly be asked whether they are Aryan or non-Aryan. And in order to decide this question, it will, among other points, have to be considered whether they possess correlates in the other Aryan languages (*e.g.* of Europe). But there is every probability that there is a considerable number of words in Sanskrit and Prākṛit which are not Aryan, but only Aryanized. The question, however, has never been systematically or satisfactorily investigated. Some attempts have latterly been made in this direction, by showing that not a few Sanskrit words are, in reality, Prākṛit words Sanskritized. The next step will be to show that some Prākṛit words are non-Aryan words Prākṛitized (*i.e.* Aryanized).'

valleys of the Indus and its tributaries. Like the Sindhi, it contains few Tatsamas, *i.e.* words borrowed directly from the Sanskrit.

Gujarāṭī occupies the area immediately to the south of (3) Guja-
Punjabi; while Hindi is conterminous with the Punjabi on ¹⁴¹¹ the east. These two languages rank next to Punjabi in (4) Hindi;
respect to the paucity of words borrowed directly from the Sanskrit. They are chiefly composed of Tadbhava, *i.e.* words representing the Prakrits or old spoken dialects. Marāṭhī ^{(5) Mara-}
is spoken in the Districts to the south and east of the Gujar-^{thi}
āṭhī frontier; Bengali succeeds to Hindi in the east of (6) Bengali;
Bengal and the Gangetic delta; while Uriyā occupies the (7) Uriyā,
Mahānadi delta and the coast of the Bay of Bengal from near the mouth of the Hūgli to the northern Districts of Madras. These three last-named vernaculars, Marāṭhī, Bengali, and Uriyā, are most largely indebted to modern and artificial importations direct from the Sanskrit.

With the exception of Sindhi, the modern vernaculars of Vernacu-
India have each a literature of their own. Some of them, ^{lar} literature
indeed, possess a very rich and copious literature. This subject
still awaits careful study. The lamented Garcin de Tassy has ^{Garcin de}
shown how interesting, and how rich in results, that study may ^{Tassy.}
be rendered. His history of Hindi literature,¹ and his yearly
review of works published in the Indian vernaculars, form a
unique monument to the memory of a scholar who worked
under the disadvantage of never having resided in India.
But the unexhausted literary stores of the Indian vernaculars
can only be appreciated by personal inquiry among the natives
themselves. The barest summary of the written and unwritten
works in the modern Indian vernaculars is altogether beyond
the scope of the present work. I can merely indicate the
wealth of unprinted, and in many cases unwritten, works
handed down from generation to generation, arranged in
geographical areas. The chapter will then conclude by
selecting for description a few authors from three of the
most advanced of the vernaculars—namely Hindi, Marāṭhī,
and Bengali. It will not touch on the Persian or Muslim
literature of the Delhi Empire.

As regards the isolated vernacular of Orissa, the present Vernacu-
writer has elsewhere given an analytical catalogue of 107 Uriyā ^{lan} writers
authors, with a brief description of 47 Uriyā manuscripts of ^{lan} writers

¹ *Hi-toria de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindouane*, par M. Garcin de Tassy, 3 vols. large 8vo, 2nd ed. Paris, 1870-71.

Vernacular literature in Uriyá ; undetermined authorship.¹ Several of the Uriyá poets and theologians were prolific authors, and have left behind them a number of distinct compositions. Thus, Dina Krishna Dás (*circa* 1550 A.D.) was so popular a writer as to earn for himself the title of 'The Son of God Jagannáth.' His separate works number fifteen, and embrace a wide range of subjects, from 'The Waves of Sentiment,' an account of the youthful sports of Krishna, to severe medical treatises. Another Orissa poet of the 16th century composed 23 works, on religious and metaphysical subjects, such as 'A Walk round the Sacred Enclosures of the Purí Temple,' and 'The Sea of the Nectar of Faith.' The greatest of the Uriyá poets, Upendra Bhanj, a Rájá of Gumsar, belongs to nearly the same period. He left behind him 42 collections of poems and treatises, some of them of great length.

in Bihári. Messrs. Hearnle and Grierson have lately exhibited the local literature of Behar, and its sub-divisions, with admirable learning and distinctness.² It must suffice here to refer the student to their lists of works in Bihári and the modern dialects of the Gaudian group.

Rájputana literature. An idea of the wealth of poetry current in Rájputána may be gathered from the following statement. The figures are taken from a manuscript note forwarded to the author by the Rev. John Traill, Presbyterian missionary at Jaipur. Besides the ordinary Hindí works, such as translations from the Sanskrit, the Rájputs have a vast store of religious poetry and traditional song, still living in the mouths of the people. The works of only a single sect can be specified in detail.

Dadu. Dadu, a religious reformer, born at Ahmadábád in 1544, left behind him a Báni, or body of sacred poetry, extending to 20,000 lines. His life, by Jai Gopál, runs to 3000 lines. Fifty-two disciples spread his doctrine throughout Rájputána and Ajmere, each of them leaving a large collection of religious verse. The literary fertility of the sect may be inferred from the works of nine of the disciples. The poems and hymnology of Gharib Dás are said to amount to 32,000 lines; Jaisá is stated to have composed 124,000 lines; Prayág Dás, 48,000 lines; Rajab-jí, 72,000 lines; Bakhna-jí, 20,000 lines; Bába Banwári Dás, 12,000 lines; Shankar Dás, 4400 lines; Sándar Dás, 120,000 lines; and Mádhua Dás, 68,000 lines.

Sacred poetry of a single sect.

¹ Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. ii., App. ix., ed. 1872.

² *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihári Language*, pp. 38-42, 410. (Calcutta, 1885.)

These figures are stated on the authority of Mr. Traill, ^{Dr. Traill's} and they are subject to the qualification that no European ^{lymnologist.} scholar has yet collected the writings of the sect. They are given as reported by the natives among whom the poems are still current. It is to be regretted that so little has yet been done to edit the stores of vernacular literature in the Feudatory States of India. A noble task lies before the more enlightened of the native princes; and in this task they would receive the willing assistance of English scholars now in India.

A very brief notice of the most distinguished authors in ^{Selected} Hindî, Maráthî, and Bengálî must conclude this chapter. For ^{vernacular} practical purposes, those three vernaculars represent the ^{authors.} highest modern development of the Indo-Aryan dialects. This is, of course, exclusive of the non-Aryan Dravidian literature in the South of India, which has already been dealt with at the beginning of the chapter. The monastic literature of Burma is almost entirely a reproduction of the ancient Buddhist writings, and does not come within the scope of this work.

Hindî ranks, perhaps, highest among the Indian vernaculars ^{Hindî} in strength and dignity. At the head of Hindî authors is ^{authors.} Chand Bardái. Chand was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithwî Rájá, the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi, ^{Chand} at the close of the 12th century.¹ His poems are a col- ^{Bardái,} ^{12th c. A.D.} lection of ballads, in which he recites, in his old age, the gallant deeds of the royal master whom he had served, and whose sad fate he had survived. They disclose the ancient Prákrit in the very act of passing into the modern vernacular. In grammatical structure they still retain many relics of the synthetic or inflectional type: although the analytical forms of the modern vernaculars are beginning to crowd out these remnants of the earlier phase of the Indian speech. Chand's ballads have been printed, but they also survive in the mouths of the people. They are still sung by wandering bards throughout North-Western India and Rájputána, to near the mouths of the Indus, and to the frontier of Balúchistán.

The vernacular literatures derived their chief impulse, how- ^{Latter} ever, not from court minstrelsy, but from religious movements. ^{Hindî} Each new sect seems to have been irresistibly prompted to ^{author.} embody its doctrines in verse. Kabir, the Indian Luther of ^{15th c. A.D.} the 15th century, may be said to have created the sacred literature of Hindî.² His Ramainis and Sábdas form an

¹ For Prithwî Rájá, *see ante*, chap. x. p. 320.

² For Kabir's work as a religious reformer, *see ante*, pp. 358, 268.

immense body of religious poetry and doctrine. In the following century, Sur Das of Mathura, Nābhaji and Keshava Dās of Bijāpur, wrote respectively the *Sūrsāgar*, the *Bhakta-Mālā*, and the *Ramchandrika*. A brief notice of the *Bhakta-Mālā* has already been given at page 258. In the 17th century, Bihārī Lāl, of the ancient city of Amher near Jaipur, composed his famous *Satsai*; and Bundelkhand produced its prince of poets, Lāl Kavi, the author of the *Chhatra Prakās*. All these were natives of western Hindustan, except Kabir, who belonged to the Benares District.

The last troubled years of the Mughal dynasty in the 18th century brought about a silence in Hindi literature. That silence was effectually broken by the introduction of the printing press in the 19th century. It has been succeeded by a great outburst of Hindi activity in prose and verse. Every decade now produces a rich crop of new Hindi publications, to some extent reproductions or translations of ancient authors, but also to a large and increasing extent original work.

The Marāthīs are scarcely more celebrated as a military than as a literary race. Their language is highly developed, and possesses structural complications attractive to the Indian student. The first Marāthī poets of fame were Mukunda Rāj and Nāma Deva, about the end of the 13th century. Like their contemporary Dnyānoba, the author of the celebrated *Dnyāneshwari*, they were deeply impressed with the spiritual aspects of life. Indeed, almost all the Marāthī writers are religious poets. About the year 1571, Sridhar compiled his huge Marāthī adaptation or paraphrase of the great Sanskrit epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, together with the *Bhāgavata*.

Marāthī poetry reached its highest flight in the *Abhangas* or spiritual poems of Tukarām or Tukoba. He was born in 1608 A.D. at a village called Dehu, about 16 miles from Poona; the son of a corn-dealer of the *Sūdra* caste. 'Tukarām's ancestors,' says the most recent monograph on the subject¹ by an Indian scholar, 'were men of piety. Vithoba was the tutelary deity of the family. His father Balhoji in his old age wished to retire from the world, leaving the management of the domestic affairs with his son Sivajī. But Sivajī was of a religious turn of mind. He did not like to entangle himself in domestic ties. He therefore declined his father's

¹ 'Tukarām, the Saint and Poet of the Deccan,' in the *Indian National Magazine* for June 1891, pp. 207 *et seq.* (Calcutta.)

request. The charge then devolved on Tukarám, who was only thirteen years of age. Tukarám carried on his business for some years. But in the twentieth year of his age, a series of calamities fell upon him. He lost his parents; one of his wives died; his eldest brother left the house on a pilgrimage; and he himself lost one of his children. To fill the cup of his sufferings, famine made its appearance, and he met with a heavy loss in his business. The surviving wife of Tukarám, named Jija-bai, was not a good woman. She was of an irascible temper. In this pitiable condition Tukarám used to pass his time in worshipping Vithoba and singing his name. Some of his neighbours joined him. Tukarám was of a charitable disposition. Notwithstanding his straitened circumstances, he used to give food to the poor. His wife did not like this. She began to reprove him, using harsh expressions. She went to the length of snatching away from the hands of Tukarám the alms he was going to give to the helpless. The singing of Bhajans was considered by her as a disturbance. The friends of Tukarám became an eyesore to her. She considered them as stumbling-blocks in the way of her husband's work, and called them lazy men that led her lord astray.'

Disgusted by his wife's ill-treatment, Tukarám left his house, and took shelter in the neighbouring temple of Vithoba. This deity is popularly regarded as a form of Krishna, but is in reality of Jain or Buddhist origin, and marks one of the many half-forgotten links between ancient Buddhism and the modern Vishnuite worship. Tukarám spent most of his days in meditation on a hill about four miles off, returning to the temple of Vithoba in the evening, and occasionally visiting his own house. About this time, continues the Indian monograph above quoted, Tukarám met with Bábá Chaitanyá, apparently a follower of the great Bengal apostle Chaitanyá.¹ 'Bábá edified Tukarám with religious instructions, and soothed him with good words. A new light dawned upon Tukarám. He now realized the doctrine of salvation by faith in God and the utterance of His holy name. Tukarám had hitherto confined himself to his own religious development. He now thought of the duty he owed to his fellow-creatures. He commenced to sing Bhajans and to perform Kathás. At first he used to sing the Abhangas (or hymns) of the famous saint Náma Deva. But he was soon inspired by the power divine, and it is said that Abhangas, breathing noble sentiments, began to flow from his lips extemporaneously. There is nothing on

Native
story of
Tukaram;

the Mar-
atha saint
and poet.

The native
story con-
tinued.

¹ See *ant.*, p. 270.

record to show that Tukarām had any education. The fact of his having been initiated into his business at the early age of thirteen shows that he knew nothing more than the ordinary calculations which a Bania is required to know. In these Abhangas, Tukarām expounded the doctrines of the Vedas and the Puranas. The earnestness with which Tukarām began to sing, attracted to him men of all sects and castes. People began to look upon him as a teacher from heaven. They forgot at that time that he was a Śūdra, and they began to pay him the homage that is usually given to a Brāhman. The Shāstrās say—One who knows Brahmi is a Brāhman,—and people seem to have followed this doctrine in the case of Tukarām.' His fame spread widely during his life as a holy man and a religious teacher; his poems and hymns are repeated by thousands of devout Hindus in Southern India to this day.

Mayūr
Pandit,
18th cen-
tury A.D.

In the 18th century, Mayūr Pandit or Moropanth poured forth his copious Marāthī song in strains which some regard as even more elevated than the poems of Tukarām.

Besides its accumulations of religious verse, Marāthī possesses a prose literature, among which the chief compositions are the Bakhars or Annals of the Kings. It is also rich in love songs, and farcical poetry of a broad style of wit.

Bengali
literature:
its geo-
graphical
area;

Bengali is, in some respects, the most modern of the Indian vernaculars. As a spoken language, it begins on the north, where Hindī ends on the south; that is to say, in the Gangetic valley below Behar. From Rājmahāl on the north to the Bay of Bengal, and from Assam on the east to Orissa on the west, Bengali forms the speech of about 50 millions of people in the valleys and deltas of the Brahmaputra and the Ganges. The language exhibits clearly-marked dialectical modifications in the north, the east, and the west, of this great area. But for literary purposes, Bengali may be regarded as a linguistic entity. Indeed, literary Bengali of the modern type is to some extent an artificial creation. Much more than the Hindī, it has enriched itself by means of words directly imported from the Sanskrit. Such words not only supply the philosophical, religious, and abstract terms of Bengali literature, but they enter largely into the every-day language of the people. This is to some extent due to the circumstance that the Bengalis have very rapidly adopted Western ideas. With the introduction of such ideas arose the necessity for new terms; and for these terms, Bengali writers naturally turned towards the Sanskrit.

and
linguistic
features.

The process has not been confined, however, to philo-^{Sanskrit}
sophic works. Even in poetry, the best Bengali writers of the ^{long ten}
present day affect a more classical style than that of their pre-^{dency of}
decessors from the 14th to the 18th century. In 17 lines
of Bengali verse taken from a contemporary periodical, the
Banga-darshana, there are only six or seven words which are
not Sanskrit importations. 'If we progress in this direction a
century longer,' writes a native author, 'the Bengali language
will be distinguishable from the Sanskrit only by the case
terminations and mood and tense terminations.'¹ The frame-
work of the colloquial language still continues to be derived
from the Prākṛit, although Sanskrit terms are diffusing them-
selves even among the spoken language of the educated
classes.

Bengali literature commences with the vernacular poets ^{Three}
of the 14th century. During its first 200 years, Bengali ^{periods of}
song was devoted to the praises of Krishna, and the loves ^{Bengali}
of the young god. In the 16th century two great revolu- ^{literature}
tions, religious and political, took place in Bengal. In ^{(1) 14th}
the political world, the independent Afghān dynasty of ^{16th}
Bengal succumbed to the advancing Mughal power; and ^{century};
Bengal was finally incorporated as a Province of the Delhi
Empire. In religion, a reformation of the Sivaite religion
was effected under Brāhman impulses, and Krishna-worship ^{(2) 16th}
receded from its literary pre-eminence. During the next ^{18th}
250 years Bengali poetry found its chief theme in the ^{century};
praises of Kālī or Chāndī, the queen of Siva, who is alike
the god of Destruction and of Reproduction. Early in the
19th century, European influences began to impress them-
selves on Bengali thought. Bengali literature accordingly ^{(3) 19th}
entered upon a third period, the period through which it ^{century}
is still passing, and which corresponds to the imported Western
civilisation of India in the 19th century.

Putting aside Jayadeva of Bīrbbhum, the Sanskrit singer in
the 12th century, Bengali poetry commences with Bidyāpati ^{Bidyāpati}
Thākūr, a Brāhman of Tīrhūt. Bidyāpati adorned the court ^{Thākūr}
of King Sivasinha of Tīrhūt in the 14th century; and a ^{14th}
deed of gift, still existing, proves that he had made his fame ^{century}

¹ *The Literature of Bengal*, by Arcy Dae, p. 43. (Calcutta, 1877.) This
interesting volume is based on the more elaborate Bengali work of Pandit
Rāngati Nyaratna. A complete treatment of the subject is still a desider-
atum, which it is hoped that Bengali research will before long supply.
Mr. Dae, whose volume has been freely used in the following pages, would
confer a benefit both on his countrymen and on European students of the
Indian vernaculars, by undertaking the task.

Chandī
Dās, 15th
century.

before 1400 A.D. Although popularly claimed as the Chaucer of Bengal, he wrote in what must now be regarded as a Bihārī rather than a Bengali dialect; and recited in learned verse the loves of Rādhā and Krishna. About the same period, Chandī Dās, a Birbhūm Brahman, took up the sacred strain in the Bengali tongue. Originally a devotee of the goddess Chandī, queen of Siva, he was miraculously converted to the worship of Krishna, whose praises he celebrated in a less learned, but more forcible colloquial style. To these two poets and their followers, Krishna was a lover rather than a deity; and his mistress Rādhā, more of a pastoral beauty than a goddess. But their poetry constantly realizes that beneath the human amours of the divine pair, lies a deep spiritual significance. This didactic side of their poetry may be illustrated by three verses of Bidyāpati to Krishna under his title of Mādhava, 'The Honeyed One.'

Verses by
Bidyāpati.

A HYMN TO KRISHNA.

'O' Mādhava! our final stay,
The Saviour of the world Thou art,
In mercy look upon the weak,
To Thee I turn with trustful heart.

Half of my life in sleep has past;
In illness—boyhood—years have gone,
In pleasure's vortex long I roamed,
Alas! forgetting Thee, the One.

Unnumbered beings live and die,
They rise from Thee and sink in Thee,
(Thou uncreate and without end!)
Like ripples melting in the sea.'¹

Religious
move-
ments of
the 16th
century:
The
Vishnuite
Revival;

At the beginning of the 16th century, the great religious reformer Chaitanyā² gave a more serious turn to the poetry of Bengal. He preached the worship of Vishnu, and the doctrine of saving faith in that deity. Krishna was the pastoral incarnation of the god; but the Vishnuism taught by Chaitanyā spiritualized the human element in the amours which the earlier poets had somewhat warmly sung. Chaitanyā declared the spiritual equality of mankind, and combated the cruel distinctions of caste. His doctrine amounted to a protest against the Hinduism of his day, although it has been skilfully

¹ Slightly altered from the rendering of Mr. Dae's *Literature of Bengal*, p. 60. (Bose & Co., Calcutta, 1877.)

² *Vide ante*, pp. 270, 271.

incorporated by the later Hinduism of our own. The opposition excited by Chaitanya's Vishnuite reformation took the form of a revival of the worship of Siva and his queen.

There were thus, in the 16th century, two great religious movements going on in Bengal; the one in favour of Vishnu, the second person of the Hindu Triad; and the other in favour of Siva, the third person of that Trinity. The more serious aspect which Chaitanya gave to Vishnuism did not lend itself to popular song so easily as the human loves of Krishna, celebrated by the earlier Vishnuite poets. On the other hand, the counter revival of Sivaism accepted as its objects of adoration some form or other of the goddess of Destruction and Reproduction under her various names¹ of Umā, Pārvatī, Durgā, Kālī, or Chandī. These names suggested alike the terrors and the mercies of the queen of Siva, and appealed in a special manner to a people dwelling amid the stupendous catastrophes of nature in a deltaic Province like Bengal.

The result was an outburst of Bengali song, which took as its theme the praises of Chandī, the wife of Siva. Kirtibās Ojhā, a Brāhman of Nadiyā District in the 16th century, marks the transition stage. Kirtibās drew his inspiration from the Sanskrit epics, and his great work is the Bengali version of the *Rāmāyana*. His translation is still recited by Ghattaks or bards at a thousand religious and festive gatherings every year throughout Bengal. Its modern versions have received much re-touching from later poets of the classical or Sanskritizing school; but an old copy of 1693 proves that Kirtubas wrote in a strong colloquial style, with a ring and rhythm of peculiar beauty. The *Rāmāyana* recites the achievements of the heroic incarnation of Vishnu, and Kirtibās Ojha may therefore be claimed as a Vishnuite poet. But in reality his work marks the Sanskrit revival which gave the impulse to the Sivaite or Chandī poets of the next two and a half centuries.

These Sivaite poets kept possession of Bengali literature during the 250 years which elapsed before the commencement of the third or present period. First among them was Makunda Rām Chakravarti, a Brāhman of Bardwān District, and a contemporary of Kirtibās Ojhā in the 16th century. He was driven from his home by the oppressions of Muhammadan officers, and his verses give a life-like picture of the Muhammadan land settlement of Lower Bengal. All classes, he says, were crushed with an equal tyranny; fallow lands were entered

¹ For the different names of the wife of Siva, and the aspects of the goddess which these names connote, *Ind. Anti.*, i, 251, 262.

as arable, and by a false measurement three-fourths of a *ligá* were taxed as a full *ligá*. In the collection of the revenue, the oppressions were not less than in the assessment. The treasury officers deducted more than one rupee in seven for short weight and exchange. The husbandmen fled from their lands, and threw their cattle and goods into the markets, 'so that a rupee worth of things sold for ten annas.' Makunda Rám's family shared the common ruin; but the young poet, after a wandering life, found shelter as tutor in the family of Bámkurá Deb, a powerful landholder of Birbhúm and Midnapur Districts. He was honoured with the title of Kabi Kankan, or the Jewel of Bards, and wrote two great poems, besides minor songs.

The
story of
Kalketu,
by Ma-
kunda
Rám.

His most popular work is the story of Kalketu, the hunter. Kalketu, a son of Indra, King of Heaven, is born upon earth as a poor hunter. In his celestial existence he had a devoted wife, and she, too, is born in this world, and becomes his faithful companion throughout their allotted earthly career. Their mortal births had been brought about by the goddess Chandí, queen of Siva, in order that she might have a city founded and dedicated to herself. The poor hunter and his wife Fullorá, after years of hardship, are guided to a buried treasure by their kind patroness Chandí. With this the hunter builds a city, and dedicates it to the goddess. But, misled by a wicked adviser, he goes to war with the King of Kalinga on the south, is defeated, and cast into prison. In due time Chandí rescues her foolish but faithful servant. At last the hunter and his wife die and ascend to heaven. He lives again as the son of Indra, while Fullorá again becomes his celestial spouse.

The
Srimanta
Sadágar of
Makunda
Rám.

The other poem of Makunda Rám narrates the adventures of a spice merchant, Dhanapati, and his son Srimanta Sadágar. A celestial nymph, Khulloná, is sent down to live on earth as penance for a venial offence. She grows into a beautiful girl, and is wedded by the rich merchant Dhanapati, who has, however, already a first wife. Before the marriage can be consummated, the king of the country sends off the merchant to Eastern Bengal to procure a golden cage for a favourite bird. The bride is left with his elder wife in the family home upon the banks of the Adjai, a river which separates Birbhúm and Bardwán Districts in South-Western Bengal. A wicked handmaid excites the jealousy of the elder wife, and the girl-bride is condemned to menial offices, and sent forth as a goat-herd to the fields. The kind

goddess Chandī, however, converts the elder lady to a better frame of mind; the girl-bride is received back; and on the return of her husband becomes his favourite wife. In due time she bears him a son, Srīmanṭa Sadagar, the hero of the subsequent story.

The king next sends the merchant for spices to Ceylon, and his voyage down the great rivers of Bengal and across the sea is vividly described. From the towns mentioned on his route, it appears that in those days the water-way from Bardwān District and the neighbouring country, to the Bay of Bengal, lay by the Húglī as far down as Calcutta, and then struck south-eastward by what is now the dead river of the Adī-Gangá.¹ The poor merchant is imprisoned by the King of Ceylon, and there languishes until he is sought out by his brave son, Srīmanṭa Sadagar, from whom the poem takes its name. Srīmanṭa is also seized, and led out to execution by the cruel king. But the good goddess Chandī delivers both father and son, and the beautiful Khullonā receives back with joy her lost treasures from the sea.

In the 17th century, the second of the two great Sanskrit epics, the *Mahābhārata*, was translated by Kāśī Rām Dās. This poet also belonged to Bardwān District. His version still holds its place in the affections of the people, and is chanted by professional bards throughout all Bengal. The more tender episodes are rendered with feeling and grace; but the fiery quarrels and heroic spirit of the Sanskrit original lose much in the Bengali translation.

The 18th century produced two great Bengali poets. In 1720, Rām Prasād Sen, of the Vaidya caste, was born in Nadiyā District. Sent at an early age as clerk to a Calcutta office, he scribbled verses when he should have been casting up accounts, and was reported for punishment by the chief clerk. The native head of the business read the rhymes, dismissed the poet, but assigned to him a pension of Rs. 30 a month. With this he retired to his village, and wrote poetry for the rest of his life. Rām Prasād was a devout Tantrik or worshipper of the wife of Siva, and his poems consist chiefly of appeals to the goddess under her various names of Kālī, Śakti, etc. His songs, however, are more often complaints of her cruelty than thanksgivings for her mercies.²

The little Hindu court of Nadiyā then formed the centre of learning and literature in Bengal, and the Rājā endowed Rām

¹ See article HUGLI RIVER in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² Dās's *Literature of Bengal*, p. 147. Calcutta, 1877.

Voyage
and the
Húglī and
Adī-Gangā
to Ceylon,
16th cen-
tury.

Kāśī Rām
Dās, 17th
century.

Bengali
Rām
Dās.

Bengali
poet of
the 18th
century:
Rām
Prasād
Sen.

The Court
of Nadiyā
18th cen-
tury.

Prasád with 33 acres of rent-free land. The grateful poet in return dedicated to the prince his *Kabiranján*, or version of the tale of *Bidyá Sundar*. The fame of this version has, however, been eclipsed by the rendering of the same story by a rival poet, Bhárat Chandra. Two other well-known works, the *Káli Kirtan* and the *Krishna Kirtan*, in honour respectively of Káli and Krishna, with many minor poems, have also come down from the pen of Rám Prasád.

Bhárat
Chandra
Rái.

The other great Bengal poet of the 18th century was Bhárat Chandra Rái, who died 1760. The son of a petty Rájá, he was driven from his home by the oppressions of the Rájá of Bardwán, and, after many adventures and imprisonment, obtained the protection of the chief native officer of the French Settlement at Chandarnagar. The generosity of the Rájá of Nadiyá¹ afterwards raised him to comfort, and he devoted his life to three principal poems. His version of the *Bidyá Sundar* is a passionate love poem, and remains the accepted rendering of that tale to the present day. The goddess Káli interposes at the end to save the life of the frail heroine. His other two principal poems, the *Annadá Mangal* and the *Mánsinha*, form continuations of the same work; and, like it, are devoted to the glorification of the queen of Siva under her various names.

Recent
Bengali
literature,
19th cen-
tury.

With the printing press and the Anglo-Indian School arose a generation of Bengalis whose chief ambition is to live by the pen. The majority find their career in official, mercantile, or professional employment. But a large residue become writers of books; and Bengal is at present passing through a grand literary climacteric. Nearly 1300 works per annum are published in the vernacular languages of Lower Bengal alone. It is an invidious task to attempt to single out the most distinguished authors of our own day. Amid such a climax of literary activity, much inferior work is produced. But it is not too much to say that in poetry, philosophy, science, the novel and the drama, Bengali literature has, in this century, produced masterpieces without rivals in its previous history. In two departments it has struck out entirely new lines. Bengali prose practically dates from Rám Mohan Rái; and Bengali journalism is essentially the creation of the third quarter of the present century.²

¹ Mr. Dae says, inadvertently, the Rájá of Bardwán.

² From no list of 19th century Bengali authors should the following names be omitted:—Rám Mohan Rái, Akkhai Kumár Datta, Iswar

As Bengali poetry owed its rise in the 14th century, and its fresh impulse in the 16th, to outbursts of religious song; so Bengali prose is the offspring of the religious movement headed by the Rájá Rám Mohan Rái in the 19th. This great theistic reformer felt that his doctrines and arguments required a more serious vehicle than verse. When he died in 1833, he at once received the position of the father of Bengali prose,—a position which he still enjoys in the grateful memories of his countrymen.¹ Of scarcely less importance, however, in the creation of a good prose style, were two rival authors born in 1820. Akkhai Kumár Datta enforced the theistic doctrines of the Bráhma Samáj with indefatigable ability in his religious journal, the *Tatwabodhini Patriká*. Reprints of his articles still rank as text-books of standard Bengali prose. Iswar Chandra Vidyaságar, also born in 1820, devoted himself to social reform upon orthodox Hindu lines. The enforced celibacy of widows, and the abuses of polygamy, have formed the subject of his life-long attacks.

An older worker, Iswar Chandra Gupta, born 1809, took the lead in the modern popular poetry of Bengal. His fame has been eclipsed, however, by Madhu Sudan Datta, born 1828, who now ranks higher in the estimation of his countrymen than any Bengali poet of this or any previous age. Madhu Sudan's epic, the *Meghnád Badh Kálya*, is reckoned by Bengali critics as second only to the masterpieces of Válmiki, Kálidása, Homer, Dante, and Shakspeare. This generous appreciation is characteristic of the catholic spirit of Hinduism. For Madhu Sudan Datta became a Christian, lectured as professor in a Christian college, went to England, and returned to Bengal only to die, after a too brief career, in 1875. His epic relates the death of Meghnád or Indrajít, greatest of the sons of Rávana, and takes its materials from the well-known episode in the *Rámáyana*. Among Bengali poets still living, Hem Chandra Banarji occupies perhaps the highest place of honour.

In the Bengali drama, Dina Bandhu Mitra, born 1829, died 1873, led the way. His first and greatest work, the *Ati*

Chandra Vidyaságar, Iswar Chandra Gupta, Madhu Sudan Datta, Hem Chandra Banarji, Bankim Chandra Chattarji, Dina Bandhu Mitra, and Nalin Chandra Sen.

¹ Rájá Rám Mohan Rái Rammohun Roy is also well known for his English works, of which it is pleasant to record that a selected reprint has been issued under the editorship of Baba G. gendra Chandra Ghose, M.A. (Calcutta, 1885.)

Bengali prose, 19th century.

Modern Bengali poets, 19th century.

Madhu Sudan Datta, 1828-75.

The Bengali Drama.

Darpan, or Mirror of Indigo, startled the community by its picture of the abuses of indigo planting a quarter of a century ago. It was translated into English by the well-known missionary and philanthropist, the Rev. James Long; and formed the ground of an action for libel, ending in the fine and imprisonment of the latter gentleman. In prose fiction, Bankim Chandra Chattarji, born 1838, ranks first. The Bengali prose novel is essentially a creation of the last half-century, and the *Durgesh Nandini* of this author has never been surpassed. But many new novelists, dramatists, and poets are now establishing their reputation in Bengal; and the force of the literary impulse given by the State School and the printing press seems still unabated. It is much to be regretted that so little of that intellectual activity has flowed into the channels of biography and critical history. But the returns of recent Bengali literature for 1891 show that the tide is at last setting in towards scientific and historical writing. The same practical tendency is observable in Bengali journalism. It is perhaps a sign of the times that the leading native paper in Bengal, the *Hindu Patriot*, has this year converted itself from a weekly paper, distinguished for its political and social essays, into a daily paper, depending for its circulation chiefly on its news.

The meaning of this chapter.

This chapter has dealt at some length with the vernacular literature of India, because a right understanding of that literature is necessary for the comprehension of the chapters which follow. It concludes the part of the present book which treats of the struggle for India by the Asiatic races. In the next chapter the European nations come upon the scene. How they strove among themselves for the mastery will be briefly narrated. The conquest of India by any one of them formed a problem whose magnitude not one of them appreciated. The Portuguese spent the military resources of their country, and the religious enthusiasm of their Church, in the vain attempt to establish an Indian dominion by the Inquisition and the sword. This chapter has shown the strength and the extent of the indigenous literature of religious thought and civilisation which they thus ignorantly and unsuccessfully strove to overthrow.

Assaults on the indigenous civilisation of India.

The Indian races had themselves confronted the problems for which the Portuguese attempted to supply solutions from without. One religious movement after another had swept across India; one philosophical school after another had presented its explanation of human existence and its hypothesis of a future life. A popular literature had sprung up in every

Province. The Portuguese attempt to uproot these native growths, and to forcibly plant in their place an exotic civilisation and an exotic creed, was foredoomed to failure. From any such attempt the Dutch and the French wisely abstained. One secret of the success of the British power has been its policy of non-interference with the customs and the religions of the ^{native} people.

CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS (1498 TO 18TH CENTURY A.D.).

The Portuguese in India.

Vasco da Gama, 1498.

THE Muhammadan invaders of India had entered from the north-west. Her Christian conquerors approached by sea from the south. From the time of Alexander the Great (327 B.C.) to that of Vasco da Gama (1498 A.D.), Europe held little direct intercourse with the East. An occasional traveller brought back stories of powerful kingdoms and of untold wealth; but the passage by sea was scarcely dreamed of, and by land, wide deserts and warlike tribes lay between. Commerce, indeed, struggled overland and *viâ* the Red Sea. It was carried on chiefly through Egypt, although partly also across Syria, under the Roman Empire; and in later mediæval times by the Italian cities on the Mediterranean, which traded to the ports of the Levant.¹ But to the Europeans of the

¹ The following is a list of the most noteworthy early travellers to the East, from the 9th century to the establishment of the Portuguese as a conquering power in India in the 16th. The Arab geographers will be found in Sir Henry Elliot's first volumes of the *Indian Historians*. The standard European authority is *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, edited by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., 2 vols., 2nd edition, 1875. The author's best thanks are due to Colonel Yule for the assistance he has kindly afforded both here and in those articles of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* which came within the scope of Colonel Yule's researches. The authorities for the more ancient travellers and Indian geographers are, as already stated, M'Crindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, his *Ktesias*, and his *Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*, which originally appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, and were republished by Messrs. Trübner. *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, by Dr. William Vincent, Dean of Westminster (2 vols. 4to, 1807), may still be perused with interest, although Dr. Vincent's materials have been supplemented by fuller and more accurate knowledge.

A.D.

883. King Alfred sends Sighelm of Sherburn to the shrine of Saint Thomas in 'India.' But what 'India' is doubtful, see *anti*, p. 290.

851-916. Sulaiman and Abu Zaid, whose travels furnished the *Relations* of Reinaud.

912-30. The geographer Mas'udi.

1150-73. Rablu Benjamin of Tudela; visited Persian Gulf, reported on India.

(Footnote continued on next page.)

15th century. India was an unknown land, which, powerfully attracted the imagination of spirits stimulated by the Renaissance, and ardent for discovery. The materials for this period have been collected by Sir George Birdwood in his admirable official *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (1879), to which the following paragraphs are largely indebted. The history of the various European Settlements will be found in greater detail, under their respective articles, in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus sailed westward under the Portuguese Spanish flag to seek India beyond the Atlantic, bearing with him a letter to the great Khan of Tartary. He found America instead. An expedition consisting of three ships, under Vasco da Gama, started from Lisbon five years later, in the

1260-71. The brothers Nicolo and Matteo Polo, father and uncle of Marco Polo; make their first trading venture through Central Asia.

1271. They started on their second journey, accompanied by Marco Polo; and about 1275, arrived at the Court of Kublai Khan in Shangai, whence Marco Polo was entrusted with several missions to Cochian China, Khanbeldj (Tekin), and the Indian Seas.

1292. Friar John of Monte Corvino, afterwards Archbishop of Peking, spent thirteen months in India on his way to China.

1314-78. Ibn Batuta, an Arab of Tunis, in thirty years, viz. in the first, arrived at Delhi, the Court of Mahmud of Ghazni; in D.D. 1334-42, where he was employed by the Emperor of China.

1316-24. Oliverio, Italian, in Mahmud's service, visited India, and returned to Italy, giving a description of the country and situation of the Court of Mahmud of Ghazni, and of the Emperor of China, and of the Court of the Sultan of Persia.

1328. Friar Jordanus of Saxony, in India.

1338-40. Friar de Mercurio, in India, and afterwards in Persia, Malabar, and China, and returned in 1347, and was the first to describe the Court of the Sultan of Persia.

1347-74. Friar de Monte, who visited Persia, India, and Malabar, and returned to Italy in 1374, and was the first to describe the Court of the Sultan of Persia.

1349-49. Friar de Monte, who visited Persia, India, and Malabar, and returned to Italy in 1374, and was the first to describe the Court of the Sultan of Persia.

1342-44. Friar de Monte, who visited Persia, India, and Malabar, and returned to Italy in 1374, and was the first to describe the Court of the Sultan of Persia.

1360-74. Friar de Monte, who visited Persia, India, and Malabar, and returned to Italy in 1374, and was the first to describe the Court of the Sultan of Persia.

1362-64. Friar de Monte, who visited Persia, India, and Malabar, and returned to Italy in 1374, and was the first to describe the Court of the Sultan of Persia.

1373-8. Friar de Monte, who visited Persia, India, and Malabar, and returned to Italy in 1374, and was the first to describe the Court of the Sultan of Persia.

south-eastern direction. It doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and cast anchor off the city of Calicut on the 20th May 1498.¹ after a protracted voyage of nearly eleven months. An earlier Portuguese emissary, Covilham, had reached Calicut overland about 1487. From the first, Da Gama encountered hostility from the Moors, or rather Arabs, who monopolized the sea-borne trade; but he seems to have found favour with the Zamorin, or Hindu Rájá of Calicut. An Afghán of the Lodi dynasty was then on the throne of Delhi, and another Afghán king was ruling over Bengal. Ahmadábád formed the seat of a Muhammadan dynasty in Gujarát. The five independent Muhammadan kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijápur, Ellichpur, Golconda, and Bídár had partitioned out the Deccan. But the Hindu Rájá of Vijayanagar still ruled as paramount in the South, and was perhaps the most powerful monarch to be found at that time in India, not excepting the Lodi dynasty at Delhi.

State of
India on
arrival of
Portu-
guese.

Rájá of
Calicut's
letter,
1498.

After staying nearly six months on the Malabar coast, Da Gama returned to Europe, bearing with him the following letter from the Zamorin to the King of Portugal: 'Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, has visited my kingdom and has given me great pleasure. In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral, and scarlet.' The safe arrival of Da Gama at Lisbon was celebrated with national rejoicings as enthusiastic as those which had greeted the return of Columbus. If the West Indies belonged to Spain by priority of discovery, Portugal might claim the East Indies by the same right. The Portuguese mind became intoxicated by dreams of a mighty Oriental Empire.

Portuguese
expedi-
tion, 1500.

The early Portuguese navigators were not traders or private adventurers, but admirals with a royal commission to open up a direct commerce with Asia, and to purchase Eastern commodities on behalf of the King of Portugal. A second expedition, consisting of thirteen ships and seven hundred soldiers, under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral, was despatched in 1500. On his outward voyage, Cabral was driven westward by stress of weather, and discovered Brazil. Ultimately he reached Calicut. He established a factory, or

¹ According to Correa, *Lendas da India*, an excellent authority, Vasco da Gama spent over three months at Melinda on the south-east coast of Africa, and did not reach Calicut until August 1498. But the received date is May or June.

agency for the purchase of goods there; but as soon as he left Calicut, the factor was murdered by the Muhamnadan merchants. In spite of this disaster, he left a factor behind him at Cochin, when he returned to Portugal.

In 1502, the King of Portugal obtained from Pope Alexander VI. a bull constituting him 'Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India.' Portuguese supremacy in Eastern seas, 1500-1600 In that year Vasco da Gama sailed again to the East, with a fleet numbering twenty vessels. He formed alliances with the Rájás of Cochin and Cannanore, and the Ráni of Quilon, and bombarded the Zamorin of Calicut in his palace. In 1503, the great Affonso de Albuquerque sailed to the East in command of one of three expeditions from Portugal. The Portuguese arrived only just in time to succour the Rájá of Cochin, who was being besieged by the Zamorin of Calicut. They built a fort at Cochin, and, to guard against any future disaster, left 150 Portuguese soldiers under Duarte Pacheco to defend their ally. When they departed, the Zamorin, or Hindu Rájá of Calicut, again attacked Cochin, but he was defeated by Pacheco both by land and sea, and the prestige of the Portuguese was by these victories raised to its height.

In 1505, a large fleet of twenty sail and fifteen hundred men was sent under Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India. Viceroyalty of Almeida, 1505-09. Almeida was the first Portuguese statesman in India to develop a distinct policy. He saw that, in the face of the opposition of the Muhammadan merchants, whose monopoly was infringed, it was necessary to fortify factories in India, in which to carry on trade. But he wished these forts to be as few as possible, and that the chief power of Portugal should be on the sea. Almeida had also a new danger to meet. The Sultán of Egypt perceived that the discovery of the direct sea-route from Europe to India round the Cape of Good Hope was ruining the transit trade through Egypt. He therefore despatched a fleet to exterminate the Portuguese forces in Asia. The Sultan's admiral won a victory off Viet 15 Chaul, in 1508, in which Almeida's son was killed: but on 149 2nd February 1509, the Egyptians were utterly defeated on 150 the island of Diu. The danger of a general union of the Moslems against the Portuguese was thus averted for the time, and the quarrels between the Turks and Egyptians which ensued gave time for the Christians to firmly consolidate their power in India.

In 1509, Albuquerque succeeded as Governor, and wisely extended the area of Portuguese influence. He abandoned

Albuquerque
takes Goa,
1510.

the system of Almeida, and resolved to establish a Portuguese Empire in India, based on the possession of important points along the coast, and on playing off the native princes against each other. Having failed in an attack upon Calicut, he in 1510 seized Goa, which has since remained the capital of Portuguese India. Then, sailing round Ceylon, he captured Malacca, the key to the navigation of the Indian Archipelago, and opened a trade with Siam and the Spice Islands. Lastly, he sailed back westward, and, after penetrating into the Red Sea and taking Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, returned to Goa only to die in 1515. In 1524, Vasco da Gama came out to the East for the third time, and he too died at Cochin, after a rule of only three months. For exactly a century, from 1500 to 1600, the Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of Oriental trade.¹ 'From Japan and the Spice Islands to the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope, they were the sole masters and dispensers of the treasures of the East; while their possessions along the Atlantic coast of Africa and in Brazil completed their maritime Empire.'²

Cruelties
of Portu-
guese in
India.

But the Portuguese had neither the political strength nor the personal character necessary to maintain such an Empire. Their national temper had been formed in their contest with the Moors at home. They were not traders, but knights-errant and crusaders, who looked on every pagan as an enemy of Portugal and of Christ. Only those who have read the contemporary narratives of their conquests, can realize the superstition and the cruelty with which their history in the Indies is stained.

Albu-
querque's
policy of
concilia-
tion.

Albuquerque alone endeavoured to conciliate the goodwill of the natives, and to live in friendship with the Hindu princes, who were better pleased to have the Portuguese, as firmly governed by him, for their neighbours and allies, than the Muhammadans whom he had expelled or subdued. The justice and magnanimity of his rule did as much to extend and confirm the power of the Portuguese in the East, as his courage and the success of his military achievements. In such veneration was his memory held, that the Hindus of Goa, and even the Muhammadans, were wont to repair to his

¹ For a full account of the Portuguese in India, and the curious phases of society which they developed, see article GOA, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Also for local notices, see articles DAMAN, DIU, BASSEIN, CALICUT.

² This and the following paragraphs are condensed from Sir George Pindwood's official *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records in the India Office*, dated 1st November 1878 (folio, 1879).

tomb, and there utter their complaints, as if in the presence of his shade, and call upon God to deliver them from the tyranny of his successors.

Yet these successors were not all tyrants. Some of them were great statesmen; many were gallant soldiers. The names of four of them stand out brightly in the history of the Portuguese in India. Nuno da Cunha, Governor from 1528 to 1538, first opened up direct and regular trade with Bengal. After 1518 one ship annually visited Chittagong to purchase merchandise for Portugal; but Da Cunha, hearing of the wealth of the province, and the peaceful, industrious character of its inhabitants, resolved to make a Settlement there. He sent 400 Portuguese soldiers to assist the Muhammadan king of Bengal against Sher Sháh in 1534, and was intending to follow in person, when important events on the other side of India detained him. His intervention had the effect of causing many Portuguese to settle in Bengal. They were never formed into a regular governorship, but remained in loose dependence on the Captain of Ceylon. Yet they became very prosperous, and their headquarters, Húgli, grew into a wealthy city. After the capture of Húgli by Sháh Jahán in 1629, the bravest of the Portuguese in Bengal became outlaws and pirates, and in conjunction with the Arakanese and the Maghs preyed upon the sea-borne commerce of the Bengal coast. The event which prevented Nuno da Cunha from establishing the Portuguese power in Bengal was the approach of a great Turkish and Egyptian fleet. Suláimán (Solyman) the Magnificent had consolidated the Turkish power by the conquest of Egypt, and prepared to accomplish the task which the Sultan of Egypt had attempted thirty years before. But the Portuguese were now in a better position to resist than they had been in the days of the Viceroy Almeida. Nuno da Cunha had obtained possession of the island of Diu, a place much coveted by Albuquerque, from the King of Gujarát in 1535, and it was there that the storm broke. Besieged by the King of Gujarat by land and by the vast Turkish and Egyptian fleet, Diu stood a terrible siege in 1538; and the defenders at last beat off the assailants. Nuno da Cunha did not live to see this glorious result, for he was maligned by enemies and sent home in custody, and it was reserved for his successor to relieve Diu.

João de Castro, who ruled from 1545 to 1548, was no unworthy countryman of Albuquerque and Da Cunha. He relieved Diu, which again had to stand a siege by the King of

The successors of Albuquerque : Nuno da Cunha 1528-38.

The Portuguese in Bengal.

Defence of Diu 1538.

1545-48.

João de
Castro,
1545-48.

Gujarāt, whom he defeated in one of the greatest victories ever won by the Portuguese in India. He had also to defend Goa against the King of Bijāpur, and with similar successes. But it was not only as a warrior, but as a statesman, that João de Castro won his fame. In the three short years of his government he tried to reform the errors of the Portuguese colonial system. The trade of India was a royal monopoly, and crowds of officials lived by speculation and corruption in order to enhance their salaries from the Crown. João de Castro endeavoured to cleanse the Augean stable, and by his own upright character set a shining example to his compatriots. It was during his rule that the Portuguese, in addition to being a trading and a governing power, became a proselytizing power. Hitherto Catholic priests had come to India to tend the souls of the Portuguese. But now began the era of missions to the heathen. This development of missionary effort was largely due to the inspiring exertions of Saint Francis Xavier, who was Castro's intimate friend. The Jesuits followed the missionary pioneer of their Order, and the whole authority of the Portuguese Government was practically placed at the disposal of the Christian missionaries after this epoch.

C de
Braganza,
1555-61.

Constantino de Braganza, a prince of the royal house of Portugal, attempted, and not without some success, to take up the task which had proved too hard for De Castro, during his rule from 1558 to 1561. But he is better remembered as the conqueror of Damān, one of the places still belonging to Portugal. Luis de Athaide, who was Viceroy from 1568 to 1571, and from 1578 to 1581, had during his first viceroyalty to meet a formidable league of opponents. The defeat of the Hindu Rájá of Vijayanagar at Tálíkot in 1565, left the Muhammadan princes of the Deccan at liberty to act against the Portuguese. A great league was formed by them, which included even the half-savage King of Achín. All the Portuguese Settlements on the Malabar coast as well as Malacca were besieged by overwhelming forces. But the Portuguese commanders rose to the occasion. Everywhere they were triumphant. The Viceroy, in 1570, defended Goa for ten months against the King of Bijāpur, and eventually repulsed him; the undisciplined Indian troops were unable to stand against the veteran soldiers of Portugal; 200 of whom, at Malacca, routed 15,000 natives with artillery. When, in 1578, Malacca was again besieged by the King of Achín, the small Portuguese garrison destroyed 10,000 of his men, and all the

Luis de
Athaide,
1568-81.

Defence
of Goa,
1570.

Achin cannon and junks. Twice again, in 1615 and for the last time in 1628, Malacca was besieged, and on each occasion the Achinese were repulsed with equal bravery. But the increased military forces sent out to resist these attacks proved an insupportable drain on the revenues and population of Portugal.

In 1580, the Portuguese Crown was united with that of Spain, under Philip II. This proved the ruin of the maritime and commercial supremacy of Portugal in the East. The interests of Portugal in Asia were henceforth subordinated to the European interests of Spain; and the enemies of Spain, the Dutch and the English, preyed on the Portuguese as well as on the Spanish commerce. In 1640, Portugal again became a separate kingdom. But in the meanwhile the Dutch and English had appeared in the Eastern Seas; and before their indomitable competition, the Portuguese empire of the Indies withered away as rapidly as it had sprung up. The period of the highest development of Portuguese commerce was probably from 1590 to 1610, on the eve of the subversion of their commercial power by the Dutch, and when their political administration in India was at its lowest depth of degradation. At this period a single fleet of Portuguese merchantmen sailing from Goa to Cambay or Surat would number as many as 150 or 250 *carracks*. Now, only one Portuguese ship sails from Lisbon to Goa in the year.¹

The Dutch besieged Goa in 1603, and again in 1639. Both attacks were unsuccessful on land; but the Portuguese were gradually driven off the sea. In 1683 the Maráthás plundered to the gates of Goa, and in 1739 they sacked Bassin, the Northern capital. The further history of the Portuguese in India is a miserable chronicle of pride, poverty, and sounding titles. The native princes pressed upon them from the land. On the sea they gave way to more vigorous European nations.

The only remaining Portuguese possessions in India are Goa, Damán, and Diu, all on the west coast, with a total area of 2365 square miles, and a total general population (Native and European), according to the last Census,² of 561,384 in 1891. About 30,000 of so-called 'Portuguese' half-castes are found in Bombay, and 20,000 in Bengal, chiefly in the

¹ Reproduced, without verification, from Sir George Birdwood's Report, p. 70.

² The Census of Portuguese India for 1881 takes a distinction between 'actual' and 'nominal' population. The enumeration seems to have been conducted with greater completeness in the Portuguese Settlements in 1891, but I have so far been able to obtain only the gross total, without being able to analyse or examine its details.

Spanish influences, 1580.

Downfall of Portuguese in India, 1639-1739.

Portuguese possessions in 1881

Mixed descendants. neighbourhood of Dacca and Chittagong. The latter are known as Firinghis; and, excepting that they retain the Roman Catholic faith and European surnames, they are scarcely to be distinguished either by colour, language, or habits of life from the natives among whom they live. Their complexion is in many cases darker than that of the surrounding Indian population; and, as a rule, they are a thriftless, feeble class.

The Portuguese in modern India. Nor do the Portuguese succeed in obtaining any share worth mentioning in the modern trade of British India. While French and Germans are taking advantage of the commercial activity of British rule in the East to enter on Indian commercial enterprise in increasing numbers, the few Portuguese traders or employes born in Portugal and resorting to British India are decreasing. Their total, which amounted to 426 in 1872, had fallen to 133 in 1881, and was returned at 149 by the Census of 1891. The efforts by the British Government to establish a commercial solidarity of interest with Portugal in India have also failed. The construction of a railway, to a large extent with British private capital, and under the supervision of private British engineers, designed to connect the main Portuguese Settlement of Goa with the interior of India, and debouch at the Port of Marmagão, led, about 1885, to a customs treaty being negotiated, which placed the Goa and the British systems on a fairly homogeneous basis. But after some years the Portuguese declined to renew their engagements, and they are now (1892) in a state of political and commercial isolation in India. I have much pleasure, however, in closing this paragraph with an acknowledgment of the courtesy with which the Lisbon authorities have aided the efforts of the British Government to carry out a historical investigation into the Indo-Portuguese records of the past. Mr. Frederick Danvers, of the India Office, has made two visits to Portugal with this object, under orders of the Secretary of State for India. His Report, of which the proof-sheets have reached me as I am sending this chapter to press, deals with the public records at Lisbon and Evora for a period of about three hundred years. It throws a flood of fresh light on Indo-Portuguese history, and adds, among other discoveries, a new and important chapter to the history of the Maráthás.

The Dutch in India, 1602-1824. The Dutch were the first European nation who broke through the Portuguese monopoly. During the 16th century, Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam became successively the great emporiums whence Indian produce, imported by the Portuguese, was distributed to Germany, and even to England.

At first the Dutch, following in the track of the English, attempted to find their way to India by sailing round the northern coast of Europe and Asia. William Barents is honourably known as the leader of three of these arctic expeditions, in the last of which he perished.

The first Dutchman to double the Cape of Good Hope was Cornelius Houtman, who reached Sumatra and Bantam in 1596. Forthwith private companies for trade with the East were formed in many parts of the United Provinces; but in 1602 they were all amalgamated by the States-General into 'The Dutch East India Company.' Within fifty years the Dutch had established factories on the continent of India, in Ceylon, in Sumatra, in the Persian Gulf, and in the Red Sea, besides having obtained exclusive possession of the Moluccas. In 1619 they laid the foundation of the city of ^{Their} Batavia in Java, as the seat of the supreme government of ^{progress.} 1619. the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which had previously been at Amboyna. At about the same time the Dutch discovered the coast of Australia; while in North America they founded the city of New Amsterdam or Manhattan, now New York.

During the 17th century the Dutch were the foremost maritime power in the world. Their memorable massacre of the English at Amboyna, in 1623, forced the British Company to retire from the Eastern Archipelago to the continent of India, ^{Dutch supremacy in Eastern seas, 1600-1700.} and thus led to the foundation of our Indian Empire. The long naval wars and bloody battles between the English and the Dutch within the narrow seas were not terminated until William of Orange united the two countries in 1689. In the Eastern Archipelago the Dutch ruled without a rival, and expelled the Portuguese from almost all their territorial possessions. In 1635 they occupied Formosa; in 1640 they took Malacca, a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered; in 1647 they were trading at Sadras, on the ^{Their Indian progress, 1635-60.} Palar river; in 1651 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as a half-way station to the East; in 1652 they built their first Indian factory at Palakollu, on the Madras coast; in 1658 they captured Jaffnapatam, the last stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Between 1661 and 1664 the Dutch wrested from the Portuguese all their earlier settlements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar; and in 1669 they expelled the Portuguese from St. Thomé and Mica-sar.

The fall of the Dutch colonial empire resulted from a short-sighted commercial policy. It was a fatally based

Their short-sighted policy.

Stripped of their Indian possessions, 1759-1811.

Dutch relics in India.

upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, and remained from first to last destitute of sound economical principles. Like the Phœnicians of old, the Dutch stopped short of no acts of cruelty towards their rivals in commerce; but, unlike the Phœnicians, they failed to introduce their civilisation among the natives with whom they came in contact. The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1759 he attacked the Dutch at Chinsurah both by land and water, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. During the great French wars between 1795 and 1811, England wrested from Holland every one of her colonies; although Java was restored in 1816, and Sumatra exchanged for Malacca in 1824.

At present, the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the mainland of India. But quaint houses, Dutch tiles and carvings, at Chinsurah, Negapatam, Jaffnapatam, and at petty ports on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, with the formal canals in some of these old Settlements, remind the traveller of scenes in the Netherlands. The passage between Ceylon and the mainland still bears the name of the Dutch governor, Palk. In the Census of 1872, only 70 Dutchmen were enumerated throughout all British India, 78 in 1881, and 119 in 1891.¹

Early English adventurers, 1496-1596.

The North-east passage, 1553.

The earliest English attempts to reach India were made by the North-west passage. In 1496, Henry VII. granted letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons (one of whom was the famous Sebastian) to fit out two ships for the exploration of this route. They failed, but discovered the island of Newfoundland, and sailed along the coast of America from Labrador to Virginia. In 1553, the ill-fated Sir Hugh Willoughby attempted to force a passage along the north of Europe and Asia, the successful accomplishment of which has been reserved for a Swedish savant of our own day. Sir Hugh perished miserably; but his second in command, Chancellor, reached a harbour on the White Sea, now Archangel. Thence he penetrated by land to the court of the Grand Duke of Moscow, and laid the foundation of 'the Russia Company for carrying on the overland trade between India, Persia, Bokhara, and Moscow.'

The North-west passage, 1576-1616.

Many English attempts were made to find a North-west passage to the East Indies, from 1576 to 1616. They have left on our modern maps the imperishable names of Frobisher,

¹ For local notices of the Dutch in India, see articles SADRAS, PALAKOLLU, CHINSURAH, NEGAPATAM, PALK'S PASSAGE, etc., in their respective volumes of my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Davis, Hudson, and Baffin. Meanwhile, in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and on his way home had touched at Ternate, one of the Moluccas, the king of which island agreed to supply the English nation with all the cloves which it produced.

The first modern Englishman known to have visited the Indian peninsula was Thomas Stephens, in 1579. William of Malmesbury states, indeed, that in 883 Sighelmus of Sherborne, sent by King Alfred to Rome with presents to the Pope, proceeded thence to 'India,' to the tomb of St. Thomas, and brought back jewels and spices. But, as already pointed out, it by no means follows that the 'India' of William of Malmesbury meant the Indian peninsula. Stephens (1579) was educated at New College, Oxford, and became Rector of the Jesuit College in Salsette. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India.

In 1583, three English merchants, Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and Leedes, went out to India overland as mercantile adventurers. The jealous Portuguese threw them into prison at Ormuz, and again at Goa. At length Newberry settled down as a shopkeeper at Goa; Leedes entered the service of the Great Moghal; and Fitch, after a lengthened peregrination in Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and other parts of the East Indies, returned to England.¹

The defeat of the 'Invincible Armada' in 1588, at which time the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, gave a fresh stimulus to maritime enterprise in England; and the successful voyage of the Dutch Cornelius Houtman in 1596 showed the way round the Cape of Good Hope, into waters hitherto monopolized by the Portuguese.

The following paragraph on the early history of the English East India Companies is condensed, with little change, from Sir George Birdwood's official report.² In 1599, the Dutch, who had now firmly established their trade in the East, raised the price of pepper against us from 3s. per lb. to 6s. and 8s. The merchants of London held a meeting on the 22nd September at Founders' Hall, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, and agreed to form an Association for the purposes of trading directly with India. Queen Elizabeth also sent Sir John Mildenhall by Constantinople to the Great Moghal to apply for privileges for an English Company. On the 31st

¹ Condensed from *Report on Old Records in the India Office*, [p. 75-77].

² Condensed from *Report on Old Records in the India Office*, [p. 77 et seq.].

First
Charter,
31st De-
cember
1600.

December 1600,¹ the English East India Company was incorporated by Royal Charter, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.' The original Company had only 125 shareholders, and a capital of £70,000, which was raised to £400,000 in 1612-13, when voyages were first undertaken on the joint-stock account.

Later
Com-
panies,
1635,
1655.

Courten's Association, known as 'The Assada Merchants,' from a factory subsequently founded by it in Madagascar, was established in 1635, but, after a period of internecine rivalry, was united with the London Company in 1650. In 1654-55, the 'Company of Merchant Adventurers' obtained a Charter from Cromwell to trade with India, but united with the original Company two years later. A more formidable rival subsequently appeared in the English Company, or 'General Society trading to the East Indies,' which was incorporated under powerful patronage in 1698, with a capital of 2 millions sterling. According to Evelyn, in his *Diary* for March 5, 1698, 'the old East India Company lost their business against the new Company by ten votes in Parliament; so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs.' However, a compromise was effected through the arbitration of Lord Godolphin² in 1708, by which the amalgamation of the 'London' and the 'English' Companies was finally carried out in 1709, under the style of 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.' About the same time, the Company advanced loans to the English Government aggregating £3,200,000 at 5 per cent. interest, in return for the exclusive privilege to trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.³

1698,

1708.
Amalga-
mated
Company,
1709.

English
Voyages,
1600-12.

The early voyages of the Company from 1600 to 1612 are distinguished as the 'separate voyages,' twelve in number. The subscribers individually bore the expenses of each voyage, and reaped the whole profits. With the exception of the fourth, all these separate voyages were highly prosperous, the profits hardly ever falling below 100 per cent. After 1612, the voyages were conducted on the joint-stock account.

The English were promptly opposed by the Portuguese.

¹ Auber gives the date as the 30th December, *Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company*, by Peter Auber, Assistant-Secretary to the Honourable Court of Directors, p. ix. (London, 1826.)

² Under the award of Lord Godolphin, by the Act of the 6th of Queen Anne, in 1708, cap. 17. Auber's *Analysis*, p. xi.

³ Mill, *Hist. Brit. Ind.* vol. i. p. 151 (ed. 1840). Auber gives a detailed statement of these loans, from 1708 to 1793; *Analysis*, p. xi. etc.

But James Lancaster, even in the first voyage (1601-2), established commercial relations with the King of Achin and at Priaman in the island of Sumatra; as well as with the Moluccas, and at Bantam in Java, where he settled a 'House of Trade' in 1603. In 1604, the Company undertook their second voyage, commanded by Sir Henry Middleton, who extended their trade to Banda and Amboyna. The success of these voyages attracted a number of private merchants to the business; and in 1606, James I. granted a licence to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade 'to Cathay, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya.' But Michelborne, on arriving in the East, instead of exploring new sources of commerce like the East India Company, followed the pernicious example of the Portuguese, and plundered the native traders among the islands of the Indian Archipelago. He in this way secured a considerable booty, but brought disgrace on the British name, and seriously hindered the Company's business at Bantam.

In 1608, Captain D. Middleton, in command of the fifth voyage, was prevented by the Dutch from trading at Banda, but succeeded in obtaining a cargo at Pulo Way. In this year also, Captain Hawkins proceeded from Surat, as envoy from James I. and the East India Company, to the court of the Great Mughal. He was graciously received by the Emperor (Jahángír), and remained three years at Agra. In 1609, Captain Sharpay obtained the grant of free trade at Aden, and a cargo of pepper at Priaman in Sumatra. In 1609, also, the Company constructed the dockyard at Deptford, which was the beginning, observes Sir William Monson, 'of the increase of great ships in England.' In 1611, Sir Henry Middleton, in command of the sixth voyage, arrived before Cambay. He resolutely fought the Portuguese, who tried to beat him off, and obtained important concessions from the Native Powers. In 1610-11, also, Captain Hippon, commanding the seventh voyage, established agencies at Masulipatam, and in Siam, at Patania or Patany on the Malay Peninsula, and at Pettipollce. We obtained leave to trade at Surat in 1612.

In 1615, the Company's fleet, under Captain Best, was attacked off Swally, the port of Surat, at the mouth of the river Tápti, by an overwhelming force of Portuguese.¹ But the assailants were utterly defeated in four engagements. to

¹ For this date and account of the engagement, see *Bombay Gazetteer*. SURAT and BROACH vol. II. pp. 77, 78. (Bombay Government Press, 1877)

the astonishment of the natives, who had hitherto considered them invincible. The first-fruit of this decisive victory was the pre-eminence of our factory at Surat, with subordinate agencies at Gogra, Ahmadabad, and Cambay. Trade was also opened with the Persian Gulf. In 1614, an agency was established at Ajmere by Mr. Edwards of the Surat factory. The chief seat of the Company's government in Western India remained at Surat until 1684-87, when it was transferred to Bombay.¹

Sir
Thomas
Roe, 1615.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I. as ambassador to the court of Jahángir, and succeeded in placing the Company's trade in the Mughal dominions on a more favourable footing. In 1618, the English established a factory at Mocha; but the Dutch compelled them to resign all pretensions to the Spice Islands. In that year also, the Company failed in its attempt to open a trade with Dábhól, Baticála, and Calicut, through a want of sincerity on the part of the Zamorin, or Calicut Rájá. In 1619 we were permitted to establish a factory and build a fort at Jask, in the Persian Gulf.

Treaty
with
Dutch,
1619.

In 1619, the 'Treaty of Defence' with the Dutch, to prevent disputes between the English and Dutch Companies, was ratified. When it was proclaimed in the East, the Dutch and English fleets, dressed out in all their flags, and with yards manned, saluted each other. But the treaty ended in the smoke of that stately salutation, and the perpetual strife between the Dutch and English Companies went on as bitterly as ever. Up to this time, the English Company did not possess any territory in sovereign right in the 'Indies,' excepting in the island of Lantore or Great Banda. The island was governed by a commercial agent of the Company, who had under him thirty Europeans as clerks and warehousemen. This little band, with 250 armed Malays, constituted the only force by which it was protected. In the islands of Banda and Pulo Roon and Rosengyn, the English Company had factories, at each of which were ten agents. At Macassar and Achín they possessed agencies; the whole being subordinate to a head factory at Bantam in Java.

English
attacked
by Dutch,
1620.

In 1620, the Dutch, notwithstanding the Treaty of Defence concluded the previous year, expelled the English from Pulo Roon and Lantore; and in 1621 from Bantam in Java. The fugitive factors tried to establish themselves, first at Pulicat, and

¹ Orders issued, 1684; transfer commenced, 1686; actually carried out, 1687. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ii. p. 98.

afterwards at Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, but were effectually opposed by the Dutch. In 1620, the Portuguese also attacked the English fleet under Captain Shillinge, but were defeated with great loss. From this time the estimation in which the Portuguese were held by the natives declined, while that of the English rose. In 1620, too, the English Company established agencies at Agra and Patná. In 1622 they joined with the Persians, attacked and took Ormuz from the Portuguese, and obtained from Sháh Abbas a grant in perpetuity of the customs of Gombroon. This was the first time that the English took the offensive against the Portuguese. In the same year, 1622, our Company succeeded in re-establishing their factory at Masulipatam.

Masulipatam factory, 1622. The massacre of Amboyna, 1623.

The massacre of Amboyna, which made so deep an impression on the English mind, marked the climax of the Dutch hatred to us in the Eastern seas. After long and bitter recriminations, the Dutch seized our Captain Towerson at Amboyna, with 9 Englishmen, 9 Japanese, and 1 Portuguese sailor, on the 17th February 1623. They tortured the prisoners at their trial, and found them guilty of a conspiracy to surprise the garrison. The victims were executed in the heat of passion, and their torture and judicial murder led to an outburst of indignation in England. Ultimately, commissioners were appointed to adjust the claims of the two nations; and the Dutch had to pay a sum of £3615 as satisfaction to the heirs of those who had suffered. But from that time the Dutch remained masters of Lantore and the neighbouring islands. They monopolized the whole trade of the Indian Archipelago, until the great naval wars which commenced in 1793. In 1624, the English, unable to oppose the Dutch, withdrew nearly all their factories from the Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, Siam, and Java. Some of the factors and agents retired to the island of Lagundy, in the Strait of Sunda, but were forced by its unhealthiness to abandon it.

English driven out of Archipelago, 1624.

Driven out of the Eastern Archipelago by the Dutch, and thus almost cut off from the lucrative spice trade, the English betook themselves in earnest to founding Settlements on the Indian seaboard. In 1625-26, the English established a factory at Armagáon on the Coromandel coast, subordinate to Masulipatam.¹ But in 1628, Masulipatam was, in consequence

English retire to India, 1625. Their early factories, 1625-53.

¹ These brief chronological abstracts follow, with a few omissions, additions, and corrections of dates, Sir George Birdwood's official *Report on the Old Records in the India Office* (folio), p. 83. For notices of the Indian towns mentioned, see the articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*

of the oppressions of the native governors, for a time abandoned in favour of Armagáon, which now mounted 12 guns, and had 23 factors and agents. In 1629, our factory at Bantam in Java was re-established as an agency subordinate to Surat; and in 1630, Armagáon, reinforced by 20 soldiers, was also placed under the Presidency of Surat. In 1632, the English factory was re-established at Masulipatam, under a grant, the 'Golden Firman,' from the King of Golconda. In 1634, by a *farmán* dated February 2, the Company obtained from the Great Mughal liberty to trade in Bengal. But their ships were to resort only to Pippli in Orissa, now left far inland by the sea. The Portuguese were in the same year expelled for a time from Bengal.

Trade to
Bengal,
1634.

Bantam
Presi-
dency,
1635.

In 1634-35, the English factory at Bantam in Java was again raised to an independent Presidency, and an agency was established at Tatta, or 'Scindy.' In 1637, Courten's Association (chartered 1635) settled agencies at Goa, Baticála, Kárwár, Achín, and Rájápur. Its ships had the year before plundered some native vessels at Surat and Diu. This act disgraced the Company with the Mughal authorities (who could not comprehend the distinction between the Company and the Association), and depressed the English trade with Surat, while that of the Dutch proportionately increased.

Madras
founded,
1639.

In 1638, Armagáon was abandoned as unsuited for commerce; and in 1639, Fort St. George, or Madaraspatam (Chennapatam),¹ was founded by Francis Day, and the factors at Armagáon were removed to it. It was made subordinate to Bantam in Java, until raised in 1653 to the rank of a Presidency. In 1640, the Company established an agency at Bussorah, and a factory at Kárwár. Trade having much extended, the Company's yard at Deptford was found too small for their ships, and they purchased some copyhold ground at Blackwall, which at that time was a waste marsh, without an inhabitant. Here they opened another dockyard, in which was built the *Royal George*, of 1200 tons, the largest ship up to that time constructed in England.

Húgh,
1640.

Our factory at Húglí in Bengal was established in 1640, and at Balasor in 1642. In 1645, in consequence of professional services rendered by Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the *Hopewell*, to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, additional privileges

¹ Bishop Caldwell derives Madras from the Telugu *maduru*, the surrounding wall of a fort. It took its native name of Chennapatam from Chennappa, the father-in-law of the Nayakkur or Chief of Chengalpat. *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 10 (ed. 1875).

were granted to the Company; and in 1646, the Governor of Bengal, who had also been medically attended by Boughton, made concessions which placed the factories at Balasor and Hugli on a more favourable footing. In 1647, Courten's Association established its colony at Assada, in Madagascar. ^{Madagascar, 1647.} In 1652, Cromwell declared war against the Dutch on account of their accumulated injuries against the English Company. In 1653, the English factory at Lucknow was withdrawn. No record has been found of its establishment. In 1658, the Company established a factory at Kásimbázár (spelt 'Castle Bazaar' in the records), and the English establishments in Bengal were made subordinate to Fort St. George, or Madras, instead of to Bantam.

In 1661, Bombay was ceded to the British Crown as part of ^{Bombay ceded, 1661.} the dower of Catharine of Braganza, but was not delivered up until 1665. King Charles II. transferred it to the East India Company, for an annual payment of £10, in 1668. The seat of the Western Presidency was removed to it from Surat in 1684-87. The Company's establishments in the East Indies ^{Our factories, 1665} thus consisted in 1665 of the Presidency of Bantam in Java, ^{Bantam;} with its dependencies of Jambí, Macassar, and minor agencies in the Indian Archipelago; Fort St. George and its dependent factories on the Coromandel coast and Bengal; Surat, with ^{Madras;} its affiliated dependency of Bombay; and factories at Broach, ^{Bombay;} Ahmadábád, and other places in Western India; also at Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) and Bussorah in the Persian Gulf ^{Persian Gulf;} and Euphrates valley. In 1661, the factory at Biliapatam was founded. In 1663, the English factories established at Patná, Balasor, and Kásimbázár were ordered to be discontinued, and ^{Bengal} purchases to be made only at Hugli. In 1664, Surat was pillaged by the Maráthá Sivaji, but Sir George Oxenden bravely defended the English factory; and the Mughal Emperor, in admiration of his conduct, granted the Company an exemption from customs for one year.

In 1681, Bengal was separated from Madras, and Mr. ^{Bengal separated from Madras, 1681.} (afterwards Sir William) Hedges arrived at Hugli, the chief Bengal factory, in July 1682, as the newly-appointed 'agent and governor' of the Company's affairs 'in the Bay of Bengal, and of the factories subordinate to it, at Kásimbázár, Patná, Balasor, Maldah, and Dacca. A corporal of approved fidelity, with 20 soldiers, to be a guard to the agent's person at the factory of Hugli, and to act against interlopers.' Mr. Hedges' Diary, from the signing of his commission in November 1681, to his return to England in April 1687, has been edited with

valuable notes and commentaries, by the late Sir Henry Yule, and presents a very remarkable picture of life and government in India at the close of the 17th century.¹ In 1684, Sir John Child was made 'Captain-General and Admiral of India;' and Sir John Wyborne, 'Vice-Admiral and Deputy-Governor of Bombay.' In 1687, the seat of the Presidency was finally transferred from Surat to Bombay. In 1686, Kāsimbāzār, in common with the other English factories in Bengal, had been condemned to confiscation by the Nawāb Shāistā Khān. The Húgli factory was much oppressed, and the Company's business throughout India suffered from the wars of the Mughals and Maráthás.

Bombay
a Presi-
dency,
1687.

'Governor-
General.'

Calcutta
founded,
1686.

English
resolve
to quit
Bengal,
1687-88.

The Com-
pany em-
barks on
territorial
sway,
1689.

Sir John Child was appointed 'Governor-General,'² with full power in India to make war or peace; and was ordered to proceed to inspect the Company's possessions in Madras and Bengal, and arrange for their safety. On the 20th of December 1686, the Company's Agent and Council were forced by the exactions of the Muhammadan Governor to quit their factory at Húgli. They retired down the river to Sutanati (Calcutta). Tegnapatam (Fort St. David) was founded in this year (1686), and definitively established in 1691-92.

In 1687-88, the Company's servants, broken in spirit by the oppressions of the native Viceroy, determined to abandon their factories in Bengal. In 1688, Captain Heath of the *Resolution*, in command of the Company's forces, embarked all its servants and goods, sailed down the Húgli, and anchored off Balasor on the Orissa coast. They were, however, soon invited to return by the Emperor, who granted them the site of the present city of Calcutta for a fortified factory. In 1689, our factories at Vizagapatam and Masulipatam on the Madras coast were seized by the Muhammadans, and the factors were massacred.

But in this same year the Company determined to consolidate their position in India on the basis of territorial sovereignty, to enable them to resist the oppression of the Mughals and Maráthás. With that view, they passed the resolution which was destined to turn their clerks and factors throughout India into conquerors and proconsuls: 'The increase of our revenue

¹ *The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., during his Agency in Bengal*, etc. (1681-87). By Colonel [Sir] Henry Yule, C.B., K.C.S.I., 3 vols., Hakluyt Society's Publications, 1887 to 1889.

² Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 85, quotes this title from the MSS. It is therefore, nominally, a century older than is usually supposed: but Hastings was the first real Governor-General. 1774.

is the subject of our care, as much as our trade, 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India. Without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's Royal Charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us. And upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade.' The subsequent history of the English East India Company and its Settlements will be narrated in the next chapter.

The Portuguese at no time attempted to found a Company, ^{Order} but kept their Eastern trade as a royal enterprise and monopoly. ^{East India} The first incorporated Company was the English, established ^{Comp.} in 1600, which was quickly followed by the Dutch in 1602. ¹⁶⁰² The Dutch conquests, however, were made in the name of the Dutch State, and ranked as national colonies, not as semi-commercial possessions. Next came the French, whose first East India ^{French} Company was founded in 1604: the second, in 1611; the third, in 1615: the fourth (Richelieu's), in 1642: the fifth (Colbert's), in 1664. The early French Companies consisted of trading adventurers, who left no establishments in India; and when, after the troublous period of the Fronde, Louis XIV. became firmly seated on the throne of France, it was to the Mauritius and Madagascar that the king's ministers looked for a field for commercial expansion. The Mauritius was occupied in 1652, and an attempt was made to form Settlements in Madagascar. Colbert, however, hoped to win a share in the profitable Indian trade, and the fifth French East India Company was founded by him in 1664, with the intention of rivaling the success of the English and the Dutch in India itself. Pondicherry was acquired in 1674, and Chandanagar in 1688, but want of support from France brought the Company's affairs in India to a very low ebb, and the Company felt obliged to cede its right of monopoly to some enterprising merchants of Saint-Malo. The brilliant schemes of Law drew fresh attention to the Indian trade, and the powers, possessions, and assets of Colbert's Company were taken over by his great Company of the West, which is chiefly remembered by its project of developing the colony of Louisiana in America. On the downfall of Law, a sixth East India Com-

pany was formed by the union of the French East and West India, Senegal, and China Companies, under the name of 'The Perpetual Company of the Indies,' in 1719. The exclusive privileges of this Company were, by the French king's decree, suspended in 1769; and the Company was finally abolished by the National Assembly in 1790.

French
pos-
sessions.

Dumas and Dupleix, who were successively governors of the French factories and possessions in India, first conceived the idea of founding an Indian Empire upon the ruins of the Mughal dynasty; and for a time the French nation successfully contended with the English for the supremacy in the East. The French Settlements in India are still five in number, with an area of 203 square miles, and a population of 282,923 souls in 1891. The brilliant history of our great national rivals is summarized under the article FRENCH POSSESSIONS in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iv. (2nd edition).

Danish
Company;

The first Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, and the second in 1670. The Settlements of Tranquebar and Serampur were both founded in 1616, and acquired by the English by purchase from Denmark in 1845. Other Danish Settlements on the mainland of India were Porto Novo; with Eddova and Holcheri on the Malabar coast. The Company started by the Scotch in 1695 may be regarded as having been still-born. The 'Royal Company of the Philippine Islands,' incorporated by the King of Spain in 1733, had little to do with India proper.

Scotch;

Spanish;

German,
or Ostend
Company.

Of more importance was 'The Ostend Company,' incorporated by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1722;¹ its factors and agents being chiefly persons who had served in the Dutch and English Companies. This enterprise forms the subject of Carlyle's 'Third Shadow Hunt' of the Emperor Karl vi.² 'The Kaiser's Imperial Ostend East India Company, which convulsed the diplomatic mind for seven years to come, and made Europe lurch from side to side in a terrific manner, proved a mere paper Company; never sent ships, only produced Diplomacies, and "had the honour to be."' Carlyle's picturesque paragraphs do not disclose the facts. The Ostend Company formed the one great attempt of the German Empire, then with Austria at its head, to secure a share of the Indian

De-scribed
by Carlyle.

¹ The deed of institution is dated 17th December 1722.

² *History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great*, by Thomas Carlyle, vol. i. pp. 555-557 (3rd ed., 1859).

trade. It not only sent ships, but it founded two Settlements in India which threatened the commerce of the older European Companies. One of its Settlements was at Coblom or Covelong, between the English Madras and the Dutch Sadras, on the south-eastern coast. The other was at Bānkīpur, or 'Banky-bazaar,' on the Húglī river, between the English Calcutta and the Dutch Chinsurah. Each of these German Settlements was regarded with hatred by the English and Dutch; and with a more intense fear by the less successful French, whose adjacent Settlements at Pondicherri on the Madras coast, and at Chandarnagar on the Húglī, were also threatened by the Ostend Company.

So far from the German Association being 'a mere paper Company,' and never sending ships, as Carlyle supposes, its formation was the result of a series of successful experimental voyages. In 1717, Prince Eugène ordered two vessels to sail for India, under the protection of his own passports. The profits of the expedition led to others in succeeding years, and each voyage proved so fortunate, that the Austrian Emperor found it necessary to protect and consolidate the property of the adventurers by a Charter in 1722. This deed granted to the Ostend Company more favourable terms than any of the other European Companies enjoyed. Its capital was one million sterling; and so great were the profits during its first years, that its shares brought in 15 per cent. The French, Dutch, and English Companies loudly complained of its factories, built at their very doors, both on the Húglī river and on the Madras coast. These complaints were warmly taken up by their respective Governments in Europe.

For the object which the Emperor Karl vi. had in view was political not less than commercial. Prince Eugène urged that an India Company might be made to form the nucleus of a German fleet, with a first-class naval station at Ostend on the North Sea, and another at Fiume or Trieste on the Adriatic. Such a fleet would complete the greatness of Germany by sea as by land; and would render her independent of the Maritime Powers, especially of England and Holland. The Empire would at length put its ports on the Baltic and the Adriatic to a proper use, and would thenceforth exert a commanding maritime influence in Europe.

The existing Maritime Powers objected to this: and the Ostend Company became the shuttlecock of European diplomacy for the next five years. The Dutch and English felt themselves particularly aggrieved. They pleaded the

Its Indian Settlements.

Threatening attitude of the Ostend Company.

Its experimental voyages, 1717-22.

Their great success.

Political objects of Ostend Company.

Ostend Company opposed by the Maritime Powers.

and sacrificed to the Pragmatic Sanction, 1727.

treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht. After long and loud altercations, the Emperor sacrificed the Ostend Company in 1727 to gain the acceptance of a project nearer his heart—the Pragmatic Sanction for the devolution of his hereditary dominions. To save his honour, the sacrifice at first took the form of a suspension of the Company's Charter for seven years. But the Company was doomed by the Maritime Powers. Its shareholders did not, however, despair. They made attempts to transfer their European centre of trade to Hamburg, Trieste, Tuscany, and even Sweden.

Ostend Settlement destroyed, 1733;

and disappeared from the map.

Ostend Company bankrupt, 1784; and extinguished, 1793.

Meanwhile the other European Companies in Bengal had taken the law into their own hands. They stirred up the Muhammadan Government against the new-comers. In 1733, the Muhammadan military governor of Húglí picked a quarrel, in the name of the Delhi Emperor, with the little German Settlement at Bánkípur, which lay about eight miles below Húglí town on the opposite side of the river. The Muhammadan troops besieged Bánkípur; and the garrison, reduced to fourteen persons, after a despairing resistance against overwhelming numbers, abandoned the place, and set sail for Europe. The Ostend agent lost his right arm by a cannon ball during the attack; and the Ostend Company, together with the German interests which it represented, became thenceforward merely a name in Bengal. Its chief Settlement, Bánkípur or 'Banky-bazaar,' has long disappeared from the maps; and I could only trace its existence from a chart of the last century, aided by the records of that period, and by repeated personal inquiry on the spot.¹ The Ostend Company, however, still prolonged its existence in Europe. After a miserable struggle, it became bankrupt in 1784; and was finally extinguished by the arrangements made at the renewal of the English East India Company's Charter in 1793.

Prussian Companies.

Asiatic Trading Company of Embden, 1750.

What the Emperor of Austria had failed to effect, Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, resolved to accomplish. Having got possession of East Friesland in 1744, he tried to convert its capital, Embden, into a great northern port. Among other measures, he gave his royal patronage to the Asiatic Trading Company, started 1st September 1750, and founded the

¹ There is an interesting series of mss. labelled *The Ostenders* in the India Office. See also the Abbé Raynal's *History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, Book v. (pp. 176-182, vol. ii. of the 1776 edition); and the article BANKÍPUR on the Húglí in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Bengalische Handelsgesellschaft on the 24th January 1753.¹ Embden
 The first of these Companies had a capital of £170,625; Bengal-
 but six ships sent successively to China only defrayed their Handels-
 own expenses, and yielded a profit of 10 per cent. in seven gesell-
 years. The Bengal Company of Embden proved still more schaft,
 unfortunate; its existence was summed up in two expeditions 1753.
 which did not pay, and a long and costly lawsuit.²

The failure of Frederick the Great's efforts to secure for Their
 Prussia a share in the Indian trade, resulted to some extent failure.
 from the jealousy of the rival European Companies in India.
 The Dutch, French, and English pilots refused to show the Dutch and
 way up the dangerous Hugli river to the Embden ships, 'or English
 any other not belonging to Powers already established in jealousy
 India.'³ It is due to the European Companies to state that in of the
 thus refusing pilots to the new-comers, they were carrying out Embden
 the orders of the Native Government of Bengal to which they Companies.
 were then strictly subject. 'If the Germans come here,' the The
 Nawáb had written to the English merchants on a rumour of Nawáb's
 the first Embden expedition reaching India, 'it will be very orders
 bad for all the Europeans, but for you worst of all, and you against the
 will afterwards repent it; and I shall be obliged to stop all Prussians.
 your trade and business. . . . Therefore take care that these
 German ships do not come.'⁴ 'God forbid that they should
 come,' was the pious response of the President of the English
 Council; 'but should this be the case, I am in hopes they
 will be either sunk, broke, or destroyed.'

They came, nevertheless, and some years later the English English
 Court of Directors complain that their Bengal servants are agents
 anxious to trade privately with the Embden Company. 'If privately
 any of the Prussian ships,' wrote the Court, 'want the usual trade
 assistance of water, provisions, or real necessities, they are to with
 be supplied according to the customs of nations in amity one Prussian
 with the other. But you are on no pretence whatsoever to Company.
 have any dealings with them, or give the least assistance in
 their mercantile affairs.'⁵ The truth is that the German Com-

¹ These dates are taken from Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, vol. iv. pp. 367, 368 (ed. 1864). Carlyle's account of the Embden Companies is unfortunately of slight historical value.

² The commercial details of these Companies are given by the Abbé Raynal, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 201, 202.

³ Despatch from the Calcutta Council to the Court of Directors, dated 6th September 1754, para. 11.

⁴ Letter from the Nawab of Murshidabad: Bengal Consultations of 19th August 1751.

⁵ Letter from the Court of Directors to the Calcutta Council, March 25 1756, para. 71.

Frederick
sacrifices
the Com-
pany.

pany had effected an entrance into Bengal, and found the French, English, and Dutch merchants quite willing to trade with it on their private account. But the German investments were made without experience, and the Embden Company was before long sacrificed by the Prussian king to the exigencies of his European diplomacy.

Swedish
Company,
1731.

The last nation of Europe to engage in maritime trade with India was Sweden. When the Ostend Company was suspended, a number of its servants were thrown out of employment. Mr. Henry Koning, of Stockholm, took advantage of their knowledge of the East, and obtained a Charter for the 'Swedish Company,' dated 13th June 1731. This Company was reorganized in 1806, but did little; and, after many troubles, disappeared from India.

Causes of
failure :
of the
Portu-
guese ;

of the
Dutch ;

of the
French.

Such is a summary of the efforts by European nations to obtain a share in the India trade. The Portuguese failed, because they attempted a task altogether beyond their strength; the conquest and the conversion of India. Their memorials are the epic of the Lusiads, the death-roll of the Inquisition, an indigent half-caste population, and three decayed patches of territory on the Bombay coast. The Dutch failed on the Indian continent, because their trade was based on a monopoly which it was impossible to maintain, except by great and costly armaments. Their monopoly, however, still flourishes in their isolated island dominion of Java. The French failed, in spite of the brilliancy of their arms and the genius of their generals, from want of steady support at home. Their ablest Indian servants fell victims to a corrupt court and a careless people. Their surviving Settlements disclose that talent for careful administration, which, but for French monarchs and their ministers and their mistresses, might have been displayed throughout a wide Indian Empire.

Causes of
failure of
the Ger-
mans.

Revival of
German
trade in
India.

The German Companies, whether Austrian or Prussian, were sacrificed to the diplomatic necessities of their royal patrons in Europe; and to the dependence of the German States in the wars of the last century upon the Maritime Powers. But the Germans have never abandoned the struggle. The share in the Indian trade which Prussian King and Austrian Kaiser failed to grasp in the 18th century, has been gradually acquired by German merchants in our own day. An important part of the commerce of Calcutta and Bombay is now conducted by German firms; German mer-

cantile agents are to be found in the rice districts, the jute districts, the cotton districts ; and persons of German nationality have rapidly increased in the Indian Census returns.¹

England emerged the prize-winner from the long contest of the European nations for India. Her success was partly the good gift of fortune, but chiefly the result of four elements in the national character. There was—first, a marvellous patience and self-restraint in refusing to enter on territorial conquests or projects of Indian aggrandizement, until she had gathered strength enough to succeed. Second, an indomitable persistence in those projects once they were entered on ; and a total incapacity, on the part of her servants in India, of being stopped by defeat. Third, an admirable mutual confidence of the Company's servants in each other in times of trouble. Fourth, and chief of all, the resolute support of the English nation at home. England has never doubted that she must retrieve, at whatever strain to herself, every disaster which may befall Englishmen in India ; and she has never sacrificed the work of her Indian servants to the exigencies of her diplomacy in Europe. She was the only European Power which unconsciously but absolutely carried out these two principles of policy. The result of that policy, pursued during two and a half centuries, is the British India of to-day.

The increasing extent to which the chief continental nations of Europe now resort to British India, may be inferred from the following table. These figures are exclusive of Europeans in French and Portuguese territory, and in the Native States :—

¹ See table on next page.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF EUROPEANS IN BRITISH INDIA, BORN
IN THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE (EXCLUSIVE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND), IN 1872, 1881,
AND 1891.

NAME OF COUNTRY.	Number in 1872.	Number in 1881.	Number in 1891.
Austria, . .	53	294	411
Belgium, . .	20	170	204
Denmark, ¹ . .	45	131	136
France, . . .	631	941	1,178
Germany, ² . .	655	1,181	1,399
Greece, ³ . . .	127	190	230
Holland, . . .	70	78	110
Italy,	282	745	738
Norway, ⁴ . . .	58	357	211
Portugal, . . .	426	133	149
Russia, ⁵ . . .	45	198	253
Spain,	32	78	191
Sweden, ⁶ . . .	73	336	188
Switzerland, .	19	85	211
Turkey, . . .	18	352	250
TOTAL, . . .	2,554	5,278	5,868

¹ Including Iceland.² Including Bavaria and Prussia.³ Including the Ionian Islands.⁴ Fewer Norwegian vessels in Indian ports in 1891 than in 1881.⁵ More Russian vessels in Indian ports in 1891 than in 1881.⁶ Fewer Swedish vessels in Indian ports in 1891 than in 1881.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF BRITISH RULE (1757 TO 1885 A.D.).

THE political history of the British in India begins in the 18th century with the French wars in the Karnátik. Fort St. George, the nucleus of Madras, founded by Francis Day in 1639, was our earliest possession. The French Settlement of Pondicherry, about 100 miles lower down the Coromandel coast, was established in 1674; and for many years the English and French traded side by side without rivalry or territorial ambition. The English paid a rent of 1200 pagodas (£500) to the deputies of the Mughal Empire when Aurangzeb annexed the South, and on two occasions bought off a besieging army by a heavy bribe.

Our first territorial possession, Madras, 1639.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the whole of Southern India became practically independent of Delhi. In the Deccan Proper, the Nizám-ul-Múlík founded a hereditary dynasty, with Haidarábád for its capital, which exercised a nominal authority over the entire South. The Karnátik, or the lowland tract between the central plateau and the eastern sea, was ruled by a deputy of the Nizám, known as the Nawáb of Arcot. Farther south, Trichinopoli was the capital of a Hindu Rájá; Tanjore formed another Hindu kingdom under a degenerate descendant of Sivaji. Inland, Mysore was gradually growing into a third Hindu State; while everywhere local chieftains, called *pálegárs* or *náyaks*, were in semi-independent possession of citadels or hill-forts. These represented the fief-holders of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar; and many of them had maintained a practical independence since its fall in 1565.

Southern India after 1707.

Local rulers.

The first European nation to intervene in the politics of Southern India was the French. Until after the death of Aurangzeb, all the Europeans confined themselves strictly to their commerce, and as traders were ready to obey the ruling chief in their neighbourhood, of whatever race or religion he might be. Benoit Dumas, who became Governor of Pondicherry in 1735, a post which conferred supremacy over all the

The French in India.

Dumas
India
versus
Mada-
ga-scar,
1735-41.

other French Settlements in India, took up a different position. He had been Governor of the Mauritius, and from personal experience did not believe in the utility of wasting money on opening up trade with Madagascar. He held that there was more scope in India, and took up his office at Pondicherry with the idea of making use of the disturbed condition of Southern India, and the growing weakness of the Mughal Empire, for the advantage of France. He first took part in a contest for the succession to the sovereignty of Tanjore; and in 1739, Kárikál, a town on the Coromandel coast near the mouth of the Coleroon river, was ceded to France in reward for the services of Dumas. In the following year (1740), Dumas took a still more striking part in politics. He received within the walls of Pondicherry the family of Chánda Sáhíb, son-in-law of Dost Alí, the Nawáb of the Karnátik, when that prince was taken prisoner by the Maráthás; and after Dost Alí was slain at the battle of Damalcherri Pass on 19th May 1740, Dumas also succoured the family of the fallen Nawáb. He resisted all the menaces of the Maráthás to induce him to surrender the fugitives, and his conduct was reported at Delhi. The Mughal Emperor resolved to recognise this conduct, and created Dumas a Nawáb, and gave him the title of Commander of 4500 horse. This rank and title Dumas obtained permission to transfer to his successor, Dupleix, who took possession of the Governorship of Pondicherry in 1741. Joseph François Dupleix had made himself conspicuous by his able administration at Chandarnagar, the French Settlement on the Hugli in Bengal, which he had found almost in ruins and made into a prosperous mart. He grasped the aims of the policy of Dumas, and determined by intervening in native politics to make his nation preponderant in India. He understood the position of affairs better than the mercantile governors of the English Settlements, and made use of his rank as a Nawáb to negotiate on an equal footing with the Native princes.

Dupleix :
1741.

French
and Eng-
lish in the
Karnátik.
First
French
war,
1746-48.

Such was the condition of affairs in Southern India when war broke out between the English and the French in Europe in 1743. Dupleix was Governor of Pondicherry, and Clive was a young writer at Madras. An English fleet first appeared on the Coromandel coast, but Dupleix induced the Nawáb of Arcot to interpose and prevent hostilities. In 1746, a French squadron arrived, under the command of La Bourdonnais, Governor of the Mauritius. Madras surrendered almost without a blow; and the only Settlement in that part of India left

to the English was Fort St. David, a few miles south of Pondicherry, where Clive and a few other fugitives sought shelter. Dupleix, whose whole attention was concentrated on India, desired to destroy the fortifications of Madras, and to surrender the place to his friend, the Nawáb of the Karnátik. La Bourdonnais, however, negotiated with the English authorities, and wished to hold the city to ransom. The Nawáb, angry that Madras was not made over to him, marched with 10,000 men to drive the French out of Madras, but was defeated. In 1748, an English fleet arrived under Admiral Boscawen, and attempted the siege of Pondicherry, while a land force co-operated under Major Stringer Lawrence, whose name afterwards became associated with that of Clive. The French repulsed all attacks; but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the same year, restored Madras to the English.¹

We lost
Madras,
1746.

The first war with the French was merely an incident in the greater contest in Europe. The second war had its origin in Indian politics, while England and France were at peace. The easy success of the French arms had inspired Dupleix with the ambition of founding a French Empire in India, under the shadow of the Muhammadan powers. Disputed successions at Haidarábád and at Arcot supplied his opportunity. On both thrones Dupleix placed his nominees, and posed, after the capture of Gingi, the strongest fort in the Karnátik, as the arbiter of the entire South. The English of Madras, under the instinct of self-preservation, had supported another candidate to the throne of Arcot, in opposition to the nominee of Dupleix, Chánda Sáhib. Our candidate was Muhammad Ali, afterwards known in history as Wálá-jáh. The war which ensued between the French and English in Southern India has been exhaustively described by Orme. The one incident that stands out conspicuously is the capture and subsequent defence of Arcot by Clive in 1751. This heroic feat, even more than the subsequent battle of Plassey, spread the fame of English valour through India. Shortly afterwards, Clive returned to England in ill-health, but the war continued for many years. On the whole, English

Second
French
war,
1750-61
Dupleix.

Clive's
defence
of Arcot,
1751

¹ The authorities for the French and English wars in Southern India are—(1) Orme's *Indoostan*. 2 vols. (Madras reprint, 1861); (2) Mill's *History of British India* (ed. 1840); and for the French views of those transactions, (3) Colonel Malleon's admirable *History of the French in India* (London, 1868), his *Final Struggles of the French in India* (London, 1878), and his volume on *Dupleix* in the 'Rulers of India' Series; and (4) M. Tibulle Hamont's *Dupleix, d'après sa correspondance* in dit. (Paris, n.d.), and Lally-Tollendal, *d'après les documents inédits* (Paris, n.d.).

influence predominated in the Karnátik or Madras coast, and their candidate, Muhammad Ali, maintained his position at Arcot. But, inland, the French were supreme in the Deccan.

Bussy
1751.

The ablest of Dupleix's subordinates, the Marquis de Bussy, had been sent in command of the force which placed the French candidate on the throne of Haidarábád. He initiated the policy of subsidiary alliances, which Lord Wellesley afterwards made his own. He induced the Nizám to take into his pay the army which had established his power; and the government of the maritime tract called 'the Northern Circars,' which lies between Orissa and Madras, was granted to the French to meet the expense of the troops. Bussy did good service to the Nizám's State; for he not only maintained tranquillity in the Deccan, but won a great victory over the Maráthás at Ahmadnagar in 1751. He also showed himself a wise administrator, and 'the Northern Circars,' with the capital Masulipatam, prospered exceedingly under his rule.

Godeheu
1756.

Dupleix, in spite of his services, was recalled to France in disgrace in 1756, and his successor Godeheu signed a suspension of arms with the Governor of Madras. Meanwhile the attention of English statesmen and of the English people was drawn to the struggle going on in India, and in 1754 a regiment of the English army, then known by its colonel's name as Adeleron's, and afterwards as the 39th, was sent to reinforce the Company's troops. In the year of Dupleix's departure the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe, and England and France were once more open enemies. There was no further need for fighting under the banners of rival Native princes; and Pitt, whose influence in the English Ministry was supreme, determined that the French should be crushed in India.

Lally:
1759.

The Governor of Pondicherri, the Comte de Lally-Tollendal, was a gallant soldier but a weak statesman, and he was consumed with envy at Bussy's greatness and power both in 'the Northern Circars' and at the court of Haidarábád. At the beginning of 1759, Lally summoned Bussy to assist in an attack on Trichinopoli, and the Marquis de Conflans was left in command of 'the Northern Circars.' At this juncture Colonel Forde landed at Vizagapatam with a small force from Bengal of 500 English soldiers and 2000 Sepoys. He defeated Conflans at Condore, and on 25th January 1760 he stormed Masulipatam, and broke at one blow the power of the French in 'the Northern Circars,' which were made over to the English East India Company. Meanwhile, Colonel (afterwards Sir Eyre) Coote, who commanded the troops in the

Madras Presidency, diverted the attention of Lally from his attack on Trichinopoli by seizing Wandewash. The French army laid siege to the town, but on 22nd January 1760, Coote broke out and won the decisive victory of Wandewash, in which both Lally and Bussy were taken prisoners. The English army then proceeded to invest Pondicherri, which was starved into capitulation in January 1761. A few months later the hill-fortress of Ginjee (Gingi) also surrendered.¹ In the words of Orme: 'That day terminated the long hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its Government in any part of India.'²

Battle of
Wandewash,
1760.

Gingee sur-
rendered,
5th April
1761.

Meanwhile, the narrative of British conquest shifts with Clive to Bengal. The first English Settlement near the Gangetic estuary was Pippli in Orissa, at which the East India Company was permitted to trade in 1634, five years before the foundation of Madras. The river on which Pippli stood has since silted up, and the site of the old English Settlement is now a matter of conjecture. In 1640, a factory was opened at Húgli; in 1642, at Balasor; and in 1681, Bengal was erected into a separate Presidency, though still subordinate to Madras. The name of Calcutta begins to be heard of in the Company's records in 1686, when Job Charnock, the English chief, was forced to quit Húgli by the deputy of Aurangzeb, and settled lower down the river on the opposite bank. There he acquired a grant of the three petty villages of Sutanati, Gobindpur, and Kálíghát (Calcutta), and founded the original Fort William in 1696.

The
English
in Bengal,
1634-96

At the time of Aurangzeb's death, in 1707, the Nawáb or Governor of Bengal was Murshid Kulí Khán, known also in European history as Jafar Khán. By birth a Bráhmaṇ, and brought up as a slave in Persia, he united the administrative ability of a Hindu with the fanaticism of a renegade. Hitherto the capital of Bengal had been at Dacca, on the eastern frontier of the empire, whence the piratical attacks of the Portuguese and of the Arakanese or Maghs could be most easily checked. Murshid Kulí Khán transferred his residence

Native
rulers of
Bengal,
1707-56.

¹ A full account of GINGEE is given, *sub verbo*, in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. In like manner, the local history of each Presidency, Province, or town is treated in the separate article upon it, and can therefore only be very briefly summarized here. Thus, with regard to Calcutta, the matter is referred to article CALCUTTA in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² Orme's *History of Military Transactions in India* (1803). M. 111: reprint, vol. ii. p. 733 (1861).

European
head-
quarters,
1740.

to Murshidabad, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kāsim-bāzār, which was then the chief emporium of the Gangetic trade. The English, the French, and the Dutch had each factories at Kāsimbāzār, as well as at Dacca, Patná, and Maldah. But Calcutta was the headquarters of the English, Chandarnagar of the French, and Chinsurah of the Dutch. These three Settlements were situated not far from one another upon reaches of the Húgli, where the river was navigable for sea-going ships. Calcutta is about 80 miles from the sea; Chandarnagar, 24 miles by river above Calcutta; and Chinsurah, 2 miles above Chandarnagar. Húgli town, to which reference has so often been made, is now conterminous with Chinsurah, but in the 18th century lay one mile above it.

Alí Vardi
Khán,
1740-56.

Murshid Kulí Khán ruled over Bengal prosperously for twenty-one years, and left his power to a son-in-law and a grandson. The hereditary succession was broken in 1740 by Alí Vardi Khán, a usurper, but the last of the great Nawábs of Bengal. In his days the Maráthá horsemen began to ravage the country, and the inhabitants of Calcutta obtained permission in 1742 to erect an earthwork, known to the present day as the Maráthá ditch. Alí Vardi Khán died in 1756, and was succeeded by his grandson, Siráj-ud-Daulá (Surajah Dowlah), a youth of only eighteen years, whose ungovernable temper led to a rupture with the English within two months after his accession.

Siráj-ud-
Daulá,
1756.

'Black
Hole' of
Calcutta,
1756.

In pursuit of one of his own family who had escaped from his vengeance, he marched upon Calcutta with a large army. Many of the English fled down the river in their ships. The remainder surrendered after a brave resistance, and were thrust for the night into the 'Black Hole' or military jail of Fort William, a room about 18 feet square, with only two small windows barred with iron. It was our ordinary garrison prison in those times of cruel military discipline. But although the Nawáb does not seem to have been aware of the consequences, it meant death to a crowd of 146 English men and women in the stifling heats of June. When the door of the prison was opened next morning, only 23 persons out of 146 remained alive.¹

¹ The contemporary record of that terrible night is Holwell's Narrative. The original materials have been carefully examined, and much misrepresentation has been cleared away by Dr. H. E. Busteed, in the *Calcutta Encyclopedia*, several dates, 1880. The site of the 'Black Hole' has been lately identified, at the entrance to the lane behind the General Post-Office; and in 1884 the spot was paved with fine stone.

The news of this disaster fortunately found Clive back again at Madras, where also was a squadron of the King's ships under Admiral Watson. Clive and Watson promptly sailed to the mouth of the Ganges with all the troops they could get together. Calcutta was recovered with little fighting, and the Nawáb consented to a peace, which restored to the Company all their privileges, and gave them ample compensation for their losses. It is possible that matters might have ended thus, if a fresh cause of hostilities had not suddenly arisen. War had just been declared between the English and French in Europe; and Clive, following the traditions of warfare in the Karnátik, captured the French Settlement of Chandarnagar. The Nawáb Siráj-ud-Daulá, enraged by this breach of the peace within his dominions, took the side of the French. But Clive, acting upon the policy which he had learned from Dupleix, provided himself with a rival candidate (Mir Jafar) to the throne. Having arranged a conspiracy among the Nawáb's principal officers, who promised to desert their master, Clive marched out to the grove of Plassey, about 70 miles north of Calcutta, at the head of 1000 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys, with 8 pieces of artillery. The Bengal Viceroy's army numbered 35,000 foot and 15,000 horse, with 50 cannon.

During a critical hour at Katwá, Clive had hesitated to cross the Bhágrathi river which divided him from the district down which the Nawáb's troops were marching. Clive then assembled a council of war, and headed by his own vote the majority in favour of entrenching at Katwá till the end of the rainy season might enable him to obtain the co-operation of the Maráthás or some other of the Native Powers. But, after a solitary meditation by himself, when the council of war had been dismissed, Clive on his own responsibility reversed its decision and determined to cross the river. He did so at sunrise on the 22nd June, and, after a wet and difficult march, arrived the same evening at the grove of Plassey, on the Bhágrathi, one of the main channels which brings down the waters of the Ganges to the Huglí river. He there found himself face to face with the Nawáb's army, which was entrenched in a strong position. Shortly after daybreak next morning, the 23rd of June, the Nawáb attacked with his whole artillery, at 6 A.M.; but Clive kept most of his men well under shelter, 'lodged in a large grove, surrounded with good mud banks.'

After attempting for a time to hold an advanced post, Clive withdrew his whole force into the grove, and only hoped to

Clive and
Watson.

Calcutta
recovered,
1757.

Battle of
Plassey,
1757.

Clive's
hour of
hesitation.

How the
victory
was
gained.

Progress
of the
battle.

keep them safe through the day in order to be able to make a 'successful attack at night.' But about noon a heavy tropical shower drenched the Nawáb's ammunition, and so slackened his fire as to cause it at points almost to cease. His most faithful general, unwisely presuming that Clive's gunners were under a similar disadvantage, led a cavalry charge against the grove, and was killed by a cannon ball. Another general, a member of the conspiracy, was working on the fears of the Nawáb, who in an evil moment for his race recalled his men within their entrenchments. Clive pushed forward on an angle of the Nawáb's camp. Several of the Nawáb's officers fell; and the Nawáb, dismayed by the unexpected confusion, mounted a swift dromedary, and rode with a bodyguard of 2000 horsemen to Murshidábád. In the panic which followed, the little company of forty or fifty French artillerymen, under M. St. Frais, formerly a member of the Council of Chandarnagar, alone remained steadfast to the Nawáb. They were honourably driven out of their position by an advance in force by Clive. The rest of the Nawáb's vast unwieldy army fled in panic-stricken masses, and Clive found he had won a great victory. Mír Jafar's cavalry, which had hovered undecided during the battle, and had been repeatedly fired on by Clive, 'to make them keep their distance,' now joined our camp; and the road to Murshidábád lay open.¹

Its small
results
at first.

Mír Jafar,
1757.

Pecuniary
compensa-
tions
to the
English.

The battle of Plassey was fought on June 23, 1757, an anniversary afterwards remembered when the Mutiny of 1857 was at its height. History has agreed to adopt this date as the beginning of the British Empire in the East. But the immediate results of the victory were comparatively small, and several years passed in hard fighting before even the Bengalís would admit the superiority of the British arms. For the moment, however, all opposition was at an end. Clive, again following in the steps of Dupleix, placed Mír Jafar upon the Viceregal throne at Murshidábád, being careful to obtain a patent of investiture from the Mughal court of Delhi.

Enormous sums were exacted from Mír Jafar as the price of his elevation. The Company claimed 10 million rupees as compensation for its losses. For the English, Native, and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta were demanded, respect-

¹ These numbers and the account of the battle are taken by the author from Clive's MS. Despatch to the Secret Committee, dated 26th July 1757. The quotations are Clive's own words. The best short account of the battle will be found in Colonel Malleon's volume on *Clive* in the 'Rulers of India' Series.

ively, 5 million, 2 million, and 1 million rupees: for the naval squadron and the army, 2½ million rupees apiece. The members of the Council received the following amounts: Mr. Drake, the Governor, and Colonel Clive, as second member of the Select Committee, 280,000 rupees each. Colonel Clive also received 200,000 rupees as Commander-in-Chief, and 1,600,000 rupees 'as a private donation;' Mr. Becker, Mr. Watts, and Major Kilpatrick, 240,000 rupees each, besides 'private donations,' amounting in the case of Mr. Watts to 800,000 rupees. The gratifications of a personal character, including the donation to the troops and the fleet, aggregated £1,238,575;¹ while the whole claim amounted to £2,697,750. The English still cherished extravagant ideas of Indian wealth. But no funds existed to satisfy their inordinate demands, and they had to be contented with one-half the stipulated sums. Even of this reduced amount, one-third had to be taken in jewels and plate, there being neither coin nor bullion left.

At the same time, the Nawáb made a grant to the Com-
pany of the *samindári* or landholder's rights over an extensive tract of country round Calcutta, now known as the District of the Twenty-four Parganás. The area of this tract was 882 square miles. In 1757 the Company obtained only the *samindári* rights—i.e. the rights to collect the cultivators' rents, with the revenue jurisdiction over them. The superior lordship, or right to receive the land-tax, remained with the Nawáb. But in 1759 this also was granted by the Delhi Emperor, the nominal Suzerain of the Nawáb, in favour of Clive, who thus became the landlord of his own masters, the Company. Clive was enrolled among the highest nobility of the Mughal Empire, with the rank of Commander of 6000 foot and 5000 horse, and a large allotment of land near Calcutta, in 1759.

This military fief, or Clive's *jágír*, as it was called, subsequently became a matter of inquiry in England. Lord Clive's claims to the property as feudal Suzerain over the Company were contested in 1764. On the 23rd June 1765, when he returned to Bengal, a new deed was issued, confirming the unconditional *jágír* to Lord Clive for ten years, with reversion afterwards to the Company in perpetuity. This deed, having received the Emperor's sanction on the 12th August 1765, gave absolute validity to the original *jágír* grant in favour of Lord Clive. It transferred, in reversion, to the Company the

¹ For a full statement of the personal donations, see M. L. S. *History of British India*, vol. iii. pp. 367, 368. Wilson's ed., 1840.

Twenty-four Parganá's as a perpetual property based upon Clive's *idgír* grant. The sum of Rs. 222,958, the amount at which the land was assessed when first made over to the Company in 1757, was paid to Lord Clive from 1765 until his death in 1774, when the whole proprietary right reverted to the Company.¹

The following table gives the names and dates of the British rulers of Bengal and India from Clive to the Marquess of Lansdowne, arranged in three periods; namely, Governors of Bengal, 1758-1774; Governors-General of India under the East India Company, 1774-1858; and Viceroys and Governors-General of India under the Crown, 1858 to the present year 1893. More detailed lists of the Provincial Governors are given in Appendix xi. at the end of this volume :—

RULERS OF BRITISH INDIA FROM CLIVE TO LORD LANSDOWNE.

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL AND GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(1758-1858.)

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL. (1758-1774.)	
1758. Colonel (afterwards Lord) Clive.	1805. Marquess Cornwallis (second time).
1760. J. Z. Holwell (officiating).	1805. Sir George Barlow, Bart. (temporary).
1760. H. Vansittart.	1807. Lord (aft. Earl of) Minto.
1764. John Spencer (officiating).	1813. Earl of Moira (Marquess of Hastings).
1765. Lord Clive (second time).	1823. John Adam (officiating).
1767. Harry Verelst.	1823. Lord (aft. Earl) Amherst.
1769. John Cartier.	1828. William Butterworth Bayley (officiating).
1772. Warren Hastings.	1828. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck.
GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA. (1774-1858.)	
1774. Warren Hastings.	1835. Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe (temporary).
1785. Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (officiating).	1836. Lord (aft. Earl of) Auckland.
1786. Earl (aft. Marquess) Cornwallis.	1842. Lord (aft. Earl of) Ellenborough.
1793. Sir John Shore, Bart. (Lord Teignmouth).	1844. Sir Henry (aft. Viscount) Hardinge.
1798. Sir Alured Clarke (officiating).	1848. Earl (aft. Marquess) of Dalhousie.
1798. Earl of Mornington (Marquess Wellesley).	1856. Viscount (aft. Earl) Canning.

¹ For a full account of the different grants, and the powers granted by them, see my *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. i. (TWENTY-FOUR PARGANAS), pp. 19, 20.

VICEROYS OF INDIA UNDER THE CROWN.

(1858-1893.)

1858. Earl Canning.	1872. Sir John Strachey (officiating).
1862. Earl of Elgin.	1872. Lord Napier of Merchiston (officiating).
1863. Sir Robert Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala (officiating).	1872. Lord (aft. Earl of) Northbrook.
1863. Sir William Denison (officiating).	1876. Lord (aft. Earl of) Lytton.
1864. Sir John Lawrence, Bart. (aft. Lord Lawrence).	1880. Marquess of Ripon.
1869. Earl of Mayo.	1884. Earl of Dufferin (afterwards Marquess of Dufferin and Ava).
	1888. Marquess of Lansdowne.

In 1758, Clive was appointed by the Court of Directors the first Governor of all the Company's Settlements in Bengal. Two Powers threatened hostilities. On the west, the Shâhzâda or Imperial prince, known afterwards as the Emperor Shah Alam, with a mixed army of Afghâns and Marâthâs, and supported by the Nawâb Wazîr of Oudh, was advancing his own claims to the Province of Bengal. In the south, the influence of the French under Lally and Bussy was overshadowing the British at Madras.

The vigour of Clive exercised a decisive effect in both directions. Mir Jafar was anxious to buy off the Shâhzâda, who had already invested Patnâ. But Clive marched in person to the rescue, with an army of only 450 Europeans and 2500 Sepoys, and the Mughal army dispersed without striking a blow. Clive also despatched the force southward from Bengal under Colonel Forde, in 1759, which recaptured Masulipatam from the French, and permanently established British influence throughout the Northern Circars, and at the court of Haidarâbad. He next attacked the Dutch, the only other European nation who might yet prove a rival to the English. He defeated them both by land and water; and their Settlement at Chinsurah existed thenceforth only on sufferance.

From 1760 to 1765, Clive was in England. He had left no system of government in Bengal, but merely the tradition that unlimited sums of money might be extracted from the natives by the terror of the English name. In 1761 it was found expedient and profitable to dethrone Mir Jafar, the English Nawâb of Murshidâbâd, and to substitute his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, in his place. On this occasion, besides private donations, the English received a grant of the three

Clive, first Governor of Bengal, 1758;

scatters Oudh army;

overcomes French in Madras;

defeats Dutch.

Mismanagement, 1760-65.

Mir Kasim 1761

Districts of Bardwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, estimated to yield a net revenue of half a million sterling. But Mír Kásim soon began to show a will of his own, and to cherish dreams of independence. He retired from Murshidábád to Monghyr, a strong position on the Ganges, commanding the only means of communication with the north-west. There he proceeded to organize an army, drilled and equipped after European models, and to carry on intrigues with the Nawáb Wazir of Oudh. He resolved to try his strength with the English, and found a good pretext.

Mír Kásim
breaks
with the
English.

The Company's servants claimed the privilege of carrying on their private trade throughout Bengal, free from inland dues and all imposts. The assertion of this claim caused affrays between the customs officers of the Nawab and the native traders, who, whether truly or not, represented that they were acting on behalf of the servants of the Company. The Nawáb alleged that his civil authority was everywhere set at nought. The majority of the Council at Calcutta would not listen to his complaints. The Governor, Mr. Vansittart, and Warren Hastings, then a junior member of Council, attempted to effect some compromise. But the controversy had become too hot. The Nawáb's officers fired upon an English boat, and forthwith all Bengal rose in arms. Two thousand of our Sepoys were cut to pieces at Patná; and about 200 Englishmen, who there and in various other parts of the Province fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, were massacred.¹

Patná
Massacre,
1763.

But as soon as regular warfare commenced, Mír Kásim met with no more successes. His trained regiments were defeated in two pitched battles by Major Adams, at Gheriá and at Udhunálá (Oodeynullah); and he himself took refuge with the Nawáb Wazir of Oudh, who refused to deliver him up. This led to a prolongation of the war. Sháh Alam, who had succeeded his father as Delhi Emperor, and Shujá-ud-Daulá the Nawáb Wazir of Oudh, united their forces, and threatened Patná, which the English had recovered. A more formidable danger appeared in the English camp, in the form of the first Sepoy Mutiny. This was quelled by Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro, who ordered 24 of the ringleaders to be blown from guns—an old Mughal punishment. In 1764, Major Munro won the decisive battle of Baxár, which laid

First
Sepoy
Mutiny,
1764.

Battle of
Baxár,
1764.

¹ The massacre of Patná is described in sufficient detail under article PATNA DISTRICT in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. xi. pp. 71 et seq.

Oudh at the feet of the conquerors, and brought the Mughal Emperor a suppliant to the English camp.

Meanwhile, the Council at Calcutta had twice found the opportunity they loved of selling the government of Bengal to a new Nawáb. But in 1765, Clive (now Baron Clive of Plassey in the peerage of Ireland) arrived at Calcutta, as Governor of Bengal for the second time. Two landmarks stand out in his policy. First, he sought the substance, although not the name, of territorial power, under the fiction of a grant from the Mughal Emperor. Second, he desired to purify the Company's service, by prohibiting illicit gains, and by guaranteeing a reasonable pay from honest sources. In neither respect were his plans carried out by his immediate successors. But the beginning of our Indian rule dates from this second Governorship of Clive, as our military supremacy had dated from his victory at Plassey.

Clive landed, advanced rapidly up from Calcutta to Allah-ábád, and there settled in person the fate of nearly half of India. Oudh was given back to the Nawáb Wazír, on condition of his paying half a million sterling towards the expenses of the war. The Provinces of Allahábád and Korah, forming the greater part of the Doáb, were handed over to Sháh Alam, the Delhi Emperor, who in his turn granted to the Company the *diwáni* or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, together with the Northern Circars of Madras. A puppet Nawáb was still maintained at Murshidábád, with an annual allowance from us of £600,000. Half that amount, or about £300,000, we paid to the Emperor as tribute from Bengal.² Thus was constituted the dual system of government, by which the English received the revenues of Bengal and undertook to maintain the army; while the criminal jurisdiction, or *nizámat*, was vested in the Nawáb. In Indian phraseology, the Company was *diwán*, and the Nawáb was *nizám*. The actual collection of the revenues still remained for some years in the hands of native officials.

Clive's other great task was the reorganization of the Company's service. All the officers, civil and military alike, were tainted with the common corruption. Their legal salaries were

¹ The 'Corah' of the E. I. Company's records: the capital of an ancient Muhammadan governorship, now a decayed town in Fatehpur District. See article KORAH in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² The exact sums were Sikka Rs. 5,386,131 to the Nawáb, and Sikka Rs. 2,600,000 to the Emperor.

paltry, and quite insufficient for a livelihood. But they had been permitted to augment them, sometimes a hundred-fold, by means of private trade and gifts from the Native Powers. Despite the united resistance of the Civil Service, and an actual mutiny of 200 military officers, Clive carried through his reforms. Private trade and the receipt of presents were prohibited for the future, while a substantial increase of pay was provided out of the monopoly of salt.

Dual system of administration, 1767-72;

Lord Clive quitted India for the third and last time in 1767. Between that date and the Governorship of Warren Hastings in 1772, little of importance occurred in Bengal beyond the terrible famine of 1770, which is officially reported to have swept away one-third of the inhabitants. The dual system of government, established in 1765 by Clive, had proved a failure. Warren Hastings, a tried servant of the Company, distinguished alike for intelligence, for probity, and for knowledge of Oriental manners, was nominated Governor by the Court of Directors, with express instructions to carry out a predetermined series of reforms. In their own words, the Court had resolved to 'stand forth as *dixéin*, and to take upon themselves, by the agency of their own servants, the entire care and administration of the revenues.' In the execution of this plan, Hastings removed the exchequer to Calcutta from Murshidábád, which up to that time had remained the revenue headquarters of Bengal. He also appointed European officers, under the now familiar title of Collectors, to superintend the revenue collections and to preside in the courts.

Dual system abolished, 1772.

Warren Hastings, 1772-85.

His administrative reforms.

Clive had laid the territorial foundations of the British Empire in Bengal. Hastings may be said to have created a British administration for that Empire. The wars forced on him by Native Powers in India, the clamours of his masters in England for money, and the virulence of Sir Philip Francis with a faction of his colleagues at the Council table in Calcutta, retarded the completion of his schemes. But the manuscript records disclose the patient statesmanship and indomitable industry which he brought to bear upon them. From 1765 to 1772, Clive's dual system of government, by corrupt Native underlings and rapacious English chiefs, prevailed. Thirteen years were now spent by Warren Hastings in experimental efforts at rural administration by means of English officials (1772-85). The completion of the edifice was left to his successor. But Hastings was the administrative organizer, as Clive had been the military founder, of our Indian Empire.

Hastings' true fame as an Indian ruler rests on his administrative work. He reorganized the Indian service, reformed every branch of the revenue collections, created courts of justice and some semblance of a police. History remembers his name, however, not for his improvements in the internal administration, but for his bold foreign policy, and for the severities which it involved. From 1772 to 1774 he was Governor of Bengal; from the latter date to 1785 he was the first Governor-General, presiding over a Council nominated, like himself, under a statute of Parliament known as the Regulating Act (1773). In his domestic policy he was greatly hampered by the opposition of his colleague in Council, Sir Philip Francis. But in his external relations with Oudh, with the Maráthás, and with Haidar Ali, he was generally able to compel assent to his views.

The Act of 1773 practically condemned Hastings to govern India in spite of a majority against him in his Council. He had only a single vote like each other member, except in the case of an equal division, when he had also the casting vote. The members sent out from England under the Act of 1773 formed a hostile majority against Hastings from the outset; and they cruelly used their strength. The best known episodes of the struggle which followed are the trial and execution of the Bráhmañ Nuncomar (Nanda-kumar) for forgery; and the final duel between Hastings and Sir Philip Francis, the leader of the adverse majority in the Council. The trial of Nuncomar was unscrupulously misrepresented by Sir Philip Francis and his partisans. Their contemporary slanders were equally unscrupulously accepted by Mr. James Mill in his History, and unfortunately passed as facts into Lord Macaulay's world-famous essay on *Warren Hastings*. The whole question has, however, been carefully re-examined by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen,¹ and Hastings now stands acquitted of any improper connection with the judicial proceedings which terminated in sentence of death against Nuncomar.

His relations with the Native Powers, like his domestic policy, formed a well-considered scheme. Hastings had to find money for the Court of Directors in England, whose thirst for the wealth of India was not less keen, although more decorous, than that of their servants in Bengal. He had also to protect the Company's territory from the Native

¹ In his *Story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey*. See also for many interesting local details, Dr. H. E. Busteed's admirable second edition of his *Life from Old Calcutta*. Thacker, Spink, 1888.

Powers, which, if he had not destroyed them, would have annihilated him.

The
Native
Powers :
1774.

Beyond the Bengal frontier, a group of Muhammadan viceroys or governors of the old Mughal Empire had established independent States, the most important of which was Oudh. Beyond this group of Muhammadan States, the Marathas were practically the masters of Northern India, and held the nominal Emperor of Delhi as a puppet under their control. The wise policy of Warren Hastings was to ally himself with the independent Muhammadan States, that is to say, principally with Oudh, just beyond his own frontier. If he could make these Muhammadan States strong, he hoped that they would prevent the Maráthás from pouring down into Bengal. But these Muhammadan States were themselves so weak that this policy only obtained a partial success. In the end, Warren Hastings found himself compelled to advance the British territories farther up the Ganges, and practically to bring the Muhammadan States under his own control.

Hastings' theory ;

and
practice.

Hastings, like other British administrators of his time, started with a conviction of the expediency of ruling with the aid of the Native Powers, especially with the aid of the puppet Emperor and the Muhammadan princes who had built up dynasties of their own out of the wreck of the Mughal Empire. But the advance of the Hindu military confederacy, *i.e.* the Maráthás from Southern India, gradually rendered this policy impossible. Four years after their defeat at Pániyat in 1761, the Maráthás had recovered themselves, and were the dominant power alike in Northern and Southern India. The Muhammadan princes and viceroys in Oudh and the North-Western Provinces, whom Hastings at first hoped to strengthen as frontier buffers between the Company's possessions and the Maráthás, saw the position as clearly as Hastings did himself. They were willing to take all they could from the British ; but they were at the same time willing, or compelled, to make terms with the Maráthás. Hastings perceived that the old policy had ceased to be practicable, and that the real struggle for Northern India now lay between the English and the Marathas ; both of them using the Mughal Emperor and his revolted viceroys as convenient but untrustworthy allies and dependents.

Hastings makes Bengal pay.

Warren Hastings had in the first place to make Bengal pay. This he could not do under Clive's dual system of administration. When he abolished that double system, he cut down the Bengal Nawáb's allowance to one-half, and so saved

£160,000 a year. In support of this act, it may be stated that the titular Nawáb, being then a minor, had ceased to render even any nominal service for his enormous pension. Clive had himself reduced the original £600,000 to £450,000 on the accession of a new Nawáb in 1766, and the grant was again cut down to £350,000 on a fresh succession in 1769.¹ The allowance had practically been of a fluctuating and personal character.² Its further reduction in the case of the new child-Nawáb had, moreover, been expressly ordered by the Court of Directors six months before Hastings took office.

Hastings' next financial stroke was the sale of Allahábád and Kora Provinces to the Wazír of Oudh. These Provinces had been assigned by Clive, in his partition of the Gangetic valley, to the Emperor Sháh Alam, together with a tribute of about £300,000 (26 *lákhs* of rupees), in return for the grant of Bengal to the Company. But the Emperor had now been seized by the Maráthás. Hastings held that His Majesty was no longer independent, and that it would be a fatal policy for the British to pay money to him, *i.e.* to the Maráthás in Northern India, when it was evident that we would soon have to fight them in the South. He therefore withheld the tribute of the £300,000 from the puppet Emperor, or rather from his Maráthá custodians.

Clive, at the partition of the Gangetic valley in 1765, assigned the Provinces of Allahábád and Kora to the Emperor. The Emperor, now in the hands of the Maráthás, had made them over to his new masters. Warren Hastings held that by so doing His Majesty had forfeited his title to these Provinces. Hastings accordingly resold them to the Wazír of Oudh. By this measure he freed the Company from a military charge of nearly half a million sterling (40 *lákhs* of rupees), and obtained a price of over half a million (50 *lákhs*) for the Company.

The terms of sale included the loan of British troops to subdue the Rohillá Afgháns, who had seized and for some time had kept hold of a tract on the north-western frontier

¹ The detailed history of these transactions, and a sketch of each of the 14 Nawábs of Bengal from 1704 to 1884, will be found under District Murshidábád, vol. ix. pp. 172-195 of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*.

² See separate agreements with the successive Nawábs of 30th September 1765, 19th May 1766, and 21st March 1770, in each of which the grant is to the Nawáb, without mention of heirs or successors.—Aitchison's *Treaties and Engagements* vol. i. pp. 56-59 (ed. 1876).

Sells
Allahábád
and Kora,
1773.

Withholds
the Em-
peror's
tribute.

The Ro-
hilla wat,
1773-74.

of Oudh. The Rohillás were Muhammadans and foreigners ; they had cruelly lorded it over the Hindu peasantry ; and they were now intriguing with the Maráthás, our most dangerous foes.¹ The Wazír of Oudh, by means of the British troops lent to him by Hastings, completely defeated the Rohillás. He compelled most of their fighting men to seek new homes on the other side of the Ganges river, in a neighbouring and equally fertile district, but one in which they could no longer open the northern frontier of Oudh to the Maráthás. By the foregoing series of measures, Hastings ceased to furnish the Maráthá custodians of the Delhi Emperor with the Bengal tribute ; he also strengthened our ally the Wazír of Oudh, and closed the Bengal frontier against Maráthá invasions ; he bettered the Company's finances in Bengal by a million sterling a year in both its revenue and expenditure : say two millions *per annum*.²

Fines on
Chait
Singh,
1780 ;

He further improved the financial position of the Company by forced contributions from the rebellious Chait Singh and the Begam of Oudh. Chait Singh, the Rájá of Benares, had grown rich under British protection. He resisted the demand of Warren Hastings to subsidize a military force, and an alleged correspondence with the enemies of the British Government led to his arrest. He escaped, headed a rebellion, and was crushed. His estates were forfeited, but transferred to his nephew subject to an increased tribute.³

and the
Oudh
Begam,
1782.

The Begam, or Queen-Mother, of Oudh was charged with abetting the Benares Rájá in his rebellion. A heavy fine was laid upon her, which she resisted to the utmost. But, after severe pressure on herself and the eunuchs of her household, over a million sterling was extracted for the English Company.

¹ For the history of the Rohillá Afgháns, on whom much sentiment has been needlessly lavished, see article BAREILLY DISTRICT, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and other Districts of Rohilkhand.

² The causes of the Rohillá war, the character of the operations, their exact results, and the share which Hastings had in the whole transaction, are now clearly set forth in Sir John Strachey's *Hastings and the Rohillá War* (Clarendon Press, 1892) ; and in Mr. George W. Forrest's three admirable volumes of *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-85* (Calcutta, folio, 1890). The careful article by Mr. Whiteway of the Bengal Civil Service in the *Calcutta Review*, 1875, should also be studied. The evidence now shows that Macaulay's account of the episode, and of Hastings' connection with it, can only be regarded as a piece of brilliant writing which misrepresents the facts.

³ See my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, articles BENARES DISTRICT and BENARES ESTATE.

On his return to England, Warren Hastings was impeached, ^{Charges against Hastings.} in 1786, by the House of Commons for these and other alleged acts of oppression. He was solemnly tried by the House of Lords, and the proceedings dragged themselves out for seven years (1788-95). They form one of the most celebrated State trials in English history, and ended in a verdict of not guilty on all the charges. Meanwhile, the cost of the defence had ruined Warren Hastings, and left him dependent upon the charity of the Court of Directors—a charity which never failed.

In his dealings with Southern India, Warren Hastings had ^{Hastings' policy in Southern India.} not to regard solely the financial results. He there appears as the great man that he really was: calm in Council, cautious of enterprise, but swift in execution, and of indomitable courage in all that he undertook.

The Bombay Government was naturally emulous to follow the example of Madras and Bengal, and to establish its supremacy at the court of Poona by placing its own nominee on the Peshwá's seat. This ambition found scope in 1775 by the treaty of Surat, by which Raghunáth Ráo, one of the claimants to the throne of the Peshwá, agreed to cede Salsette and Bassein to the English, in consideration of being himself restored to Poona. The military operations that followed are known as the first Maráthá war. ^{First Maráthá war, 1778-81.} Warren Hastings, who in his capacity of Governor-General claimed some degree of control over the decisions of the Bombay Government, strongly disapproved of the treaty of Surat. But when war actually broke out, he threw the whole force of the Bengal army into the scale. One of his favourite officers, General Goddard, marched across the peninsula from sea to sea, and conquered the rich Province of Gujarát almost without a blow. ^{Goddard's march, 1778-79.} Another, Captain Popham, snatched by storm the rock-fortress of Gwalior, which was regarded as the key of Hindustán.

These brilliant successes of the Bengal troops atoned for the contemporaneous disgrace of the convention of Wargáon in 1779, when the Maráthás overpowered and dictated terms to our Bombay force. The war in Bombay lasted till 1781. It was closed by the treaty of Salbái (1782), which practically restored the *status quo*. ^{Treaty of Salbái, 1782.} Raghunáth Ráo, the English claimant to the Peshwáship, was set aside on a pension; Gujarát was restored to the Maráthás; and only Salsette, with Elephanta and two other small islands, was retained by the English.

Meanwhile, Warren Hastings had to deal with a more for-

midable enemy than the Maráthá Confederacy. The reckless conduct of the Madras Government had roused the hostility both of Haidar Ali of Mysore and of the Nizám of the Deccan, the two strongest Musalmán powers in India. These princes began to draw the Maráthás into an alliance against the English. The diplomacy of Hastings won back the Nizám and the Maráthá Rájá of Nágpur; but the army of Haidar Ali fell like a thunderbolt upon the British possessions in the Karnátik. A strong detachment under Colonel Baillie was cut to pieces at Peraimbákam, and the Mysore cavalry ravaged the country up to the walls of Madras. For the second time the Bengal army, stimulated by the energy of Hastings, saved the honour of the English name. He despatched Sir Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash, to relieve Madras by sea, with all the men and money available, while Colonel Pearse marched south overland to overawe the Rájá of Nágpur and the Nizám. The war was hotly contested, for the aged Sir Eyre Coote had lost his energy, and the Mysore army was not only well disciplined and equipped, but skilfully handled by Haidar and his son Tipú. Haidar died in 1782; and peace was finally concluded with Tipú in 1784, on the basis of a mutual restitution of all conquests.

War with
Mysore.
1780-84.

Death of
Haidar
Ali, 1782.

Lord
Corn-
wallis,
1786-93.

Two years later, Warren Hastings was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, the first English nobleman of rank who undertook the office of Governor-General of India. Between these two great names an interval of twenty months took place under Sir John Macpherson, a Civil Servant of the Company (Feb. 1785 to Sept. 1786). Lord Cornwallis twice held the high post of Governor-General. His first rule lasted from 1786 to 1793, and is celebrated for two events—the introduction of the Permanent Settlement into Bengal, and the second Mysore war. If the foundations of the system of civil administration were laid by Hastings, the superstructure was raised by Cornwallis. It was he who first entrusted criminal jurisdiction to Europeans, and established the Nizámat Sadr Adálat, or Supreme Court of Criminal Judicature, at Calcutta. It was he, also, who separated the functions of the District Collector and Judge.

His
revenue
reforms.

The judicial system thus organized in Bengal was extended to Madras and Bombay, when those Presidencies also acquired territorial sovereignty. But the achievement most familiarly associated with the name of Cornwallis is the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. During

four years, 1786-90, he laboured, with the help of an able Bengal civilian, John Shore, to arrive at the facts of the case. Warren Hastings had introduced, unsuccessfully and only for a period, a five years' settlement of the land revenue. Lord Cornwallis, after three years of inquiry and of provisional measures, introduced a ten years' or 'decennial' settlement (1789-91). Up to this time, the revenue had been collected pretty much according to the old Mughal system. The *zamindars*, or Government farmers, whose office always tended to become hereditary, were recognised as having a right to collect the revenue from the actual cultivators. But no principle of assessment existed, and the amount actually realized varied greatly from year to year. Hastings seems to have looked to experience, as acquired from a succession of quinquennial settlements, to furnish the standard rate of the future. Francis, on the other hand, Hastings' great rival, advocated the fixing of the State demand in perpetuity. The same view recommended itself to the authorities at home, partly because it would place their finances on a more stable basis, partly because it seemed to identify the *zamindar* with the landlord of the English system of property. Accordingly, Cornwallis took out with him in 1786 instructions to introduce a Permanent Settlement.

The Decennial Settlement, 1789-91.

Period of experiment.

The process of assessment began in 1789, and terminated in 1791. No attempt was made to measure the fields or calculate the out-turn, as had been done by Akbar, and as is now done whenever settlements are made in the British Provinces. The amount to be paid in the future was fixed by reference to what had been paid in the past. At first the settlement was called decennial, but in 1793 it was declared permanent for ever. The total assessment amounted to Sikka Rs. 26,800,989, or about 3 millions sterling for Bengal. Lord Cornwallis carried the scheme into execution: but the praise or blame, so far as details are concerned, belongs to Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a Civil Servant, whose knowledge of the country was unsurpassed in his time. Shore would have proceeded more cautiously than Cornwallis' preconceived English idea of a proprietary body, and the Court of Directors' haste after fixity, permitted.¹

The Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 1793.

The second Mysore war of 1790-92 is noteworthy on two accounts. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, led the British army in person, with a pomp and a magnificence of

Second Mysore war, 1790-92.

¹ The Permanent Settlement will be referred to in greater detail, and its practical working exhibited, in the Administrative chapter.

supply which recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The two great Southern powers, the Nizám of the Deccan and the Maráthá Confederacy, co-operated as allies of the British. In the end, Tipú Sultán submitted when Lord Cornwallis had commenced to beleaguer his capital. He agreed to yield one-half of his dominions to be divided among the allies, and to pay 3 millions sterling towards the cost of the war. These conditions he fulfilled, but ever afterwards he burned to be revenged upon his English conquerors.

Sir John
Shore,
1793-98.

The period of Sir John Shore's rule as Governor-General, from 1793 to 1798, was uneventful. In 1798, Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquess Wellesley, arrived in India, already inspired with Imperial projects which were destined to change the map of the country. Mornington was the friend and favourite of Pitt, from whom he is thought to have derived his far-reaching political vision, and his antipathy to the French name. From the first he laid down as his guiding principle, that the English must be the one paramount power in India, and that Native princes could only retain the personal insignia of sovereignty by surrendering their political independence. The history of India since his time has been but the gradual development of this policy, which received its finishing touch when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on the 1st of January 1877.¹

Marquess
Wellesley,
1798-1805.

French
influence
in India,
1798-1800.

To frustrate the possibility of a French invasion of India, led by Napoleon in person, was the governing idea of Wellesley's foreign policy. France at this time, and for many years later, filled the place afterwards occupied by Russia in the imagination of British statesmen. Nor was the danger so remote as might now be thought. French regiments guarded and overawed the Nizám of Haidarábád. The soldiers of Sindhia, the military head of the Maráthá Confederacy, were disciplined and led by French adventurers. Tipú Sultán of Mysore carried on a secret correspondence with the French Directory, allowed a tree of liberty to be planted in his

¹ An admirable account of Lord Wellesley's policy will be found in the Despatch of the Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 12th April 1804. This Despatch extends to 791 paragraphs, and covers all the great Indian questions of that eventful period. It was printed by John Stockdale, Piccadilly, in 1805, as a quarto volume, entitled *History of all the Events and Transactions which have taken place in India*, etc. It will continue to form the most authentic record of any Governor-Generalship of India, until the seal is taken off Lord Dalhousie's long closed diaries.

dominions, and enrolled himself in a republican club as 'Citizen Tipu.' The islands of Mauritius and Bourbon ^{'Citizen Tipu.'} afforded a convenient half-way rendezvous for French intrigue and for the assembling of a hostile expedition. Above all, Napoleon Bonaparte was then in Egypt, dreaming of the conquests of Alexander; and no man knew in what direction he might turn his hitherto unconquered legions.

But though the French adventurers were supreme in the armies of some of the powerful Native princes, they had no central power to direct them. After the defeat of Lally, who ^{Causes of the weakness of France.} for his want of success was executed at Paris, the school of politicians which advocated the abandonment of the struggle with England in India, and the concentration of French enterprize in the Mauritius and Madagascar, won the day at the French court. Not only were no reinforcements sent to India, but the troops in the Settlements were steadily reduced in number. The last regiment was about to be withdrawn, when the news arrived of the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. Little revolutions took place in all the French possessions, and the executive power was everywhere hampered or disregarded. When the news arrived that the French Republic had declared war against England in 1793, it was evident that there was no chance of effective resistance. Pondicherry was taken after a short siege, and the other French Settlements surrendered without striking a blow. There was therefore no central authority to direct the scattered French adventurers, when Lord Wellesley arrived, and he found it possible to destroy them in detail. Yet the danger to England was a real one, for if Napoleon could reach India, he would have found allies in every important military Native State.

Wellesley conceived the scheme of crushing for ever the French hopes in Asia, by placing himself at the head of a great Indian confederacy. In Lower Bengal, the conquests of Clive and the policy of Warren Hastings had made the English paramount. Before Lord Wellesley's arrival, our power was consolidated from the seaboard to Benares, high in the Gangetic valley. Beyond our frontier there, the Nawáb ^{India before Lord Wellesley, 1798;} Wazír of Oudh had agreed to pay a subsidy for the aid of British troops. This sum in 1797 amounted to £760,000 a year: and the Nawáb, being always in arrears, entered into negotiations for a cession of territory in lieu of a cash payment. In 1801, the treaty of Lucknow made over to the British the *dool*, or fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna, together with Rohilkhand. In Southern India, our

in the
South.

possessions were chiefly confined in 1798, before Lord Wellesley, to the coast Districts of Madras and Bombay.

Lord Wel-
lesley's
scheme.

Wellesley resolved to make the British supreme as far as Delhi in Northern India, and to compel the great Powers of the South to enter into subordinate relations to the Company's government. The intrigues of the Native princes gave him his opportunity for carrying out his plan without breach of faith. The time had arrived when the English must either become supreme in India, or be driven out of it. The Mughal Empire was completely broken up; and the sway had to pass either to the local Muhammadan governors of that Empire, or to the Hindu Confederacy represented by the Maráthás, or to the British. Lord Wellesley determined that it should pass to the British.

Lord Wel-
lesley's
work,

His work in Northern India was at first easy. By the treaty of Lucknow in 1801, he made us territorial rulers as far as the heart of the present North-Western Provinces, and established our political influence in Oudh. Beyond those limits, the northern branches of the Maráthás practically held sway, with the puppet Emperor in their hands. Lord Wellesley left them untouched for a few years, until the second Maráthá war (1802-4) gave him an opportunity for dealing effectively with their nation as a whole.

in the
North :

in the
South.

In Southern India, Lord Wellesley quickly perceived that the Muhammadan Nizám at Haidarábád felt in need of his protection, and he converted him into a useful follower throughout the succeeding struggle. The other Muhammadan Power of the South, Tipú Sultán of Mysore, could not be so easily handled. Lord Wellesley resolved to crush him, and had ample provocation for so doing. The third Power of Southern India—namely, the Hindu Maráthá Confederacy—was so loosely organized that Lord Wellesley seems at first to have hoped to live on terms with it. When several years of fitful alliance had convinced him that he had to choose between the supremacy of the Maráthás or of the British in Southern India, he did not hesitate in his decision.

Treaty
with the
Nizám,
1798.

Lord Wellesley first addressed himself to the weakest of the three Southern Powers, the Nizám at Haidarábád. Here he won a diplomatic success, which turned a possible rival into a subservient ally. The French battalions at Haidarábád were disbanded, and the Nizám bound himself by treaty¹ not to take any European into his service without the consent of

¹ Dated 1st September 1798.—Aitchison's *Treaties and Engagements*, vol. v. pp. 173-176 (ed. 1876).

the English Government,—a clause since inserted in every leading engagement entered into with Native Powers.

Wellesley next turned the whole weight of his resources against Tipú, whom Cornwallis had defeated, but had not subdued. Tipú's intrigues with the French were laid bare, and he was given an opportunity of adhering to the new subsidiary system. On his refusal, war was declared, and Wellesley came down in viceregal state to Madras to organize the expedition in person, and to watch over the course of events. One English army marched into Mysore from Madras, accompanied by a contingent from the Nizám. Another advanced from the western coast. Tipú, after a feeble resistance in the field, retired into Seringapatam, and, when his capital was stormed, died fighting bravely in the breach, 1799. Since the battle of Plassey no event had so greatly impressed the native imagination as the capture of Seringapatam, which won for General Harris a peerage, and for Wellesley an Irish Marquessate. Third Mysore war, 1799
Fall of Seringapatam, 1799

In dealing with the territories of Tipú, Wellesley acted with moderation. The central portion, forming the old State of Mysore, was restored to an infant representative of the Hindu Rájás, whom Haidar Ali had dethroned; the rest of Tipú's dominions was partitioned between the Nizám, the Maráthas, and the English. At about the same time, the Karnátik, or the part of South-eastern India ruled by the Nawáb of Arcot, and also the principality of Tanjore, were placed under direct British administration, thus constituting the Madras Presidency almost as it has existed to the present day. The sons of the slain Tipú were treated by Lord Wellesley with paternal tenderness. They received a magnificent allowance, with semi-royal establishment, first at Vellore, and afterwards in Calcutta. The last of them, Prince Ghulam Muhammad, was well known as a public-spirited citizen of Calcutta, and an active Justice of the Peace. After a long and quiet life, he died about the year 1877.

The Maráthás had been the nominal allies of the English in both their wars with Tipú. But they had not rendered active assistance, nor were they secured to the English side as the Nizám now was. The Maráthi Powers at this time were five in number. The recognised head of the Confederacy was the Peshwá of Poona, who ruled the hill country of the Western Gháts, the cradle of the Maráthi race. The fertile Province of Gujarát was annually harried by the horsemen of the Gaekwár of Baroda. In Central India, two military leaders, Sindhia of Gwalior and Holkar of Indore, alternately The Maráthas in 1800

held the pre-eminency. Towards the east, the Bhonsla Rájá of Nágpur reigned from Berár to the coast of Orissa.

Wellesley's dealings with the Maráthás.

Wellesley laboured to bring these several Maráthá Powers within the net of his subsidiary system. In 1802, the necessities of the Peshwá, who had been defeated by Holkar, and driven as a fugitive into British territory, induced him to sign the treaty of Bassein. By this he pledged himself to the British to hold communications with no Power, European or Native, except ourselves. He also granted to us Districts for the maintenance of a subsidiary force. This greatly extended the English territorial influence in the Bombay Presidency. But it led to the second Maráthá war, as neither Sindhia nor the Rájá of Nágpur would tolerate the Peshwá's betrayal of Maráthá independence.

Second Maráthá war, 1802-4.

British victories, 1802-3.

The campaigns which followed are perhaps the most glorious in the history of the British arms in India. The general plan, and the adequate provision of resources, were due to the Marquess Wellesley, as also the indomitable spirit which refused to acknowledge defeat. The armies were led by Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington), and General (afterwards Lord) Lake. Wellesley operated in the Deccan, where, in a few short months, he won the decisive victories of Assaye and Argáum, and captured Ahmadnagar. Lake's campaign in Hindustán was no less brilliant, although it has received less notice from historians. He won pitched battles at Aligarh and Laswári, and took the cities of Delhi and Agra. He scattered the French troops of Sindhia, and at the same time stood forward as the champion of the Mughal Emperor in his hereditary capital. Before the end of 1803, both Sindhia and the Bhonsla Rájá of Nágpur sued for peace.

Additions to British India, 1803.

Later disasters, 1804-5

Sindhia ceded all claims to the territory north of the Jumna, and left the blind old Emperor Sháh Alam once more under British protection. The Bhonsla forfeited Orissa to the English, who had already occupied it with a flying column in 1803; and Berár to the Nizám, who gained a fresh addition by every act of complaisance to the British Government. The freebooter Jaswant Ráo Holkar alone remained in the field, supporting his troops by raids through Málwá and Rájputána. The concluding years of Wellesley's rule were occupied with a series of operations against Holkar, which brought little credit on the British name. The disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson through Central India (1804) recalled memories of the convention of Wargáon, and of the destruction of Colonel Baillie's force by Haidar Ali. The

repulse of Lake in person at the siege of Bhartpur (Bharpore) is memorable as an instance of a British army in India having to turn back with its object unaccomplished (1805). Bhartpur was not finally taken till 1827.

Lord Wellesley during his six years of office carried out almost every part of his territorial scheme. In Northern India, Lord Lake's campaigns, 1803-5, brought the North-Western Provinces (the ancient *Madhya-desh*) under British rule, together with the custody of the puppet Emperor. The new Districts were amalgamated with those previously acquired from the Nawáb Wazir of Oudh into the 'Ceded and Conquered Provinces.' This partition of Northern India remained till the Sikh wars of 1845 and 1848-49 gave us the Punjab. In South-eastern India, we have seen that Lord Wellesley's conquests constituted the Madras Presidency almost as it exists at this date. In South-western India, the Peshwá was reduced to a vassal of the Company. But the territories now under the Governor of Bombay were not finally built up into their present form until the close of the last Maráthá war in 1818.

The financial strain caused by these great operations Lord Wellesley had meanwhile exhausted the patience of the Court of Directors at home. In 1805, Lord Cornwallis was sent out as Governor-General a second time, with instructions to bring about peace at any price, while Holkar was still unsubdued, and with Sindhia threatening a fresh war. But Cornwallis was now an old man, and broken down in health. Travelling up to the North-West during the rainy season, he sank and died at Gházipur, before he had been ten weeks in the country.

His immediate successor was Sir George Barlow, a Civil Servant of the Company, who as a *locum tenens* had no alternative but to carry out the commands of his employers. Under these orders, he curtailed the area of British territory, and, in violation of engagements, abandoned the Rájput chiefs to the cruel mercies of Holkar and Sindhia. During his administration, also, occurred the mutiny of the Madras Sepoys at Vellore (1806), which, although promptly suppressed, sent a shock of insecurity throughout the Empire. The feebly economical policy of this interregnum proved a most disastrous one. But, fortunately, the rule soon passed into firmer hands.

Lord Minto, Governor-General from 1807 to 1813, consolidated the conquests which Wellesley had acquired. His

only military exploits were the occupation of the island of the Mauritius, and the conquest of Java by an expedition which he accompanied in person. The condition of Central India continued to be disturbed, but Lord Minto succeeded in preventing any violent outbreaks without himself having recourse to the sword. The Company had ordered him to follow a policy of non-intervention, and he managed to obey his orders without injuring the prestige of the British name. Under his auspices, the Indian Government opened relations with a new set of foreign Powers, by sending embassies to the Punjab, to Afghánistán, and to Persia. The ambassadors had been trained in the school of Wellesley, and formed, perhaps, the most illustrious trio of 'politicals' whom the Indian services have produced. Metcalfe went as envoy to the Sikh Court of Ranjít Singh at Lahore; Elphinstone met the Sháh of Afghánistán at Pesháwar; and Malcolm was despatched to Persia. It cannot be said that these missions were fruitful of permanent results; but they introduced the English to a new set of diplomatic relations, and widened the sphere of their influence.

Lord
Moir
Marquess
of
Hastings,
1814-23.

The successor of Lord Minto was the Earl of Moira, better known by his later title as the Marquess of Hastings. The Marquess of Hastings completed Lord Wellesley's conquests in Central India, and left the Bombay Presidency almost as it stands at present. His long rule of nine years, from 1814 to 1823, was marked by two wars of the first magnitude—namely, the campaigns against the Gúrkhas of Nepál, and the last Maráthá struggle.

The
Gúrkhas
of Nepál.

The Gúrkhas, the present ruling race in Nepál, trace their descent from Hindu immigrants, and claim a Rájput origin. The indigenous inhabitants, called Newars, belong to the Indo-Tibetan stock, and profess Buddhism. The sovereignty of the Gúrkhas dates only from 1767-68, when they overran the valley of Khátmádu, and gradually extended their power over the hills and valleys of Nepál. Organized upon a military and feudal basis, they soon became a terror to their neighbours, marching east into Sikkin, west into Kumáun, and south into the Gangetic plains. In the last quarter their victims were British subjects (natives of Bengal), and it became necessary to check their advance. Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto had remonstrated in vain, and nothing was left to Lord Moira but to take up arms.

The first campaign of 1814 was unsuccessful. After over-

coming the natural difficulties of a malarious climate and precipitous hills, our troops were on several occasions fairly worsted by the impetuous bravery of the little Gúrkhas, whose heavy knives or *kukris* dealt terrible execution. But in the cold weather of 1814, General Ochterlony, who advanced by way of the Sutlej, stormed one by one the hill-forts which stud the Hunáláyan States, now under the Punjab Government, and compelled the Nepál *darbár*, or court, to sue for peace. In the following year, 1815, the same general made his brilliant march from Patná into the lofty valley of Khat-mándu, and finally dictated the terms which had before been rejected, within a few miles of the capital. By the treaty of Segaulí, which defines the English relations with Nepál to the present day, the Gúrkhas withdrew on the south-east from Sikkim; and on the south-west, from their advanced posts in the outer ranges of the Himálayas, which enabled us to obtain the health-giving stations of Náni Tál, Masúri (Mussooree), and Simla.

Meanwhile, the condition of Central India was every year becoming more unsatisfactory. The great Maráthá chiefs had learned to live as princes rather than as predatory leaders. But their original habits of lawlessness were being followed by a new set of freebooters, known as the Pindáris. As opposed to the Maráthás, who were at least a Hindu nationality bound by the traditions of a united government, the Pindáris were merely plundering bands, closely corresponding to the free companies of mediæval Europe. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afháns, Maráthás, or Játs. They represented the *díbris* of the Mughal Empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindu Powers that sprang up out of its ruins. For a time, indeed, it seemed as if the inheritance of the Mughal might pass to these armies of banditti. In Bengal, similar hordes had formed themselves out of the disbanded Muhammadan troops and the Hindu predatory castes. But they had been dispersed under the vigorous rule of Warren Hastings. In Central India, the evil lasted longer, attained a greater scale, and was only stamped out by a regular war.

The Pindári headquarters were in Málwá, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the Pindári captains,

Nepál war,
1814-15

Second
campaign

Treaty of
Segaulí,
cedes
Hima-
layan
tracts,
1815.

The
Pindáris,
1804-17.

Pindári
bands,
1815.

Pindári
leaders.

Amír Khán, had an organized army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Two other leaders, known as Chitu and Karím, at one time paid a ransom to Sindhia of £100,000. To suppress the Pindári hordes, who were supported by the sympathy, more or less open, of all the Maráthá chiefs, Lord Hastings (1817) collected the strongest British army which had yet been seen in India, numbering 120,000 men. One half operated from the north, the other half from the south. Sindhia was overawed, and remained quiet. Amír Khán disbanded his army, on condition of being guaranteed the possession of what is now the principality of Tank. The remaining bodies of Pindáris were attacked in their homes, surrounded, and cut to pieces. Karím threw himself upon the mercy of the conquerors. Chitu fled to the jungles, and was killed by a tiger.

Pindári
war, 1817.

In the same year (1817), and almost in the same month (November), as that in which the Pindáris were crushed, the three great Maráthá Powers at Poona, Nágpur, and Indore rose separately against the English. The Peshwá, Bájí Ráo, had long been chafing under the terms imposed by the treaty of Bassein (1802). A new treaty of Poona, in June 1817, now freed the Gáekwár from his control, ceded further districts to the British for the pay of the subsidiary force, and submitted all future disputes to the decision of our Government.

New
Maráthá
treaty,
1817.

The
Maráthá
attack.

Elphinstone, then our Resident at his court, foresaw a storm, and withdrew to Kírki, whither he had ordered up a European regiment. The next day the Residency was burnt down, and Kírki was attacked by the whole army of the Peshwá. The attack was bravely repulsed, and the Peshwá immediately fled from his capital, Poona. Almost the same plot was enacted at Nágpur, where the honour of the British name was saved by the Sepoys, who defended the hill of Sítábáldi against enormous odds.

Last Mar-
áthá war,
1817-18.

It had thus become necessary to crush the Maráthás. Their forces under Holkar were defeated in the following month at the pitched battle of Mehidpur. All open resistance was now at an end. Nothing remained but to follow up the fugitives, and to impose conditions for a general pacification. In both these duties Sir John Malcolm played a prominent part. The dominions of the Peshwá were annexed to the Bombay Presidency, and the nucleus of the present Central Provinces was formed out of the territory rescued from the Pindáris. The Peshwá himself surrendered, and was permitted to reside at

Bombay
territories
annexed,
1818.

Bithúr, near Cawnpur, on a pension of £80,000 a year. His adopted son was the infamous Náná Sáhib of the Mutiny of 1857.

To fill the Peshwá's place, as the traditional head of the Maráthá Confederacy, the lineal descendant of Sivaji was brought forth from obscurity and placed upon the throne of Sátára. An infant was recognised as the heir of Holkar, and a second infant was proclaimed Rájá of Nágpur under British guardianship. At the same time, the States of Rájputána accepted the position of feudatories to the paramount British power.

The map of India, as thus drawn by Lord Hastings, remained substantially unchanged until the time of Lord Dalhousie. But the proudest boast of Lord Hastings and Sir John Malcolm was, not that they had advanced the *pomarium*, but that they had conferred the blessings of peace and good government upon millions who had groaned under the extortions of the Maráthás and Pindáris.

The Marquess of Hastings was succeeded by Lord (afterwards Earl) Amherst, after the interval of a few months, during which Mr. Adam, a Civil Servant, acted as Governor-General. The Maráthá war in the peninsula of India was hardly completed when our armies had to face new enemies beyond the sea. Lord Amherst's administration lasted for five years, from 1823 to 1828. It is known in history by two prominent events, the first Burmese war and the capture of Bhartpur.

For some years past our north-eastern frontier had been disturbed by Burmese raids. Burma, or the country which fringes the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, and runs up the valley of the Irawadi, has a people of Tibeto-Chinese origin, and a history of its own. Tradition asserts that its civilisation was introduced from the coast of Coromandel, by a people who are supposed to preserve a trace of their origin in their name of Talaing (*cf.* Telingána). However this may be, the Buddhist religion, professed by the Burmese at the present day, certainly came from India at a very early date. Waves of invasion from Siam on the south, and from the wild mountains of China on the north-west, passed over the land. These conquests were marked by the wanton and wholesale barbarity which seems to characterize the Tibeto-Chinese race: but the civilisation of Buddhism survived every shock, and flourished around the ancient pagodas. European travellers in the 15th century visited Pegu and Tenasserim, which they describe as flourishing seats of maritime trade. During the Portuguese

Map of
India,
1818-48.

Mr. Adam,
1823.

Lord
Amherst,
1823-28.

Ancient
Burma.

Burma,
15th cent.
A.D.

predominance in the East, Arakan in Northern Burma became an asylum for desperate European adventurers. With their help, the Arakanese conquered Chittagong on the Bengal seaboard, and (under the name of the Maghs) became the terror of the Gangetic delta. About 1750, a new Burmese dynasty arose, founded by Alaung-paya or Alompra, with its capital at Ava. Alompra's successors ruled Independent Burma until its annexation to British India in 1886.¹

Burmese
encroach-
ments on
India.

First Bur-
mese war,
1824

The dynasty of Alompra, after having subjugated all Burma, and overrun (1800) Assam, which was then an independent kingdom, began a series of encroachments upon the British Districts. As they rejected all peaceful proposals with scorn, Lord Amherst was at last compelled to declare war in 1824. Little military glory could be gained by beating the Burmese, who were formidable chiefly from the pestilential character of their country. One expedition with gunboats proceeded up the Brahmaputra into Assam. Another marched by land through Chittagong into Arakan, as the Bengal Sepoys refused to go by sea. A third, and the strongest, sailed from Madras direct to the mouth of the Irawadi. The war was protracted over two years. After a loss to us of about 20,000 lives, chiefly from disease, and an expenditure of £14,000,000, the King of Ava signed, in 1826, the treaty of Yandabu. By this he abandoned all claim to Assam, and ceded the Provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, already in the military occupation of the British. He retained the whole valley of the Irawadi, down to the sea at Rangoon.

Assam,
surrendered
1826

Bhar-
pur
1827.

The capture of Bharpur in Central India by Lord Combermere, in January 1827, wiped out the repulse which Lake had received before that city in January 1805. A disputed succession led to the British intervention. Artillery could make little impression upon the massive walls of mud. But at last a breach was effected by mining, and the city was taken by storm, thus removing the popular notion throughout India that it was impregnable—a notion which had threatened to become a political danger.

First
William
Bentinck,
1828-35

The next Governor-General was Lord William Bentinck, who had been Governor of Madras twenty years earlier, at the time of the mutiny of Vellore (1806). His seven years' rule (from 1828 to 1835) is not signalized by any of those victories or extensions of territory by which chroniclers measure the

¹ For the history of Burma, see the articles BURMA, BRITISH, and BURMA, INDEPENDENT, in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

growth of an empire. But it forms an epoch in administrative reform, and in the benign process by which a subject population is won over to venerate as well as to obey its alien rulers. The modern history of the British in India, as benevolent administrators, ruling the country with an eye to the good of the natives, may be said to begin with Lord William Bentinck. According to the inscription upon his statue at Calcutta, from the pen of Macaulay: 'He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion, his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge.'

Lord William Bentinck's first care on arrival in India was to restore equilibrium to the finances, which were tottering under the burden imposed upon them by the Burmese war. This he effected by three series of measures—first, by reductions in permanent expenditure, amounting to 1½ millions sterling a year; second, by augmenting the revenue from lands which had surreptitiously escaped assessment; third, by duties on the opium of Málwá. He also widened the gates by which educated natives could enter the service of the Company. Some of these reforms were distasteful to the covenanted service and to the officers of the army. But Lord William was staunchly supported by the Court of Directors and by the Whig Ministry at home.

His two most memorable acts are the abolition of *sati*, or widow-burning, and the suppression of the *thags*. At this distance of time, it is difficult to realize the degree to which these two barbarous practices had corrupted the social system of the Hindus. European research has clearly proved that the text in the Vedas adduced to authorize the immolation of widows, was a wilful mistranslation.¹ But the practice had been enshrined in Hindu opinion by the authority of centuries, and had acquired the sanctity of a religious rite. The Emperor Akbar prohibited it, but failed to put it down. The early English rulers did not dare to violate the religious traditions of the people. In the year 1817 no less than 700 widows are said to have been burned alive in the Bengal Presidency alone. To this day, the holy spots of Hindu pilgrimage are thickly dotted with little white pillars, each commemorating a *sati*. In spite of strenuous opposition, both from Europeans and natives, Lord William Bentinck carried a Regulation in Council on the 4th December 1829, by which

¹ *Ibid.* *note*, chap. iv. pp. 119, 120.

all who abetted *sati* were declared guilty of 'culpable homicide.'

Suppression of
thagi.

The honour of suppressing *thagi* must be shared between Lord William Bentinck and Captain Sleeman. *Thags* were hereditary assassins, who made strangling their profession. They travelled in bands, disguised as merchants or pilgrims, and were sworn together by an oath based on the rites of the bloody goddess Káli. Between 1826 and 1835, as many as 1562 *thags* were apprehended in different parts of British India; and, by the evidence of approvers, these abominable brotherhoods were broken up. They have since been stamped out.

Renewal
of Charter,
1833.

Two other historical events are connected with the administration of Lord William Bentinck. In 1833, the Charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years, but upon the condition that the Company should abandon its trade and permit Europeans to settle freely in the country. At the same time, a fourth or 'Law-member' was added to the Governor-General's Council, who need not be a servant of the Company; and a Commission was appointed to revise and codify the law. Macaulay was the first Law-member of Council, and the first President of the Law Commission.

Mysore
protected,
1830.

Coorg
annexed,
1834.

In 1830-31, it was found necessary to take the State of Mysore under British administration. It continued so up to March 1881, when it was restored to Native government. In 1834, the frantic misrule of the Rájá of Coorg brought on a sharp and short war. The Rájá Lingaráj was permitted to retire to Vellore, then to Benares, and finally to England, where he died. The brave and proud inhabitants of his mountainous little territory decided to place themselves under the sway of the Company. This was the only annexation effected by Lord William Bentinck, and it was done 'in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people.'

Lord
Metcalf,
1835-36.

Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe succeeded Lord William Bentinck, being senior member of Council. His short term of office is memorable for the measure which his predecessor had initiated, but which he carried into execution, for giving entire liberty to the press. From this time the Indian Government lost the power of deporting British journalists who made themselves formidable by their pens. Public opinion in India, as well as the express wish of the Court of Directors at home, pointed to Metcalfe as the fittest person to carry out the policy of Bentinck, not provisionally, but as Governor-General for a full term.

Party exigencies, however, led to the appointment of Lord

Auckland. From this date commences a new era of war and conquest, which may be said to have lasted for twenty years. All looked peaceful until Lord Auckland, prompted by his evil genius, attempted by force to place Sháh Shujá upon the throne of Kábul; an attempt conducted with gross mismanagement, and ending in the annihilation of the British garrison placed in that city. Lord Auckland.
1836-42.

For the first time since the days of the Sultáns of Ghazní Afghanistan and Ghor, Afghánistán had obtained a national king in 1747 under the Duránis. This resolute soldier found his opportunity in the confusion which followed the death of the Persian conqueror, Nádír Sháh. Before his own decease in 1747-1826, Ahmad Sháh had conquered a wide empire, from Herát to Pesháwar, and from Kashmir to Sind. His intervention on the field of Pánpát (1761) turned back the tide of Marathá conquest, and maintained the Mughal Emperor on the throne of Delhi. But Ahmad Sháh never cared to settle in India, and alternately kept state at his two Afghán capitals of Kábul and Kandahár. The Duráni kings were prolific in children, who fought to the death with one another on each succession. At last, in 1826, Dost Muhammad, head of the powerful Bárakzái family, succeeded in establishing himself as ruler of Kábul, with the title of Amír, while two fugitive brothers of the Duráni line were living under British protection at Ludhiána, on the Punjab frontier.

The attention of the English Government had been directed to Afghán affairs ever since the time of Lord Wellesley, who feared that Zamán Sháh, the Afghán Amír, then holding his court at Lahore (1800), might follow in the path of Ahmad Sháh, and overrun Hindustán. The growth of the powerful Sikh kingdom of Ranjít Singh effectually dispelled these alarms. Subsequently, in 1809, while a French invasion of India was still a possibility to be guarded against, Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent by Lord Minto on a mission to Sháh Shujá to form a defensive alliance. Before the year expired, Sháh Shujá had been driven into exile, and a third brother, Mahmúd Sháh, was on the throne. In 1837, when the curtain rises upon the drama of English interference in Afghánistán, the usurper Dost Muhammad Bárakzái was firmly established at Kábul. His great ambition was to recover Peshawar from the Sikhs. When, therefore, Captain Alexander Burnes arrived on a mission from Lord Auckland, with the ostensible object of opening trade, the Dost was willing to promise everything if only he could get Pesháwar. Our early dealings with Kábul.
1800-37.

Dost Muhammad.
1837.

Russian
influence,
1837.

But Lord Auckland had another and more important object in view. At this time the Russians were advancing rapidly in Central Asia, and a Persian army, not without Russian support, was besieging Herát, then as now the bulwark of Afghánistán on the west. A Russian envoy was at Kábul at the same time as our own envoy Burnes. The latter was unable to satisfy the demands of Dost Muhammad in the matter of Pesháwar, and returned to India unsuccessful. Lord Auckland forthwith resolved upon the hazardous plan of placing a more subservient ruler upon the throne of Kábul.

Sháh
Shujá
installed,
1839.

Sháh Shujá, one of the two exiles of Ludhiána, was selected for the purpose. At this time both the Punjab and Sind were independent kingdoms. Sind was the less powerful of the two, and accordingly a British army escorting Sháh Shujá made its way by that route into southern Afghánistán through the Bolán Pass. Kandahár surrendered; Ghazní was taken by storm. Dost Muhammad fled across the Hindu Kush, and Sháh Shujá was triumphantly led into the Bala Hissár at Kábul in August 1839. After one more brave struggle, Dost Muhammad surrendered, and was sent to Calcutta as a State prisoner.

Kábul
occupied,
1839-41.

But although we could enthrone Sháh Shujá, we could not win for him the hearts of the Afgháns. To that nation he seemed a degenerate exile thrust back upon them by foreign arms. During two years Afghánistán remained in the military occupation of the British. The catastrophe occurred in November 1841, when our Political Agent, Sir Alexander Burnes, was assassinated in the city of Kábul. The troops in the cantonments were under the command of General Elphinstone (not to be confounded with the able civilian and historian, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone). Sir William Macnaghten was the Political Officer. Elphinstone, an old man, proved unequal to the responsibilities of the position. Macnaghten was treacherously murdered at an interview with the Afghán chief, Akbar Khán, eldest son of Dost Muhammad.

The
winter
retreat.

After lingering amid disgraceful dissensions and with fatal indecision in cantonments for two months, the British army set off in the depth of winter, under a fallacious guarantee from the Afghán leaders, to find its way back to India through the passes. When they started, they numbered 4000 fighting men with 12,000 camp followers. A single survivor, Dr. Brydon, reached the friendly walls of Jalálábád, where General Sale was gallantly holding out. The rest perished in the snowy defiles of Khurd-Kábul and Jagdalak, from the knives and

Our
garrison
annihilated, 1842

matchlocks of the Afghans, or from the effects of cold. A few prisoners, chiefly women, children, and officers, were considerably treated by the orders of Akbar Khán.

The first Afghán enterprise, begun in a spirit of aggression, and conducted amid disagreements and mismanagement, had ended in the disgrace of the British arms. The real loss, which amounted only to a single garrison, and cost fewer soldiers than many a victory, was magnified by the horrors of the winter march, and by the completeness of the annihilation. The shock in England. 1842-44.

Within a month after the news reached Calcutta, Lord Auckland had been superseded by Lord Ellenborough, whose first impulse was to be satisfied with drawing off in safety the garrisons from Kandahár and Jalálábád. But bolder counsels were forced upon him. General Pollock, who was marching straight through the Punjab to relieve Sale, was allowed to penetrate to Kábul. General Nott, although ordered to withdraw from Afghánistán, resolved to take Kábul on the way.¹ Lord Ellenborough gave his commands in well-chosen words, which would leave his generals responsible for any disaster.¹ General Nott took that responsibility, and instead of retreating south-east to the Indus, boldly marched north in nearly the opposite direction to Kábul. After hard fighting, the two British forces, under Pollock and Nott, met at their common destination at Kábul City in September 1842. The great *bázár* at Kábul was blown up with gunpowder, to fix a stigma upon the city; the prisoners were recovered; and the British troops marched back to India, leaving Dost Muhammad to take undisputed possession of his throne. Fall of Ellenborough. 1842-44. The army of retri'bution, 1842.

The drama closed with a bombastic proclamation from Lord Ellenborough, who had caused the gates from the tomb of Mahmúd of Ghazní to be carried back as a memorial of 'Somnáth revenged.' Lord Ellenborough, in his craze for historical melodrama, declared these doors to be the ones carried away from the spoliation of the Somnáth temple by Mahmúd of Ghazni, 1024 A.D.² The gates were a modern forgery; and their theatrical procession through the Punjab formed a vainglorious sequel to Lord Ellenborough's diffidence while the fate of our armies hung in the balance. The histrionic travesty which closed the first Kábul war was scarcely The 'Gates of Somnath,' 1842.

¹ *The Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough, from his Correspondence.* Edited by Lord Colchester, 1874. See Lord Ellenborough's own Letters, pp. 29, 30, 39. etc.

² *Vide ante*, chap. x. p. 327.

less distasteful to the serious English mind than the unrighteous interference which led to its commencement, or the follies and feeble division of counsels which produced its disasters.

Sind war,
1843.

Lord Ellenborough, who loved military pomp, had his taste gratified by two more wars. In 1843, the Muhammadan rulers of Sind, known as the *Mirs* or *Amírs*, whose chief fault was that they would not surrender their independence, were crushed by Sir Charles Napier. The victory of Miáni, in which 3000 British troops defeated 20,000 Balúchís, is one of the brilliant feats of arms in Anglo-Indian history. But valid reasons can scarcely be found for the annexation of the country. In the same year, a disputed succession at Gwalior, fomented by feminine intrigue, resulted in an outbreak of the overgrown army which the Sindhia family kept up. Peace was restored by the battles of Mahárájpur and Panníár, at the former of which Lord Ellenborough was present in person.

Gwalior
outbreak,
1843.

Lord
Hardinge.
1844-48.

In 1844, Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the Court of Directors, who differed from him on points of administration, disliked his theatrical display, and distrusted his erratic genius. He was succeeded by Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge, who had served through the Peninsular war, and lost a hand at Ligny. It was felt on all sides that a trial of strength between the British and the remaining Hindu Power in India, the great Sikh nation, drew near.

The Sikhs,
1469.

Nának
Sháh.

The Sikhs were not a nationality like the Maráthás, but a religious sect bound together by the additional tie of military discipline. They trace their origin to Nának Sháh, a pious Hindu reformer, born near Lahore in 1469, before the ascendancy of either Mughals or Portuguese in India. Nának, like other zealous preachers of his time, preached the abolition of caste, the unity of the Godhead, and the obligation of leading a pure life.¹ From Nának, ten *gurus* or apostles are traced down to Govind Singh in 1708, with whom the succession stopped. Cruelly persecuted by the ruling Muhammadans, almost exterminated under the miserable successors of Aurangzeb,² the Sikh martyrs clung to their faith with unflinching zeal. At last the downfall of the Mughal Empire transformed the Sikh sect into a territorial power. It was

¹ *Vide ante*, pp. 257, 258. The life of Nának and growth of his sect are summarized in articles AMRITSAR and PUNJAB, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The religious aspects of the Sikhs are fully treated in Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, vol. i, pp. 267-275 (ed. 1862).

² *Vide ante*, p. 372.

the only political organization remaining in the Punjab. The Sikhs in the North, and the Maráthás in Southern and Central India, thus became the two great Hindu Powers who partitioned the Mughal Empire. Even before the rise of Ranjít Singh, offshoots from the Sikh *mís*s or confederacies, each led by its elected *sardár*, had carved out for themselves feudal principalities along the banks of the Sutlej, some of which endure to the present day. Sikh confederacies.

Ranjít Singh, the 'Lion of the Punjab' and founder of the Sikh kingdom, was born in 1780. In his twentieth year he obtained the appointment of Governor of Lahore from the Afghán Amír, and formed the project of erecting his personal rule upon the fanaticism of his Sikh countrymen. He organized their church militant, or 'the liberated,' into an army under European officers, which for steadiness and religious fervour has had no parallel since the Ironsides of Cromwell. From Lahore, as his capital, he extended his conquests south to Múltán, west to Pesháwar, and north to Kashmir. On the east side alone he was hemmed in by the Sutlej, up to which river the authority of the British Government had advanced in 1804. Until his death, in 1839, Ranjít Singh was ever loyal to the engagements which he had entered into with Metcalfe in 1809. But he left no son capable of wielding his sceptre. Lahore was torn by dissensions between rival generals, ministers, and queens. The only strong power was the army of the Central Committee of Generals or *khálsá*,¹ which, since our disaster in Afghánistán, burned to measure its strength with the British Sepoys. Ranjít Singh's European generals, Avitabile and Court, were foolishly ousted by the Sikh commanders, and the supreme military command was vested in a series of *pañcháyats* or elective committees of five. Ranjit Singh.
1780-1839.
His kingdom.
Its dissensions.

In 1845, the Sikh army, numbering 60,000 men, with 150 guns, crossed the Sutlej and invaded British territory. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, together with the Governor-General, hurried up to the frontier. Within three weeks, four pitched battles were fought, at Múdkí, Firozsháh, Ahwál, and Sobráon. The British loss on each occasion was heavy; but by the last victory, the Sikhs were fairly driven back into the Sutlej, and Lahore surrendered to the British. The British, however, declined to annex the prostrate pro-

¹ The Persian word *khálsá*, literally 'pure' or 'sincere,' means in Indian official language the royal exchequer, and hence more loosely the bureau of the central administration.

Dhulip
Singh,
1845.

vince; but appointed a Sikh Protectorate. By the terms of peace which we then dictated, the infant son of Ranjit, Dhulip Singh, was recognised as Rájá; the Jalandhar Doáb, or tract between the Sutlej and the Beas, was added to the British territory; the Sikh army was limited to a specified number; Major Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident, to assist the Sikh Council of Regency, at Lahore; and a British force was sent to garrison the Punjab on behalf of the child-Rájá. The Governor-General, Sir H. Hardinge, received a peerage, and returned to England in 1848.

Earl of
Dalhousie,
1848-56.

His
admini-
strative
reforms.

Lord Dalhousie succeeded. The eight years' rule of this greatest of Indian proconsuls (1848-56) left more conspicuous results than that of any Governor-General since Clive. A high-minded statesman, of a most sensitive conscience, and earnestly desiring peace, Lord Dalhousie found himself forced against his will to fight two wars, and to embark on a policy of annexation. His campaigns in the Punjab and in Burma ended in large acquisitions of territory; while Nágpur, Oudh, and several minor States also came under British rule. But Dalhousie's deepest interest lay in the advancement of the moral and material condition of the country. His system of administration carried out in the conquered Punjab, by the two Lawrences and their assistants, is probably the most successful piece of difficult work ever accomplished by Englishmen. Lower Burma has prospered under our rule not less than the Punjab. In both cases, Lord Dalhousie himself laid the foundations of our administrative success, and deserves a large share of the credit.

His
Public
Works.

No branch of the administration escaped his reforming hand. He founded the Public Works Department, with a view to creating the network of roads, railways, and canals which now cover India. He opened the Ganges Canal, still the largest work of the kind in the country; and he turned the sod of the first Indian railway. He promoted steam communication with England *viz* the Red Sea, and introduced cheap postage and the electric telegraph. It is Lord Dalhousie's misfortune that these benefits are too often forgotten in the recollections of the Mutiny, which followed his policy of annexation, after the firm hand which had remodelled British India was withdrawn. But history is compelled to record not only that no other Governor-General since the time of Lord Wellesley had ruled India with such splendid success from the military and political point of view, but also that no other

Governor-General had done so much to improve the internal administration since the days of Warren Hastings.

Lord Dalhousie had not been six months in India before the second Sikh war broke out. The attempt to govern the Punjab by a Sikh Protectorate broke down. The Council of Regency was divided against itself, corrupt and weak. The Queen-Mother had chosen her paramour as Prime Minister. In 1848 the storm broke. Two British officers were treacherously assassinated at Multán. Unfortunately, Henry Lawrence was at home on sick leave. The British army was not ready to act in the hot weather; and, despite the single-handed exertions of Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes, this outbreak of fanaticism led to a general rising of the Sikh confederacies.

The *khálsá* army again came together, and once more fought on even terms with the British. On the fatal field of Chillianwála,¹ which our patriotism prefers to call a drawn battle, the British lost 2400 officers and men, besides four guns and the colours of three regiments (13th January 1849). But before reinforcements could come out from England, bringing Sir Charles Napier as Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough had restored his reputation by the crowning victory of Gujrát, which absolutely destroyed the Sikh army. Multán had previously fallen; and the Afghán horse under Dost Muhammad, who had forgotten their hereditary antipathy to the Sikhs in their greater hatred of the British name, were chased back with ignominy to their native hills. The Punjab, annexed by proclamation on the 29th March 1849,² became a British Province—a virgin field for the administrative talents of Dalhousie and the two Lawrences. Maharaja Dhulip Singh received an allowance of £58,000 a year, on which he lived as an English country gentleman in Norfolk for many years.

The first step in the pacification of the Punjab was a general disarmament, which resulted in the delivery of no fewer than 120,000 weapons of various kinds. Then followed a settlement of the land tax, village by village, at an assessment much below that to which it had been raised by Sikh exactions; and the introduction of a loose but equitable code of civil and

¹ See articles CHILLIANWALA and GUJRAT, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² In terms of the agreement with Maharaja Dhulip Singh of same date.—Altchison's *History and Description*, vol. vi. p. 476, 1876.

³ For the annexation and administrative history of the Punjab, see article PUNJAB in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

criminal procedure. Roads and canals were laid out by Colonel Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala). The security of British peace, and the personal influence of British officers, inaugurated a new era of prosperity, which was felt to the farthest corners of the Province. It thus happened that, when the Mutiny broke out in 1857, the Punjab remained not only quiet, but loyal.

Second
Burmese
war, 1852.

The second Burmese war, in 1852, arose out of the ill-treatment of some European merchants at Rangoon, and the insults offered to the captain of a British frigate who had been sent to remonstrate.¹ The lower valley of the Irawadi, from Rangoon to Prome, was occupied in a few months; and as the King of Ava refused to treat, it was annexed by proclamation on the 20th December 1852, under the name of Pegu, to the Provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, acquired in 1826.

Lower
Burma
annexed,
1852.

Since annexation in 1852, the inhabitants of the town of Rangoon were said to have multiplied fourteen-fold by 1881. During the last decade alone, from 1881 to 1891, they increased from 134,176 to 180,324; showing the largest proportional increase among the first-class towns of India, and placing Rangoon as the ninth most populous city in British India, or the eleventh in both British and Feudatory India. The trade of this port, which four years after annexation (1857-58) amounted to only Rx. 2,131,055, had increased to Rx. 12,456,131 in 1891 for private trade alone, besides Government stores and material.

Its pro-
sperity
under
our rule.

The towns and rural parts have alike prospered. Before its annexation in 1826, Amherst District was the scene of perpetual warfare between the Kings of Siam and Pegu, and was stripped of inhabitants. In February 1827, a Talaing chief with 10,000 followers settled in the neighbourhood of Maulmain; and after a few years, a further influx of 20,000 immigrants took place. In 1855, the population of Amherst District amounted to 83,146 souls; in 1860, to 130,953; in 1875, to 275,432; in 1881, to 301,086; and in 1891, to 417,312. Or, to take the case of a seaport,—in 1826, when we occupied that part of the Province, Akyab was a poor fishing village. By 1830 it had developed into a little town, with a trade valued at £7000. In 1879 the trade exceeded 2 millions sterling; so that the trade of Akyab had multiplied itself close on three hundred-fold in exactly fifty years. The popula-

¹ For further details, see article BURMA, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

tion of Lower Burma increased from $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions in 1855, to over $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1891.

Lord Dalhousie's dealings with the Feudatory States of India revealed the whole nature of the man. That rulers exist only for the good of the ruled, was his supreme axiom of government, of which he gave a conspicuous example in his own daily life. That British administration was better for the people than Native rule, followed from this axiom. He was thus led to regard native chiefs from somewhat the same point of view as the Scotch regarded the hereditary jurisdictions after 1745, namely, as mischievous anomalies, to be abolished by every fair means. Good faith must be kept with rulers on the throne, and with their legitimate heirs. But no false sentiment should preserve dynasties which had forfeited our sympathies by generations of misrule, nor prolong those that had no natural successor. The 'doctrine of lapse' was the practical application of these principles, complicated by the Indian practice of adoption.

According to Hindu private law, an adopted son entirely fills the place of a begotten son, whether to perform the religious obsequies of his father or to inherit his property. In all respects he continues the *persona* of the deceased. But it was argued that, both as a matter of historical fact and as one of political expediency, the succession to a throne stood upon a different footing. It was affirmed, not always with a complete knowledge of the facts, that the Mughal Emperors had asserted an interest in successions to the great fiefs, and demanded heavy payments for recognising them. It was therefore maintained that the paramount power could not acknowledge without limitations a right of adoption, which might be used as a fraud to hand over the happiness of millions to a base-born impostor. Here came in Lord Dalhousie's maxim of 'the good of the governed.' In his mind, the benefits to be conferred through British administration weighed heavier than a superstitious and often fraudulent fiction of inheritance.

The first State to escheat to the British Government in accordance with these principles was Sâtâra, which had been reconstituted by Lord Hastings on the downfall of the Peshwâ in 1818. The Râjâ of Sâtâra, the last lineal representative of Sivajî, died without a male heir in 1848, and his death-bed adoption was set aside (1849). In the same year, the independence of the Râjput State of Karauh was saved by the Court of Directors, who drew a fine distinction between a

The Feudatory States.

Dal-housie's doctrine of 'lapse.'

Hindu doctrine of adoption.

Lapsed States : Sâtâra, 1849 ;

Karauh, 1849 ;

Jhānsi, 1853; dependent principality and a protected ally. In 1853, Jhānsi suffered the same fate as Sātara.

Nāgpur, 1853. But the most conspicuous application of the doctrine of lapse was the case of Nāgpur. The last of the Marāthā Bhonslas, a dynasty older than the British Government itself, died without a son, natural or adopted, in 1853. His territories were annexed, and became the Central Provinces. That

Berār handed over, 1853. year also saw British administration extended to the Berārs, or the Assigned Districts, which the Nizām of Haidarābād was induced to hand over to us, as a territorial guarantee for his arrears of subsidy, and for the pay of the Haidarābād contingent, which he perpetually kept in arrear. The relics of three other dynasties also passed away in 1853, although without any attendant accretion to British territory. In the extreme south, the titular Nawāb of the Karnātik and the titular Rājā of Tanjore both died without heirs. Their rank and their pensions died with them, but compassionate allowances were continued to their families. In the North of India, Bājī Rāo, the ex-Peshwā who had been dethroned in 1818, lived on till 1853 in the enjoyment of his annual pension of £80,000. His adopted son, Nānā Sāhib, inherited his accumulated savings, but could obtain no further recognition.

Annexation of Oudh. 1856.

Lord Dalhousie annexed the Province of Oudh on different grounds. Ever since the Nawab Wazīr, Shujā-ud-Daulā, received back his forfeited territories from the hands of Lord Clive in 1765, the existence of his dynasty had depended on the protection of British bayonets.¹ Guarded alike from foreign invasion and from domestic rebellion, the long line of Nawābs had sunk into private debauchees and public oppressors. Their one virtue was steady loyalty to the British Government. The fertile districts between the Ganges and the Gogra, which now support a denser population than, perhaps, any rural area of the same size on the globe, had groaned for generations under an anarchy for which each British Governor-General felt himself in part responsible. Warning after warning had been given to the Nawābs (who had assumed the title of Shāh or King since 1819) that they must put their house in order.

What the benevolent Bentinck and the soldierly Hardinge had only threatened, was reserved for Lord Dalhousie, who united honesty of purpose with stern decision of character, to perform. He laid the whole case before the Court of

¹ For the history of Oudh since 1765, and the misrule which compelled its annexation, see article OUDH, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Directors, who, after long and painful hesitation, resolved on annexation. Lord Dalhousie, then on the eve of retiring, felt that it would be unfair to leave the perilous task to his successor in the first moments of his rule. The tardy decision of the Court of Directors left him, however, only a few weeks to carry out the work. But he solemnly believed that work to be his duty to the people of Oudh. 'With this feeling on my mind,' he wrote in his private diary, 'and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change), I approach the execution of this duty, gravely and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt.'

At the commencement of 1856, the last year of his rule, he issued orders to General (afterwards Sir James) Outram, then Resident at the court of Lucknow, to assume the direct administration of Oudh, on the ground that 'the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions.' The proclamation was issued on the 13th February 1856. The king, Wájid Ali, bowed to irresistible force, although he refused to recognise the justice of his deposition. After a mission to England, consisting of his mother, brother, and son, by way of protest and appeal, he settled down in the pleasant suburb of Garden Reach near Calcutta. There he lived to an old age in the enjoyment of a pension of £120,000 a year. Oudh was thus annexed without a blow. But this measure, on which Lord Dalhousie looked back with the proudest sense of rectitude, was perhaps the one act of his rule that most alarmed native public opinion.

The Marquess of Dalhousie resigned office in March 1856, being then only forty-four years of age; but he carried home with him the seeds of a lingering illness, which resulted in his death in 1860. Excepting Cornwallis, he was the first, although by no means the last, of English statesmen who have fallen victims to their devotion to India's needs.

Lord Dalhousie completed the fabric of British rule in India. The Empire as mapped out by Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings, during the first quarter of the century, had received the addition of Sind in 1843. The Marquess of Dalhousie finally filled in the wide spaces covered by Oudh, by the Central Provinces, and by smaller States within India; together with the great outlying territories of the Punjab on the North-Western Frontier, and the richest part of Lower Burma beyond the sea.

Earl
Canning,
1856-62.

The great Governor-General was succeeded by his friend Lord Canning, who, at the farewell banquet in England given to him by the Court of Directors, uttered these prophetic words: 'I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin.' In the following year, the Sepoys of the Bengal army mutinied, and all the valley of the Ganges from Patná to Delhi rose in rebellion.

The Sepoy
Mutiny,
1857.

Causes
of the
Sepoy
Mutiny.

The various motives assigned for the Mutiny appear inadequate to the European mind. The truth seems to be that Native opinion throughout India was in a ferment, predisposing men to believe the wildest stories, and to rush into action in a paroxysm of terror. Panic acts on an Oriental population like drink upon a European mob. The annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, although dictated by the most enlightened considerations, was distasteful to the Native mind. The spread of education, the appearance at the same moment of the steam-engine and the telegraph wire, seemed to reveal a deep plan for substituting an English for an Indian civilisation. The Bengal Sepoys especially thought that they could see farther than the rest of their countrymen. Most of them were Hindus of high caste; many of them were recruited from Oudh. They regarded our reforms on Western lines as attacks on their own nationality, and they knew at first hand what annexation meant. They believed it was by their prowess that the Punjab had been conquered, and that all India was held. The numerous dethroned princes, or their heirs and widows, were the first to learn and take advantage of this spirit of disaffection and panic. They had heard of the Crimean war, and were told that Russia was the perpetual enemy of England. Our munificent pensions to their families had supplied the funds with which they could buy the aid of skilful intriguers.

Temper
of the
Sepoys.

Other
alleged
causes
of the
Mutiny.

On the other hand, the Company had not sufficiently opened up the higher posts in its service to natives of education, talent, or proved fidelity. It had taken important steps in this direction in respect to the lower grades of appointments. But the prizes of Indian official life, many of which are now thrown open to natives of India by the Crown, were then the monopoly of a handful of Englishmen. Shortly before the Mutiny, Sir Henry Lawrence pointed out that even

the army supplied no career to a Native officer which could satisfy the reasonable ambition of an able man. He insisted on the serious dangers arising from this state of things; but his warnings were unheeded till too late. In the crisis of the Mutiny they were remembered. He was nominated provisional Governor-General in event of any accident happening to Lord Canning; and the Queen's proclamation, on the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown at the end of the great struggle, affirmed the principle which he had so powerfully urged. 'And it is our further will,' are Her Majesty's gracious words, 'that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.' Under the Company this liberal policy was unknown. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, therefore, found many of the Indian princes, especially the dethroned dynasties, hostile to the Company; while a multitude of its own Native officers were either actively disloyal or indifferent to its fate.

In this critical state of affairs, a rumour ran through the Native army that the cartridges served out to the Bengal regiments had been greased with the fat of cows, the sacred animal of the Hindus; and even with the lard of pigs—animals which are unclean alike to Hindu and Muhammadan. No assurances could quiet the minds of the Sepoys. Indeed, the evidence shows that a disastrous blunder had in truth been made in this matter—a blunder which, although quickly remedied, was remedied too late. As a matter of fact, cows' tallow had, with a culpable ignorance, been used in the ammunition factories. Steps were quickly taken to prevent the defiling cartridges from reaching the hands and mouths of the Sepoys. But no assurances could quiet their perturbed and excited minds. Fires occurred nightly in the Native lines; officers were insulted by their men; confidence was gone, and only the form of discipline remained.

In addition, the outbreak of the storm found the Native regiments denuded of many of their best officers. The administration of the great Empire to which Dalhousie had put the corner-stone, required a larger staff than the Civil Service could supply. The practice of selecting able military men for civil posts, which had long existed, received a sudden and vast development. Oudh, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Lower Burma, were administered to a large extent by picked

The 'greased' cartridges.

The army drained of its talent.

officers from the Company's regiments. Good and skilful commanders remained; but the Native army had nevertheless been drained of many of its brightest intellects and firmest wills at the very crisis of its fate. At the same time the British troops in India had, in spite of Lord Dalhousie's solemn warnings and repeated remonstrances, been reduced far below the strength which the great Governor-General declared to be essential to the safety of our rule. His earnest representations on this subject, and as to the urgent necessity for a reform alike of the Native and the British armies of India, were lying disregarded in London when the panic about the 'greased cartridges' spread through the Native regiments, and the storm burst upon Bengal.

In the following narrative, only the briefest summary can be attempted of the development of the revolt. The events of which it treats belong to our own day. Any detailed account of them would involve the criticism of measures on which history has not even yet pronounced her calm verdict, and would lead to personal praise or blame of still living men. Each episode of the Mutiny is fully described, from the local point of view, in my *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, under the name of the town or district in which it occurred.¹

Outbreak
of the
Mutiny,
May 1857.

On the afternoon of Sunday, 10th May 1857, the Sepoys at Meerut (Mirath) broke into open mutiny.² They broke into the jail, liberated the prisoners, and rushed in a wild torrent through the cantonments, cutting down a few Europeans. They then streamed off to the city of Delhi, to stir up the Native garrison and the criminal population of that great city, and to place themselves under the authority of the discrowned Mughal Emperor. Meerut was the largest military station in Northern India, with a strong European garrison of foot, horse, and guns, sufficient to overwhelm the mutineers before ever they reached Delhi. But as the Sepoys acted in irrational haste, so the British officers, in but too many cases, acted with equally irrational indecision. The news of the outbreak was telegraphed to Delhi, and nothing more was done that night.

At Meerut.

¹ The Mutiny of 1857 has already a copious literature. Sir John Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War* (3 vols.), with its able and eloquent continuation by Colonel Malleon, C.S.I., as *The History of the Indian Mutiny* (3 vols.), forms the standard work. Two excellent popular accounts, respectively from the political and the military point of view, will be found in Sir Henry Cunningham's *Lord Canning*, and Sir Owen Burne's *Clyde and Strathnairn*, both in the 'Rulers of India' series. Sir Charles Atchison's *Lord Lawrence* in the same series should also be consulted.

² See article MEERUT, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

At the moment when one strong will might have saved India, no soldier in authority at Meerut seemed able to think or act. The next morning the Muhammadans of Delhi rose, and all that the Europeans there could do was to blow up the magazine.

A rallying centre and a traditional name were thus given to the revolt, which forthwith spread like wild-fire through the North-Western Provinces and Oudh down into Lower Bengal. The same narrative must suffice for all the outbreaks, although each episode has its own story of sadness and devotion. The Sepoys rose on their officers, usually without warning, sometimes after protestations of fidelity. The Europeans, or persons of Christian faith, were frequently massacred, occasionally, also, the women and children. The jail was broken open, the treasury plundered, and the mutineers marched off to some centre of revolt, to join in what had now become a national war.

In the Punjab the Sepoys were anticipated by measures of repression and disarmament, carried out by Sir John Lawrence and his lieutenants, among whom Edwardes and Nicholson stand conspicuous. The Sikh population never wavered. Crowds of willing recruits came down from the Afghán hills. And thus the Punjab, instead of being itself a source of danger, was able to furnish a portion of its own garrison for the siege of Delhi. In Lower Bengal many of the Sepoys mutinied, and then dispersed in different directions. The Native armies of Madras and Bombay remained true to their colours. In Central India, the contingents of some of the great chiefs sooner or later joined the rebels, but the Muhammadan State of Haidarabad was kept loyal by the authority of its able minister, the late Sir Salar Jang.

The main interest of the Sepoy War gathers round the three cities of Cawnpur, Lucknow, and Delhi. Cawnpur contained one of the great Native garrisons of India. At Bithúr, not far off, was the palace of Dundhu Panth, the heir of the last Peshwá (*ante*, pp. 382, 473), who had inherited his savings, but had failed to procure a continuance of his pension; and whose more familiar name of Nání Sahib will ever be handed down to infamy. At first the Nání was profuse in his professions of loyalty; but when the Sepoys at Cawnpur mutinied on the 6th June, he put himself at their head, and was proclaimed Peshwá of the Marathás.

The Europeans at Cawnpur, numbering more women and children than fighting men, shut themselves up in an ill-chosen hasty entrenchment, where they heroically bore a siege for

Massacre
of Cawn-
pur.

nineteen days under the sun of a tropical June. Every one had courage and endurance to suffer or to die ; but the directing mind was again absent. On the 27th June, trusting to a safe-conduct from the Náná as far as Allahábád, they surrendered, and, to the number of 450, embarked in boats on the Ganges. Forthwith a murderous fire was opened upon them from the river bank. Only a single boat escaped, and but four men, who swam across to the protection of a friendly Rájá, ultimately survived to tell the tale. The rest of the men were massacred on the spot. The women and children, numbering 125, were reserved for the same fate on the 15th July, when the avenging army of Havelock was at hand.¹

Lucknow.

Sir Henry
Lawrence.

Sir Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, had foreseen the storm. He fortified and provisioned the Residency at Lucknow, and thither he retired with all the European inhabitants and a weak British regiment on 2nd July. Two days later, he was mortally wounded by a shell. Whatever opinion may be formed of Sir Henry Lawrence's capacity as a soldier in his one unfortunate engagement, he clearly perceived the main strategic and political points in the struggle. Lawrence had deliberately chosen his position ; and the little garrison held out under unparalleled hardships and against enormous odds, until relieved by Havelock and Outram on 25th September. But the relieving force was itself invested by fresh swarms of rebels ; and it was not until November that Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde) cut his way into Lucknow, and effected the final deliverance of the garrison² (16th November 1857). Our troops then withdrew to more urgent work, and did not finally re-occupy Lucknow till March 1858.

Siege of
Delhi,
June to
Sept.
1857.

Nicholson.

The siege of Delhi began on 8th June, one month after the original outbreak at Meerut. Siege in the proper sense of the word it was not ; for the British army, encamped on the historic 'ridge,' at no time exceeded 8000 men, while the rebels within the walls were more than 30,000 strong. In the middle of August, Nicholson arrived with a reinforcement from the Punjab ; but his own inspiring presence was even more valuable than the reinforcement he brought. On 14th September the assault was delivered, and, after six days' desperate fighting in the streets, Delhi was again won. Nicholson fell at the head of the storming party. Hodson, the fierce leader

¹ See article CAWNPUR, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² See article LUCKNOW, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

of a corps of irregular horse, hunted down next day the old Mughal Emperor, Bahádur Sháh, and his sons. The Emperor was afterwards sent a State prisoner to Rangoon, where he lived till 1862. As the mob pressed in on the guard around the Emperor's sons, near Delhi, Hodson found it necessary to shoot down the princes (who had been captured unconditionally) with his own hand.¹

After the fall of Delhi and the final relief of Lucknow, the war loses its dramatic interest, although fighting went on in various parts of the country for eighteen months longer. The population of Oudh and Rohilkhand, stimulated by the presence of the Begam of Oudh, the Nawáb of Bareilly, and Náná Sáhíb himself, had joined the mutinous Sepoys *en masse*. In this quarter of India alone it was the revolt of a people rather than the mutiny of an army that had to be quelled. Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde) conducted the campaign in Oudh, which lasted through two cold seasons.² Valuable assistance was lent by Sir Jang Bahádur of Nepál, at the head of his gallant Gúrkhas. Town after town was occupied, fort after fort was stormed, until the last gun had been recaptured, and the last fugitive had been chased across the frontier by January 1859.

In the meanwhile, Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn), with another army from Bombay, was conducting an even more brilliant campaign in Central India. His most formidable antagonists were the disinherited Rání or Princess of Jhánsí, and Tántia Topí, whose military talent had previously inspired Náná Sáhíb with all the capacity for resistance which he ever displayed. The Princess died fighting bravely at the head of her troops in June 1858.³ Tántia Topí, after doubling backwards and forwards through Central India, was at last betrayed and run down in April 1859.

The Company's Charter had been granted from time to time for periods of twenty years, and each renewal had formed an opportunity for a national inquest into the management of India. The Parliamentary Inquiry of 1813 abolished the Company's monopoly of Indian trade, and compelled it to direct its energies in India to the good government of the people. The Charter Act of 1833 did away with its Chinese trade, and nominally opened up administrative offices in India

¹ See article DELHI CITY, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² See article BAREILLY, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

³ See article JHANSÍ, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

- to the natives, irrespective of caste, creed, or race. The Act of 1853 abolished the patronage by which the Company filled up the superior or covenanted branch of its Civil Service. It laid down the principle that the administration of India was too national a concern to be left to the chances of benevolent nepotism; and that England's representatives in India must be chosen openly, and without favour, from the youth of England.
- Its privileges curtailed.** The Mutiny sealed the fate of the East India Company, after a life of more than two and a half centuries. The original Company received its Charter of Incorporation from Elizabeth in 1600. Its political powers, and the constitution of the Indian Government, were derived from the Regulating Act of 1773, passed by the Ministry of Lord North. By that statute the Governor of Bengal was raised to the rank of Governor-General; and, in conjunction with his Council of four other members, he was entrusted with the duty of superintending and controlling the Governments of Madras and Bombay, so far as regarded questions of peace and war: a Supreme Court of Judicature was appointed at Calcutta, to which the judges were appointed by the Crown: and a power of making rules, ordinances, and regulations was conferred upon the Governor-General and his Council. Next came the India Bill of Pitt (1784), which founded the Board of Control, strengthened the supremacy of Bengal over the other Presidencies, and first authorized the historical phrase, 'Governor-General-in-Council.'
- Downfall of the Company, 1858.** The new Charter Act which abolished the Company's Chinese trade in 1833, introduced successive reforms into the constitution of the Indian Government. It added to the Council a Law-member, who need not be chosen from among the Company's servants, and was entitled to be present only at meetings for making Laws and Regulations. It accorded the authority of Acts of Parliament to the Laws and Regulations so made, subject to the disallowance of the Court of Directors. It appointed a Law Commission; and it gave the Governor-General-in-Council a control over the other Presidencies, in all points relating to the civil or military administration. The Charter of the Company was renewed for the last time in 1853, not for a definite period of years, but only for so long as Parliament should see fit. On this occasion the number of Directors was reduced, and, as above stated, their patronage as regards appointments to the covenanted Civil Service was taken away, to make room for the principle of open competition.
- Its history epitomized, 1773-1858.**
- Act of 1784.**
- Act of 1833.**
- Act of 1853.**

The Act for the better government of India (1858), which finally transferred the entire administration from the Company to the Crown, was not passed without an eloquent protest from the Directors, nor without acrimonious party discussion in Parliament. It enacts that India shall be governed by, and in the name of, the Queen of England through one of her principal Secretaries of State, assisted by a Council of fifteen members. The Governor-General received the new title of Viceroy. The European troops of the Company, numbering about 24,000 officers and men, were amalgamated with the Royal service, and the Indian navy was abolished. By the Indian Councils Act (1861), the Governor-General's Council, and also the Councils at Madras and Bombay, were augmented by the addition of non-official members, either natives or Europeans, for legislative purposes only. By another Act, also passed in 1861, High Courts of Judicature were constituted out of the old Supreme Courts at the Presidency towns.

It fell to the lot of Lord Canning both to suppress the India Mutiny and to introduce the peaceful revolution which followed. It suffices to say that he preserved his equanimity unruffled in the darkest hours of peril, and that the strict impartiality of his conduct incurred alternate praise and blame from partisans of both sides. The epithet then scornfully levelled at him of 'Clemency' Canning is now remembered only to his honour. On the 1st November 1858, at a grand *darbâr* held at Allahâbâd, he published the Royal Proclamation, which announced that the Queen had assumed the Government of India. This document, which is, in the truest and noblest sense, the Magna Charta of the Indian people, proclaimed in eloquent words a policy of justice and religious toleration; and granted an amnesty to all except those who had directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. Peace was proclaimed throughout India on the 8th July 1859. In the following cold weather, Lord Canning made a viceregal progress through the Northern Provinces, to receive the homage of loyal princes and chiefs, and to guarantee to them the right of adoption.

The suppression of the Mutiny increased the debt of India by about 40 millions sterling, and the military changes which ensued augmented the annual expenditure by about 10 millions. To grapple with this deficit, a distinguished political economist and parliamentary financier, Mr. James Wilson, was sent out from England as Financial Member of Council. He re-

Financial reforms. organized the customs system, imposed an income-tax and a licence duty, and created a State paper currency. He died in the midst of his splendid task ; but his name still lives as that of the first and greatest Finance Minister of India. The Penal Code, originally drawn up by Macaulay in 1837, passed into law in 1860 ; together with Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure in 1861.¹

Legal reforms.

Lord Elgin, 1862-63. Lord Canning left India in March 1862, and died before he had been a month in England. His successor, Lord Elgin, only lived till November 1863. He expired at the Himalayan station of Dharmasála, and there he lies buried.

Lord Lawrence, 1864-69. He was succeeded by Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, the saviour of the Punjab. The chief incidents of Lord Lawrence's rule were the Bhután war, followed by the annexation of the Bhután Dwárs in 1864, and the terrible Orissa famine of 1866.

Events of his Viceroyalty. In a later famine in Bundelkhand and Upper Hindustán in 1868-69, Lord Lawrence laid down the principle, for the first time in Indian history, that the officers of the Government would be held personally responsible for taking every possible means to avert death by starvation. An inquiry was conducted into the status of the peasantry of Oudh, and an Act was passed with a view to securing them in their customary rights. After a period of fratricidal war among the sons of Dost Muhammad, the Afghán territories were concentrated in the hands of Sher Ali, and the latter was acknowledged as Amír by Lord Lawrence. A commercial crisis took place in 1866, which seriously threatened the young tea industry in Bengal, and caused widespread ruin in Bombay. Sir John Lawrence retired in January 1869, after having passed through every grade of Indian service, from an Assistant Magistracy to the Viceroyalty. On his return to England he was raised to the peerage. He died in 1879, and lies in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Mayo, 1869-72. Lord Mayo succeeded Lord Lawrence in 1869, and urged on the material progress of India. The Ambálá *darbár*, at which Sher Ali was recognised as Amir of Afghánistán, although in one sense the completion of what Lord Lawrence had begun, owed its success to Lord Mayo. The visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh in 1869-70

Ambálá *darbár*, 1869.

¹ On the subject of Anglo-Indian Codification, *vid. ante*, chap. iv. pp. 160, 161.

gave great pleasure to the natives of India, and introduced a tone of personal loyalty into our relations with the feudatory princes.

Lord Mayo reformed several of the great branches of the administration, created an Agricultural Department, and introduced the system of Provincial Finance. The impulse to local self-government given by the last measure has done much, and will do more, to develop and husband the revenues of India; to quicken the sense of responsibility among the English administrators; and to awaken political life among the people. Lord Mayo also laid the foundation for the reform of the Salt Duties. He thus enabled his successors to abolish the old pernicious customs-lines which walled off Province from Province, and strangled the trade between British India and the Feudatory States. He developed the material resources of the country by an immense extension of roads, railways, and canals, thus carrying out the beneficent system of Public Works which Lord Dalhousie had inaugurated. Lord Mayo's splendid vigour defied alike the climate and the vast tasks which he imposed on himself. He anxiously and laboriously studied with his own eyes the wants of the farthest Provinces of the Empire. But his life of noble usefulness was cut short by the hand of an assassin, in the convict settlement of the Andaman Islands, in 1872.

Lord Mayo's reforms. Provincial finance.

Customs-lines abolished.

Lord Mayo's death, 1872.

His successor was Lord Northbrook, whose ability found pre-eminent scope in the department of finance.¹ During his Viceroyalty, a famine which threatened Lower Bengal in 1874 was successfully obviated by a vast organization of State relief; the Maráthá Gáekwár of Baroda was dethroned in 1875 for misgovernment and disloyalty, but his dominions were continued to a child selected from the family; and the Prince of Wales made a tour through the country in the cold weather of 1875-76. The presence of His Royal Highness evoked a passionate burst of loyalty never before known in the annals of British India. The feudatory chiefs and ruling houses of India felt for the first time that they were incorporated into the Empire of an ancient and a splendid dynasty.

Lord Northbrook, 1872-76.

Prince of Wales' tour, 1875-76.

¹ It would be unsuitable to attempt anything beyond the barest summary of events in India since the death of Lord Mayo in 1872. Four of the five Viceroys who have ruled during the past twenty years are, happily, still living (1892); their policy forms the subject of keen contemporary criticism; and the administrators, soldiers, and diplomatists who gave effect to that policy still hold possession of the scene.

Lord
Lytton,
1876-80.
The
'Empress
of India.'

Famine of
1877-78.

Afghán
affairs,
1878-81.

Lord Lytton followed Lord Northbrook in 1876. On January 1, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India at a *darbár* of unparalleled magnificence, held in the old Delhi cantonment behind the historic 'ridge'—the 'ridge' from which in 1857 the British had reconquered the revolted Mughal capital. But while the princes and high officials of the country were flocking to this gorgeous scene, the shadow of famine was darkening over Southern India. Both the monsoons of 1876 had failed to bring their due supply of rain, and the season of 1877 was little better. This long-continued drought stretched from the Deccan to Cape Comorin, and subsequently invaded Northern India, causing a famine more widespread than any similar calamity since 1770. Despite vast importations of grain by sea and rail, despite the most strenuous exertions of the Government, which incurred a total expenditure on this account of 11 millions sterling, the loss of life from actual starvation and its attendant train of diseases was lamentable. The deaths from want of food, and from the diseases incident to a famine-stricken population, were estimated at $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions.

In the autumn of 1878, the affairs of Afghánistán again forced themselves into notice. Sher Ali, the Amír, who had been hospitably entertained by Lord Mayo, was found to be favouring Russian intrigues. A British embassy was refused admittance to his capital, while a Russian mission was received with honour. This led to a declaration of war. British armies advanced by three routes—the Kháibar (Khyber), the Kuram, and the Bolán; and without much opposition occupied the inner entrances of the passes. Sher Ali fled to Afghán Túrkestán, and there died. A treaty was entered into with his son, Yákub Khán, at Gandamak, by which the British frontier was advanced to the crests or farther sides of the passes, and a British officer was admitted to reside at Kábul. Within a few months the British Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was treacherously attacked and massacred, together with his escort, and a second war became necessary. Yákub Khán abdicated, and was deported to India.

Marquess
of Ripon,
1880-81.

At this crisis of affairs, a general election in England resulted in a defeat of the Conservative Ministry. Lord Lytton resigned simultaneously with the Home Government, and the Marquess of Ripon was nominated as his successor in April 1880. In that year a British brigade received a defeat

between Kandahár and the Helmand river from the Herát troops of Ayúb Khán; a defeat promptly and completely retrieved by the brilliant march of General Sir Frederick Roberts from Kábul to Kandahár, and by the total rout of Ayúb Khán's army on 1st September 1880. Abdur Rahmán Khán, the eldest male representative of the stock of Dost Muhammad, was recognised by us as Amír. The British forces retired from Kábul, leaving him, as our friend, in possession of the capital. The withdrawal of our troops from Kandahar was also effected. Soon afterwards Ayúb Khán advanced with an army from Herát, defeated the Amír Abdur Rahmán's troops, and captured Kandahár. His success was short-lived. The Amír Abdur Rahmán marched south with his forces from Kábul, completely routed Ayúb Khán, re-occupied Kandahár, and still reigns as undisputed Amír of Afghánistán (1892). In 1884 a Boundary Commission was appointed, with the consent of the Amír, to settle, in conjunction with Russian Commissioners, the north-western frontier of Afghánistán.

Afghán
affairs,
1880-84.

The Native State of Mysore, which had been administered by the British on behalf of the Hindu ruling family since 1831, was replaced under its hereditary dynasty on the 25th March 1881.

Mysore,
1881.

During the remaining years of Lord Ripon's administration (1881-84) peace was maintained in India. The Viceroy took advantage of this lull to carry out certain important reforms in the internal government of the country. The years 1882-84 are memorable for these great measures. By the repeal of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act, he set free the Native journals from the last restraints on the free discussion of public questions. His scheme of local self-government developed the municipal institutions which had been growing up since India passed to the Crown. By a series of enactments, larger powers of local self-government were given to rural and urban boards, and the elective principle received a wider application. Where rural boards did not exist, he endeavoured to utilize the local materials available for their formation: and from this point of view he may be said to have extended the principle of local self-government from the towns to the country. Where rural boards already existed, he increased their powers; and as far as possible sought to give them a representative basis.

Lord
Ripon's
internal
admini-
stration,
1881-84.

Local
Govern-
ment Act.

An attempt to extend the jurisdiction of the rural criminal courts over European British subjects, independently of the race or nationality of the presiding judge, excited strong public feeling, and ended in a compromise. The principle was asserted

Amen-
ment of
Criminal
Procedure.

in regard to Native officers belonging to the Superior Civil Service who had attained to a certain standing, namely District Magistrates and Sessions Judges. At the same time, the European community received a further extension of trial by jury, which enables European British subjects to claim a jury, if they see fit to do so, in nearly all cases before the District criminal tribunals.

Depart-
ment of
Agri-
culture,
1881-84.

One of the earliest acts of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty was the re-establishment of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture in accordance with the recommendation of the Famine Commission. This department had been originally instituted by Lord Mayo; but, some years after his death, its functions had been distributed between the Finance and Home Departments. It was now reconstituted substantially on its former basis, as a distinct secretariat of the Government of India. It at once took up the recommendations of the Famine Commission; both those bearing on famine relief, and those dealing with organic reforms in the administration of the land revenue. Agricultural improvements, exhibitions of Indian produce, whether in India or in Europe, and works elucidating the raw produce of the country, received its special attention. Its reforms in the administration of the land revenue were largely directed to prevent re-settlements in temporarily settled districts from bearing too heavily on the cultivators. Such re-settlements are in future, except in special cases, to avoid re-measurement and vexatious inquisitions, and are to leave to the landlord or husbandman the entire profits accruing from improvements carried out by himself.

Revenue
reforms.

Henceforth, an enhancement of the land revenue is to be made mainly on the grounds (1) of a rise in prices, (2) of an increase in the cultivated area, and (3) of improvements which have been made at the expense of the Government. The Agricultural Department superintends a variety of important operations bearing on the development of the country and the welfare of the people; including surveys, emigration, the meteorological bureau, the extension of veterinary aid, and the statistics of internal commerce.

Education
Commis-
sion,
1882-83.

Lord Ripon also appointed an Education Commission with a view to the spread of popular instruction on a broader basis. This Commission, after hearing evidence and collecting data throughout the Presidencies and Provinces of India, reported in 1883. The result of its labours was a Resolution of the Governor-General-in-Council, which, while encouraging all grades of education, provided specially for the advance of

primary instruction at a more equal pace with higher education. The Recommendations of the Commission, and the Government Resolution based upon them, gave encouragement to the indigenous schools which in some Provinces had not previously received a sufficient recognition from the State Department of Public Instruction.

The Commission's Recommendations strongly affirmed the principle of self-help in the extension of high schools and colleges, and laid particular stress on the duty of assisting primary education from provincial and municipal funds. They endeavoured to provide for backward sections of the people, particularly the Muhammadans, who for various causes had found themselves unable to avail themselves fully of the State system of public instruction, or in regard to whom that system had proved defective. The general effect of the Commission's labours, and of the Government Resolution based thereon, is to give a more liberal recognition to private effort of every kind, and to schools and colleges conducted on the system of grants-in-aid.

In 1882, Lord Ripon's Finance Minister, Sir Evelyn Baring, abolished the import duties on cotton goods; and with them, almost the whole import customs, saving a few exceptions, such as those on arms, liquors, etc., were abolished. In 1884, a Committee of the House of Commons took evidence on railway extension in India, and embodied their recommendations in a Parliamentary Report. The condition of the agricultural population in Bengal occupied the close attention of Lord Ripon throughout his whole Viceroyalty. After keen discussions, prolonged during many years, he left a Tenancy Bill, regulating the relations of landlord and tenant in Bengal, almost ready to be passed by his successor.

Abolition
of custom-
duties,
1882.

Bengal
Tenancy
Bill.

The Marquess of Ripon retired from the Viceroyalty at the end of 1884, and was succeeded by the Earl of Dufferin (afterwards Marquess of Dufferin and Ava). In the spring of 1885, Lord Dufferin passed the Bengal Tenancy Bill through its final stage in the Legislature; and held a *darbâr* at Râwal Pindi for the reception of the Amîr of Afghânistân. The result of the meeting was to strengthen the British relations with that ruler.

Earl of
Dufferin,
1884-88.

During the summer of the same year, 1885, the hostile attitude of the King of Independent Burma forced itself upon the attention of the British Government. After repeated but fruitless remonstrances, a British expedition was despatched

Burmese
affairs.
1885

from Bengal and Madras to Rangoon. Timely warning was given to the Burmese sovereign of our intentions and just demands. But King Thebau, who had inaugurated his reign by a family massacre, and had steadily refused to redress the wrongs of certain British subjects whom he had injured, remained defiant. He vainly sought aid against the English from foreign powers, and even tried to intrigue with the French. As all our pacific proposals were rejected, a military force under General Prendergast moved up the Irawadi in a flotilla of steamers. The opposition encountered was insignificant. On November 28, 1885, the capital, Mandalay, was occupied without fighting; King Thebau surrendered, and was sent a prisoner to Rangoon. His dominions of Upper Burma were annexed to the Empire of British India by Proclamation on the 1st of January 1886. In the following February, Lord Dufferin proceeded in person to Burma to settle the administration of the new Province. Eventually King Thebau was deported for safe custody to British India, where he still lives on a liberal pension (1892).

Early in 1886, also, a great Camp of Exercise was held on the memorable battle-plain of Pá nipat in the Punjab. The fortress of Gwalior was given back to its hereditary chief, the Mahārājā Sindhia, as a pledge of the goodwill and friendship of the British Government.

One of the most important series of measures during Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty was directed to the strengthening of the North-Western frontier of India. A Boundary Commission was appointed in concert with Russia for the delimitation of the Afghán frontier on the Oxus and towards Central Asia. The Penjdeh incident occurred during these operations, and opened the eyes of both India and England to the danger of aggression from Russia. It evoked a great outburst of loyalty to the British Power among the princes and peoples of India. During the critical time, when it seemed likely that the Russian attack on the Afgháns at Penjdeh must lead to a declaration of war by Great Britain, the Indian princes vied with each other in munificent offers of aid in money and men. Some of them placed their whole armies unreservedly at our disposal; some pleaded earnestly that they might be allowed to maintain their troops at their own expense while fighting for us against the Russians; others offered to supply transport and commissariat materials; while movements took place among the natives in some of the British Provinces with a view to the formation of bodies of volunteers. The Russian

Russian
attack on
the
Afgháns at
Penjdeh,
1885.

concessions happily rendered a war unnecessary, but the outburst of Indian loyalty to the British Power which it evoked was destined, as we shall see presently, to leave permanent and valuable results behind.

During 1887 the new territories of Upper Burma were being gradually reduced to order, and the *dakait* bands dispersed. In the same year the Jubilee (or fiftieth year of the reign) of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress Victoria was celebrated with universal enthusiasm throughout India. A great Commission inquired into the question of more largely employing Native officers in the higher branches of the administration. The Earl of Dufferin retired in 1888, and was created Marquess of Dufferin and Ava for the signal services which he had rendered during his Viceroyalty.

The Marquess of Lansdowne succeeded Lord Dufferin, and still remains Viceroy at the time when this book is written. Under Lord Lansdowne's rule (with Sir Frederick, afterwards Lord, Roberts as his Commander-in-Chief) the defences of the North-Western frontier of India have been strengthened, and the passes from Afghánistán have been secured against any possible invaders. At the same time, the Native chiefs have been allowed to take a more important position than before in the armies of India. A number of them had, as we have seen, come forward with offers of money and troops to aid in the defence of the country. Under Lord Lansdowne these offers were accepted, and a maturely planned system of Imperial Contingents was organized and initiated. Many of the Feudatories now maintain regiments, carefully drilled and armed, which in time of war would serve with the troops of the British Government. These regiments, or Imperial Contingents, are kept up free of cost to the British Government, and are a free-will offering to it from the loyalty of the Native princes, who have greatly prospered under the Queen's rule.

While the Native princes proved thus zealous to aid the Sovereign Power, the peoples and races in the British Provinces were making progress in the lessons of local self-government. Municipal Councils and District Boards have, during the past thirty years, been gradually created throughout India. Such Councils and Boards received a powerful impulse, with extended opportunities for usefulness, from the measures of Lord Ripon. Their members consist chiefly of Native gentlemen, many of whom are elected by their fellow-citizens. These Municipal Councils and District Boards now manage

Queen's
Jubilee,
1887.

Marquess
of Lans-
downe,
1888 to
1893.

Progress
of self-
govern-
ment.

many branches of the Local Administration. Their legal powers and their practical ability to do good work are increasing. The statistics and composition of the Indian Municipalities and Local Boards will be given in detail in the chapter on Administration.¹

The
Indian
National
Congress.

At the same time, a 'National Congress' of delegates from all parts of India has since 1886 been held each December in one of the provincial capitals, such as Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahábád. This Congress discusses plans for opening a larger share in the work of legislation, alike in the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils, to natives of India. It desires, among other things, that a proportion of the members of the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils should be elected, and not all appointed as heretofore by the Government. The more advanced party in the Indian Congress advocated, in 1890, the adoption of a system for all India, of popular elections for members of the Legislative Councils. It even went so far as to divide out the various Presidencies and Provinces into electoral areas. But wiser counsels prevailed in the Congress, and it was felt, both in England and India, that such a scheme of universal representation by electoral areas was greatly in advance of the actual conditions and requirements of the Indian races.

Lord
Cross' Act,
1892.

In 1892, the British Parliament passed an Act which increased the number of the members of those Councils, and introduced a stronger non-official element. But it left the question of the election or the nomination of such members to be worked out by the Local Governments in India, in accordance with the needs and conditions of the separate Provinces. The scheme is being gradually adapted to the widely varying facts of the Indian Presidencies and their local populations. But it promises (1892) to result in a real expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislatures, and in the incorporation, in a larger measure, of carefully chosen or elected members in the task of Indian legislation. Side by side with this political movement, efforts (which to a partial extent have been embodied in legislation by Lord Lansdowne) are being made to reform certain evils in the social and domestic life of the Hindus, arising out of the customs of the enforced celibacy of Hindu widows and the marriage of very young children.

Mutapur,
1891

The military events of Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty have not been confined to the development of the Imperial Service

¹ *Ibid.* *passim*, pp. 540-542.

Contingents referred to on p. 503. An unfortunate accident occurred, in 1891, on the eastern Bengal frontier. The petty State of Manipur became the scene of a domestic revolution, which ended in the flight of the lawful prince to British territory. The Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Quinton, proceeded, under Lord Lansdowne's instructions, to inquire into the matter. On his arrival at Manipur, Mr. Quinton and the officer commanding his escort, together with others, were lured to a conference by the usurping Raja, and treacherously murdered. The two junior officers, on whom the command of the escort unexpectedly devolved, led an ignominious retreat to the British territories, and, after a full inquiry into their conduct, were dismissed the army. The momentary weakness thus shown seriously imperilled several of our outposts on the frontier of Eastern Bengal and Northern Burma. But the young subalterns in charge of them held out with a gallantry of personal devotion and a heroic originality of resource which defied every stratagem of the enemy, and beat back the overwhelming numbers brought against them. The affair ended as brilliantly as it had begun disgracefully for the British arms. Manipur was taken possession of by our troops. But Lord Lansdowne's Government confined its just vengeance to the treacherous usurper and his confederates; declined to annex the State; and reconstituted the Native Government of Manipur, under the guidance of a British Political Agent.

The Russian aggressions on the Pamirs seemed for a time to threaten a more serious danger beyond the opposite or North-Western frontier of India. Throughout 1891 and 1892 the Russian officers in Central Asia intruded in force on the lofty inhospitable regions which had been regarded as beyond their sphere of influence, and thus excited the fears of China on the east and of Afghánistán on the south. The events to which these aggressions may lead are still undeveloped (January 1893). Meanwhile, they have induced both China and Afghánistán to appreciate more highly the friendly alliance of the British Government, and have resulted in the strengthening of the British position in the hill country towards Chitral, which commands the south-eastern descent from the Pamirs towards India. The conduct of our small bodies of troops engaged in the operations amid these most difficult mountains has been admirable, and the Imperial Contingent of Kashmir has had an opportunity of rendering good service.

Russian
aggre-
sions on
the
Pamirs,
1891-92.

Burmese
progress.

One of the most remarkable features of Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty has been the progress of Burma. Lord Dufferin laid a firm foundation for the future prosperity of that country. Under Lord Lansdowne and his able lieutenant, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the Chief Commissioner of Burma, the advancement alike of the old and the new Provinces has been rapid. Railways and roads have opened up the country, and a beginning of irrigation works for the protection of the peasantry of Upper Burma against the calamity of drought has been made. The old internal disturbances from *dakaitis*, or armed banditti, have been masterfully put down. The frontier tribes have, however, still to be reckoned with (January 1893). They never yielded a real allegiance to the native kings of Burma; and their hereditary habits of plundering and of raiding down upon the villages of the plains cannot be eradicated in a day. But a well-planned series of frontier operations each cold season is teaching them that pillage is not a paying profession for races living on a British frontier. It should be added, that the actual frontier of Burma on the eastward toward China and Siam is still undetermined. But arrangements are now in progress to settle the north-eastern frontier of Burma by a Joint Delimitation Commission of Chinese and British officers; while the adjustment of its south-eastern frontier towards Siam has already reached a satisfactory stage.

The Fall
in the
Rupee.

The most serious difficulty with which Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty has had to contend is the fall in the rupee. The demonetization of silver by Germany and other Western nations, together with the increased production from the silver mines throughout the world, caused a steady depreciation of the silver currency of India (1874-1893). The rupee, which formerly was nearly equal to two shillings, has fallen to nearly fourteen pence; thus greatly increasing the burden of the interest on the gold debt of India, and of pensions, Public Works' material, military stores or equipment, and other charges payable in England in gold. The European officials in India, and certain classes of the commercial community, have also suffered, and the subject is now under consideration by Lord Herschell's Committee sitting at Westminster (January 1893).

CHAPTER XVI.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

THE Act of 1858,¹ which transferred India from the Company to the Crown, also laid down the scheme of its government. Under the Company, the Governor-General was an autocrat, responsible only to the distant Court of Directors. The Court of Directors had been answerable to the shareholders, or Court of Proprietors, on the one hand; and, through the Board of Control, to the Sovereign and to Parliament on the other. The Act of 1858 did away with these intermediary bodies between the Governor-General and the British Ministry. For the Court of Directors, the Court of Proprietors, and the Board of Control, it substituted a Secretary of State, aided by a Council appointed by the Crown.

The Secretary of State for India is a Cabinet Minister, who comes into and goes out of office with the other members of the Ministry. His Council was originally appointed for life, and consisted of 15 persons. Its members are now appointed for ten years only;² but may be re-appointed for another five years for special reasons. Their number also may be diminished by the Secretary of State, by his abstaining from filling vacancies, so long as the total shall not be reduced to fewer than ten members.³ The Secretary of State rules in all ordinary matters through the majority of his Council. But in affairs of urgency, and in questions which belong to the Secret Department, including political correspondence, he is not required to consult his Council. The Viceroy or Governor-General is appointed by the Crown, and resides in India. His ordinary term of office is five years.

The supreme authority in India is vested by a series of Acts of Parliament⁴ in the Viceroy or Governor-General-in-Council,

¹ 21 and 22 Vict. c. 106.

² Under 32 and 33 Vict. c. 97.

³ By 52 and 53 Vict. c. 65.

⁴ The chief of these Acts are 13 Geo. III. c. 63; 33 Geo. III. c. 52; 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85; 21 and 22 Vict. c. 106; and 24 and 25 Vict. c. 67.

subject to the control of the Secretary of State in England. Every executive order and every legislative statute runs in the name of the 'Governor-General-in-Council';¹ but in certain cases² a power is reserved to the Viceroy to act independently. The Governor-General's Council is of a two-fold character.

Executive
Council.

First, the ordinary or Executive Council,³ ordinarily composed of five official members besides the Viceroy, and the Commander-in-Chief in India, which may be compared with the Cabinet of a constitutional country. It meets regularly at short intervals, usually once a week, discusses and decides upon questions of foreign policy and domestic administration, and prepares measures for the Legislative Council. Its members divide among themselves the chief Departments of State, such as those of Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, Public Works, etc. The Viceroy combines in his own person the duties of constitutional Sovereign with those of Prime Minister;⁴ and has usually charge of the Foreign Department. As a rule, the Viceroy is himself the initiating Member of Council for Foreign and Feudatory Affairs.

Second,⁵ the Legislative Council, which is made up of the same members as the preceding, with the addition of the Governor of the Province in which it may be held; certain officials selected by the Governor-General from Bengal, Madras, Bombay, or other Provinces; and nominated members, representative of the non-official Native and European communities. The official additional members thus appointed to the Legislative Council must not exceed in number the non-officials,

¹ A style first authorized by 33 Geo. III. c. 52, sec. 39.

² 'Cases of high importance, and essentially affecting the public interest and welfare' (33 Geo. III. c. 52, sec. 47); 'when any measure is proposed whereby the safety, tranquillity, or interests of the British possessions in India may, in the judgment of the Governor-General, be essentially affected' (3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, sec. 49); 'cases of emergency' (24 and 25 Vict. c. 67, sec. 23).

³ This is the lineal descendant of the original Council organized under the Charters of the Company, first constituted by Parliamentary sanction in 1773 (13 Geo. III. c. 63, sec. 7).

⁴ The mechanism and working of the Governor-General's Council, and of the Secretariats, and chief Departments of the Indian Administration, are described in my *Life of the Earl of Mayo*, vol. i. pp. 189-202 (2nd ed.).

⁵ Originally identical with the Executive Council, upon which legislative powers were conferred by 13 Geo. III. c. 63, sec. 36. The distinction between the two Councils was first recognised in the appointment of 'the fourth member' (3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, sec. 40).

and the number of the nominated additional members must now not exceed sixteen or be less than ten.¹ The meetings of the Legislative Council are held when and as required, usually once a week. They are open to the public: and a further guarantee for publicity is insured by the proviso that draft Bills must be published a certain number of times in the *Gazette*. As a matter of practice, these draft Bills have usually been first subjected to the criticism of the several Provincial governments. Provincial Legislative Councils have also been appointed for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and for the Lieutenant-Governorships of Bengal, and of the North-Western Provinces with Oudh. The members of these local Legislative Councils are appointed, in the case of Madras and Bombay, by the Governors of those Provinces; and in Bengal, and the North-Western Provinces with Oudh, by the Lieutenant-Governors, subject to the approval of the Governor-General. The Acts of these Provincial Legislative Councils, which can deal only with provincial matters, are subject to sanction by the Governor-General.

An important Act dealing with the Legislative Councils has recently been passed.² By it the number of the nominated additional members has been raised to not less than ten or more than sixteen for the Governor-General's Legislative Council; to not less than eight or more than twenty for the Madras and Bombay Legislative Councils; and to not more than twenty for the Bengal, or more than fifteen for the North-Western Provinces with Oudh, Legislative Councils. Further, by section 2 of this Act, power is given to the Governor-General's and to the local Legislative Councils to discuss the annual financial statements of the supreme and local governments, and to ask questions about them; but it is distinctly laid down that 'no member . . . shall have power to submit or propose any resolution, or to divide the Council in respect of any such financial discussion, on the answer to any question asked.' The most important feature of the Act is paragraph 4 of section 1: 'The Governor-General-in-Council may from time to time, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations, or any of them, shall be made by the Governor-General, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors respectively, and prescribe the manner in which such regulations shall be carried into effect.' Under this paragraph it becomes lawful for the Viceroy to permit all or a certain proportion

Lord
Cross' Act,
1892.

Expansion
of the
Legislative
Councils.

¹ By 55 and 56 Vict. c. 14, sec. 1.

² 55 and 56 Vict. c. 14.

of the Legislative Councils to be elected by their fellow-citizens.

High
Courts of
Justice.

The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and the Lieutenant-Governorships of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, have each a High Court,¹ supreme both in civil and criminal business, but with an ultimate appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. The Chief Justices of these High Courts are appointed in England, from among the distinguished leaders of the English Bar, and the puisne judges are selected in certain proportions² from the Indian Civil Service and from the English or the local Bars. The legal capacity of the natives of India has long been recognised, and Native judges sit upon the Bench in all the High Courts, and have proved thoroughly competent for their important duties. Of the minor Provinces, the Punjab has a Chief Court with five judges; Oudh, a Chief Court with two judges, styled the Judicial and the Assistant Judicial Commissioner;³ while the Central Provinces and Upper Burma have each a Judicial Commissioner, who sits alone. Lower Burma has a Judicial Commissioner and a Recorder. In this Province, the Judicial Commissioner has jurisdiction over the territory outside Rangoon (save that in cases of European British subjects the Recorder has the powers of a High Court). The Recorder has jurisdiction in the town of Rangoon, and in all criminal cases in any part of Burma where the accused are European British subjects. The Judicial Commissioner and the Recorder of Rangoon sit together as a 'Special Court' for certain purposes. Appeals from the Recorder of Rangoon in civil suits, where the subject-matter ranges from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 10,000, lie to the High Court at Calcutta. The latter Court also decides references from the 'Special Court' of Rangoon when the members are equally divided in opinion. For Assam, the High Court at Calcutta is the highest judicial authority, except in the three Hill Districts, namely, the Gáro Hills, the Khási and Jaintia Hills, and the Nágá Hills. In these Districts, the Chief Commissioner of Assam is judge without appeal

¹ Constituted out of the Supreme Courts and the Sudder (Sadr) Courts in 1861 (24 and 25 Vict. c. 104).

² The proportion laid down by 24 and 25 Vict. c. 104, sec. 2, is: 'Provided that no less than one-third of the Judges of such High Courts respectively, including the Chief Justice, shall be Barristers, and not less than one-third shall be members of the Covenanted Civil Service.'

³ Constituted by Act 14 of 1891 (*Administration Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for 1890-91*, p. xi.).

in civil and criminal matters. Special rules apply to the Dwárs bordering on Bhután.

The law administered in the Indian Courts consists mainly of—(1) the enactments of the Indian Legislative Councils (Imperial and Provincial), and of the corresponding legislative bodies which preceded them; (2) statutes of the British Parliament which apply to India; (3) the Hindu and Muhammadan laws of inheritance, and their domestic law, in causes affecting Hindus and Muhammadans; (4) the Customary Law affecting particular castes and races. Much has been done towards consolidating special sections of the Indian law;¹ and in the Indian Penal Code, together with the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, we have memorable examples of such efforts.

But although the Governor-General-in-Council is theoretically supreme over every part of India alike,² his actual authority is not everywhere exercised in the same direct manner. For ordinary purposes of administration, British India is partitioned into Provinces, each with a government of its own; and certain of the Native States are attached to those Provinces with which they are most nearly connected geographically. These Provinces, again, enjoy various degrees of independence. The two Presidencies of Madras and of Bombay, including Sind, Madras, retain many marks of their original equality with Bengal. They each have an army of their own. They are each administered by a Governor appointed direct from England. They have each an Executive and a Legislative Council, whose functions are analogous to those of the Councils of the Governor-General, although subject to his control.³ They thus possess a domestic Legislature; and in administrative matters, also, the interference of the Governor-General-in-Council is sparingly exercised.

Of the other Provinces, Bengal, or rather Lower Bengal, occupies a peculiar position. Like the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, it is administered by a single official, with the style of Lieutenant-Governor, who is controlled by no Executive Council; but Bengal has possessed a Legislative Council, a sign of its early pre-eminence, since 1861, whereas the North-Western Provinces only obtained a Legislative Council in 1887, and the Punjab does not yet possess one. The other Northern Provinces, Assam, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, whether ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor or a Chief

¹ *Ante*, chap. iv. pp. 160, 161.

² 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, sec. 39 and 65.

³ 24 and 25 Vict. c. 67, sec. 42.

Heads of
Provinces.

Commissioner, may be regarded from a historical point of view as fragments of the original Bengal Presidency,¹ which, as thus defined, would be co-extensive with all British India not included under Madras or Bombay. Garrisons, however, on the Madras or Bombay establishment may be posted in outlying tracts of the old Bengal territories. The Lieutenant-Governors and most of the Chief Commissioners are chosen from the Covenanted Civil Service. In executive matters they are the practical rulers, but, excepting the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, who are *ex officio* Presidents of their Legislative Councils, they have no legislative authority.

Minor
admini-
strations.

To complete the total area of territory under British administration, it is necessary to mention, besides Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, and the Punjab and Oudh, certain *quasi*-Provinces, under the immediate control of the Viceroy. These are—BURMA, part of which was annexed in 1826, part in 1852, and part in 1886; the CENTRAL PROVINCES, principally composed of the Nágpur territories of the Bhonsla dynasty which lapsed in 1853; ASSAM, annexed in 1826; AJMIRE, transferred from Rájputána; BERAR, or the Districts assigned by the Nizám of Haidarábád for the support of the Haidarábád Contingent; and the little territory of COORG, in the extreme south.² The State of Mysore was under British administration from 1831 to 1881, when it was restored to its Native Rája, on his attaining his majority.

* The
Regula-
tions.

Another difference of administration, although now of less importance than in former times, derives its name from the old Regulations, or laws and judicial rules of practice which preceded the present system of Acts of the Legislature. From these Regulations certain tracts of country have been from time to time exempted—tracts which, owing to their backward state of civilisation or other causes, seemed to require exceptional treatment. In non-Regulation territory, broadly speaking, a larger measure of discretion is allowed to the officials, both in the collection of revenue and in the administration of civil justice; strict rules of procedure yield to the local exigencies; and the judicial and executive departments are to a great extent combined in the same hands.

Non-Regu-
lation
territory.

A wider field is also permitted for the selection of the administrative body, which is not entirely confined to the Covenanted Civil Service, but includes military officers on the

¹ See article BENGAL PRESIDENCY, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

² For the constitution of each of these Provinces, see their articles in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

staff and also uncovenanted civilians. The title of the highest executive official in a District of a Regulation Province is that of Collector-Magistrate. In a non-Regulation District, the corresponding officer is styled the Deputy Commissioner; and the supreme authority in a non-Regulation Province (with the exception of the Punjab) is called, not a Lieutenant-Governor, but a Chief Commissioner. The Central Provinces, Assam, and Burma are examples of non-Regulation Provinces; but non-Regulation Districts are to be found also in Bengal, Sind, and the North-Western Provinces. Their character is always disclosed by the term 'Deputy Commissioner' as the title of the chief executive officer of the District.

Alike in Regulation and in non-Regulation territory, the unit of administration is the District—a word of very definite meaning in official phraseology. The District officer, whether known as Collector-Magistrate or as Deputy Commissioner, is the responsible head of his jurisdiction. Upon his energy and personal character depends ultimately the efficiency of our Indian Government. His own special duties are so numerous and so various as to bewilder the outsider; and the work of his subordinates, European and Native, largely depends upon the stimulus of his personal example. His position has been compared to that of the French *préfet*; but such a comparison is unjust in many ways to the Indian District officer. He is not a mere subordinate of a central bureau, who takes his colour from his chief, and represents the political parties or the permanent officialism of the capital. The Indian Collector is a strongly individualized worker in every department of rural wellbeing, with a large measure of local independence and of personal initiative.

As the name of Collector-Magistrate implies, his main functions are twofold. He is a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he also is a revenue and criminal judge, both of first instance and in appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his smaller local sphere all that the Home Secretary superintends in England, and a great deal more, for he is the representative of a paternal and not of a constitutional Government. Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation, and the Imperial revenues of his District, are to him matters of daily concern. He is expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the natives, and with each natural aspect of the country. He should be a lawyer, an accountant, a

'Deputy
Commis-
sioners'

The 'Dis-
trict' or
territorial
unit.

The
District
Officer or
'Collector-
Magis-
trate.'

Duties
of the
'Collector-
Magis-
trate'

surveyor, and a ready writer of State papers. He ought also to possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy, and engineering.

The
Indian
Civil
Service.

The best method of selecting and training the men who administer the government of India and form the Covenanted Civil Service, has long been recognised as presenting serious difficulties. While the East India Company was mainly interested in its commercial transactions, it was the practice of the Directors to nominate young men of business habits as writers in their factories. Their work was that of clerks in commercial houses, and they did not need any special aptitude. Dr. Fryer, describing his visit to Surat in 1674, notes that 'some Bluecoat Boys also have been entertained under notion of apprentices for seven years, which being expired, if they can get security, they are capable of employments.' He also says that 'the Company, to encourage young men in their service, maintain a master to learn them to write and read the language, and an annuity to be annexed when they gain a perfection therein, which few attempt and fewer attain.'¹ But when the East India Company became a ruling power, a change came over the position of its servants, and men of higher standing and character, and of greater ability, applied for nominations to its service. But no attempt was made to train them for their multifarious duties, until Lord Wellesley established his College at Fort William (1800) for the instruction of Civil Servants on their arrival in India.² The Court of Directors did not approve of Lord Wellesley's College, and in 1805 they established a College at Haileybury, near Hertford, at which all covenanted civilians had to go through a two years' course of special training after their nomination, before they proceeded to India to take up their appointments. The limits of age for admission to Haileybury were fixed at over sixteen and under twenty years of age. It was held that these limits might exclude eligible candidates, and it was therefore declared by an Act of Parliament,³ some years later, that candidates nominated as writers in the Indian Civil Service by a Director of the East India Company, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, could proceed to India at once without going to Haileybury, on passing a qualifying examination. At the revision of the Company's Charter in

Hailey-
bury, 1805

¹ Fryer's *Travels in India and Persia between 1672 and 1681*, quoted in *Early Records of British India*, by J. Talboys Wheeler, pp. 30, 31.

² Wellesley's *Despatches*; Owen's *Select. on* (Oxford, 1887), pp. 710-752.
³ 7 Geo. IV. c. 56.

1853, the right of nominating to the Indian Civil Service was withdrawn from the Directors, and the appointments were thrown open to public competition. The first examination took place in 1855, but as a number of probationers were still studying at Haileybury, the College was not closed until 1858. Its buildings were afterwards utilized for a public school. The limits of age originally fixed for competition for the Indian Civil Service were from seventeen to twenty-one. In 1878 the age was altered to from seventeen to nineteen; and selected candidates were encouraged, by the grant of an annual allowance, to spend their two years of probation at a University before their actual appointment to the service. In 1892 the limit of age was raised to from twenty-one to twenty-three, and the period of probation to be spent at a University was reduced to one year.

The total number of Districts in British India is 250, including the Hill Tracts of Madras, Assam, Burma, and Bengal. Their average population and area are given in the table on next page, but in every Province there are considerable variations from that average. The area, which shows on the whole an average of 3859 square miles, ranges from 19,000 square miles in the Upper 'Khyin-dwin District of Burma, and 15,200 square miles in Amherst in the same Province, to 967 square miles in Lucknow and 1009 in Benares, Districts of Oudh and the North-Western Provinces respectively. The population shows an equal range of variation from the general average of 876,242. For Maimansingh in Bengal has a population of 3,472,186. Gorakhpur in the North-Western Provinces 2,994,057, Malabar in Madras 2,652,565, and Sylhet in Assam 2,154,593. On the other side, excluding the exceptionally small Hill Districts, such as Simla, the Nilgiris, and the Ruby Mines, there are, for instance, Salwin and Pynmana Districts with only 31,439 and 56,349 inhabitants. In the otherwise densely-populated North-Western Provinces, there is Dehra Dûn District with only 168,135 inhabitants; and in Sind the Upper Frontier District contains no more than 174,548; but in Oudh and Bengal the minimum falls no lower than 774,163 and 545,486 respectively.¹ Taking both area and population into consideration, the Madras Presidency contains the largest Districts and Berâr the lightest. In every other Province but Madras, the Districts are grouped into wider areas, known as Divisions, each under the charge of

¹ Information kindly supplied by Mr. J. A. Baines, C.S. Census Commissioner, containing the results of the last Census.

a Commissioner. But these Divisions are not properly units of administration, as the Districts are. They are aggregates of units, formed only for convenience of supervision, so that an intermediate authority may exercise the local control which would be impossible for a distant Lieutenant-Governor.

AREA AND POPULATION OF DISTRICTS IN BRITISH INDIA.

PROVINCE	Number of Districts.	AVERAGE.	
		Area— Square Miles.	Population
Madras,	25	5,646	1,407,117
Bombay (including Sind),	23	5,436	784,142
Bengal,	47	3,224	1,503,520
North-Western Provinces and Oudh,	49	2,194	957,247
Punjab,	31	3,570	672,932
Central Provinces,	18	4,805	599,127
Assam,	13	3,770	421,295
Burma,	35	4,897	215,478
Ajmere-Merwara,	2	..	..
Cooch,	1	..	..
Berâr,	6	2,953	482,915
TOTAL BRITISH INDIA,	250	Av. 3,859	Av. 876,242

NOTE.—In taking the average, the area and population of cities which constitute a separate District, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Rangoon, are omitted, and the special tracts of Quetta and Port Blair are also excluded.

Sub-Districts. The Districts are again partitioned out into lesser tracts, called Sub-Divisions in Bengal, *taluks* in Madras and in Bombay, and *talhsils* in Northern India generally. These Sub-Districts are the primary units of fiscal administration. The *tháná*, or police circle, is the primary unit of police administration over the whole of British India.

The Secretariat. The preceding sketch of Indian administration would be incomplete without a reference to the Secretariat, or central bureau of each Province, which controls and gives unity to the whole. From the Secretariat are issued the orders that regulate or modify the details of administration; into the Secretariat come the multifarious reports from the local officers, to be there digested for future reference. But although the Secretaries may enjoy the social life of the Presidency capitals, with higher salaries and better prospects of promotion, the

efficiency of our rule rests ultimately upon the shoulders of the District officers, who bear the burden and heat of the day, with fewer opportunities of winning fame or reward. The Secretariat of the Supreme Government of India consists of seven branches, each of which deals with a special department of the administration. The officers who preside over them are named respectively, the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary, the Secretary in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, the Financial Secretary, the Military Secretary, the Public Works Secretary, and the Secretary in the Legislative Department. In the Presidencies, Lieutenant-Governorships, and Chief-Commissionerships, the Provincial Secretariat is formed on the same model, but the Secretaries are only from one to three or four in number.¹

of the
Govern-
ment of
India ;

of the
local
govern-
ments

THE LAND-TAX.—The land furnishes the chief source of Indian revenue, and the collection of the land-tax forms the main work of Indian administration. No technical term is more familiar to Anglo-Indians, and none more obscure to the English public, than that of ‘Land Settlement.’ Nor has any subject given rise to more voluminous controversy. It will here suffice to explain the general principles upon which the system is based, and to indicate the chief differences in their application to the several Provinces. That the State should appropriate to itself a share of the produce of the soil, is a maxim of finance which has been recognised throughout the East from time immemorial. The germs of rival systems in India can be traced in the survival of military and other service tenures, and in the poll-tax of Assam and Burma.

Land
Settle-
ment.

The early development of the Indian land system was due to two conditions,—a comparatively high state of agriculture, and an organized plan of administration,—both of which were supplied by the primitive Hindu village community. During the lapse of generations, despite domestic anarchy and foreign conquest, the Hindu village preserved its customs, written on the imperishable tablets of tradition. In the ancient Hindu village community, the land was held, not by private owners, but by occupiers under the village corporation: the revenue was due, not from individuals, but from the village community represented by its head-man. The harvest of the hamlet was dealt with as a common fund; and before the general distri-

Ancient
land
system
of India

¹ Of the framework and working of a Provincial Government. I have given some account in my *Bombay, 1885-90: a Study in Indian Administration*, chap. iv.

bution, the head-man was bound to set aside the share of the king. No other system of taxation could be theoretically more just, or in practice less obnoxious, to a primitive people. This ancient land system may still be found in parts of India, both under British and Native rule; and it prevailed almost universally before the Muhammadan conquest.

Musalmán
land-tax. The Musalmáns brought with them the avarice of conquerors, and a stringent system of revenue collection. Under the Mughal Empire, as organized by Akbar the Great, the share of the State was fixed at one-third of the gross produce of the soil; and an army of tax-collectors intervened between the cultivator and the supreme government. The vocabulary of our own land system is borrowed from the Mughal administration. The *samíndár* himself is a creation of the Muhammadans, unknown to the early Hindu system. He was originally a mere tax-collector, or farmer of the land revenue, who agreed to pay a lump sum from the tract of country assigned to him. But the Hindu chief or local magnate was often accepted by the Mughals as the *samíndár*, or revenue contractor, for the lands under his control. In this way, the Indian *samíndárs* as a body are of mixed origin, and represent in some cases not merely an official status, but hereditary rights. If the Hindu village system may be praised for its justice, the Mughal farming system had at least the merit of efficiency. Sháh Jahán and Aurangzeb, as we have seen,¹ extracted a larger land revenue than we obtain at the present day.

The Com-
pany's
efforts. When the responsibility of governing Bengal was first undertaken by the East India Company, an attempt was made to understand the rural system upon which the payment of land revenue was based. Elaborate orders were issued to this end in 1769; but the Company's servants were too engrossed with conquest, with the 'annual investment,' and with their private trade, to find time for minute inquiries into the rights of the peasantry. The *samíndár* was conspicuous and useful; the village community and the cultivating *ráyat* did not force themselves into notice. The *samíndár* seemed a solvent person, capable of keeping a contract; and his official position as tax-collector was confused with the proprietary rights of an English landlord. In Bengal, the *samíndár*, under the Permanent Settlement of 1793, was raised to the status of proprietor, holding at a quit-rent payable to the State, fixed in

¹ This subject has been fully discussed in the chapter on the Mughal Empire. *Vide ante*, pp. 351, 352, 363, 368, 369, etc.

perpetuity. In Madras, under the *riyatwari* system of the peasant holding direct from the State, and in most other parts of India, the actual cultivator has been raised to the same status, subject also to a quit-rent, fixed at intervals of thirty years. The aim of the British authorities has everywhere been to establish private property in the soil, together with the punctual payment of the revenue. Growth of private rights.

The annual Government demand, like the succession duty in England, is the first liability on the land. When that is satisfied, the registered landholder in Bengal has powers of sale or mortgage scarcely more restricted than those of an English tenant in fee-simple. At the same time, the possible hardships, as regards the cultivator, of this absolute right of property vested in the owner, have been anticipated by the recognition of occupancy rights or fixity of peasant-tenures. Land property in India : in Bengal.

Legal titles have everywhere taken the place of unwritten customs. Land, which was merely a source of livelihood to the cultivator and of revenue to the State, has become a valuable property to the owner. The fixity of the revenue demand has conferred upon the landholder a credit which he never before possessed, and created for him a source of future profit arising out of the unearned increment. This credit he may use improvidently ; and he sometimes does so with disastrous results. But none the less has the land system in many parts of India been raised from a lower to a higher stage of civilisation ; that is to say, from holdings in common to holdings in severalty, and from the corporate possession of the village community to individual proprietary rights. Individual proprietary rights.

With regard to the money rates of the assessment, the Famine Commissioners in 1880 reported the average rate throughout India at about one rupee, or (taking the rupee at its old nominal value of 2s.) at about 2s. per cultivated acre, ranging from 4d. to 4s. 6d. (or say about 3 *anas* to Rs. 2. 4), according to the quality of the land. The rupee is now worth only 1s. 3d. (1892). In the North-Western Provinces the rates of assessment average Rs. 1. 12. 3 per cultivated acre. In the Punjab, with the same system of Land Settlement, but with an inferior soil, they average just under one rupee [now = 1s. 3d.]. Rates of land-tax

The actual share of the crop, represented by these rates, is a very difficult problem. The Mughal assessment was fixed at one-third of the produce. Under many Native rulers, this rate was increased to one-half, and under some to three-fifths. For example, I found that in Párikud in Orissa the Rájá's Government share of the crop.

officers used to take $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of the crop on the threshing-floor, leaving only two-fifths to the cultivator.¹

The English revenue officers adhere to the old theory of a third of the produce, but they make so many deductions in favour of the peasant, as to reduce the Government share in practice to about one-seventeenth. This question will be further discussed in dealing with the general comparison of English and Mughal taxation. It must here suffice to say that the Famine Commissioners, the only body who have had the whole evidence before them, estimate the land-tax throughout British India 'at from 3 per cent. to 7 per cent. of the gross out-turn.' The old native basis of division, although retained in name in some Provinces, has disappeared in practice. Instead of the ruling power taking from 33 to 60 per cent., the average land-tax of the British Government throughout India is, according to the Famine Commissioners, only $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the produce of the fields.

The Land
Settle-
ment

The means by which the land revenue is assessed is known as Settlement, and the assessor is styled a Settlement Officer. In Lower Bengal, the assessment existing in 1793 was declared to be fixed in perpetuity; but throughout the greater part of India the process periodically goes on. The details vary in the different Provinces; but, broadly speaking, a Settlement may be described as the ascertainment of the agricultural capacity of the land. Prior to the Settlement is the work of Survey, which determines the area of every village, and, as a rule, of every field. Then comes the Settlement Officer, whose duty it is to estimate the character of the soil, the kind of crop, the opportunities for irrigation, the present means of communication, their probable development, and all other circumstances which tend to affect the value of the land and its produce. With these facts before him, he proceeds to assess the Government demand upon the land, according to certain general principles, which may vary in the several Provinces. The final result is a Settlement Report, which records, as in a Domesday Book, the whole agricultural statistics concerning the District.

Village
Survey.

Process
of Settle-
ment.

The Per-
manent
Settlement
of Bengal.

LOWER BENGAL, and a few adjoining Districts of the North-Western Provinces and of Madras, have a Permanent Settlement, *i.e.* the land revenue has been fixed in perpetuity. When the Company obtained the *diwānī* or financial administration of Bengal in 1765, the theory of a Settlement, as described

¹ See my *Orissa*, vol. i. p. 34 (ed. 1872).

above, was unknown. The existing Muhammadan system was adopted in its entirety. Engagements, sometimes yearly, sometimes for a term of years, were entered into with the *zamindars* to pay a lump sum for the area over which they exercised control. If the offer of the *zamindar* was not deemed satisfactory, another contractor was substituted in his place. But no steps were taken, and perhaps no steps were then possible, to ascertain in detail the amount which the country could afford to pay. For more than twenty years this practice of temporary engagements continued, and received the sanction of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India. Hastings' great rival, Francis, was among those who urged the superior advantages of a permanent assessment. At last, in 1789, a slightly more accurate investigation into the agricultural resources of Bengal was carried out; and the Settlement based upon the imperfect data yielded by this inquiry was declared perpetual by Lord Cornwallis in 1793.¹

Our first attempts, 1768-89.

Permanent Settlement, 1793.

The *zamindars* were thus raised to the status of landlords, with rights of transfer and inheritance, subject only to the payment in perpetuity of a rent-charge. In default of due payment, their lands were to be sold to the highest bidder. The assessment of Lower Bengal was fixed at *sikkī* Rs. 26,800,989, equivalent to Rx. 2,858,772, then about equal to three millions sterling. By the year 1871-72, the total land-tax realized from the same area had increased to over Rx. 3½ millions, chiefly owing to the inclusion of estates which had escaped the original assessment on various pretexts. In 1890-91, the land revenue of Bengal was returned at Rx. 3,881,940, apart from the road and local cesses based on the land-tax. These 'provincial rates' amounted in 1890-91 to Rx. 811,137, making a total of Rx. 4,693,077, popularly lumped together as 'land revenue.'²

Pro-
prietors
created
by law

Fixed
land-tax
of Lower
Bengal,
1793.

While the claim of Government against the *zamindars* was thus fixed for ever, the law intended that the rights of the *zamindars* over their own tenants should equitably be restricted. But no detailed record of tenant-right was inserted in the Settlement papers; and, as a matter of fact, the cultivators lost rather than gained in security of tenure. The rights of the landlord, as against the State, were defined by the

Rights of
the culti-
vators.

¹ The personal aspects of this measure, and the parts played by the Court of Directors, the Governor-General (Lord Cornwallis), and his chief Indian adviser (John Shore), are briefly narrated, *ante*, p. 463.

² *Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1890-91*, pp. 100, 124.

Regulations of 1793; the rights of the tenants, as against the landlord, were formally 'reserved' by those Regulations, but were not defined. The landlord could therefore go into Court with a precise legal status; the cultivator could only shelter himself under vague customary rights. As the pressure of population on the soil increased, and land in Bengal became a subject of competition among the cultivators, the tenant found himself unprovided with any legal provisions to enable him to resist rack-rents. He could only plead ancient but undefined custom: the landlord could urge a proprietary right, based on express sections of the law. The result was a gradual decadence of peasant-right during the sixty-five years following the Permanent Settlement of 1793.

Inter-
mediate
tenure-
holders.

The *samindâr* was the revenue-paying unit recognised by the Permanent Settlement. But in a large number of cases the *samindâr* has in effect parted with all his interest in the land, by means of the creation of perpetual leases or *patnis*. These leases are usually granted in consideration of a lump sum paid down and an annual rent. The *patnidâr* may in turn create an indefinite series of sub-tenures, such as *dar-patnis*, *se-patnis*, etc., beneath his own tenure, and between himself and the actual cultivator.

Imperfect
survey of
Bengal.

It has been mentioned that the Permanent Settlement of 1793 was not preceded by any systematic survey. But in the course of the past forty years, Lower Bengal has been subjected to a professional survey, which determined the boundaries of every village, and issued maps on the scale of four inches to the mile. This survey, however, has only a topographical value. Few statistical inquiries were made, and no record was obtained of rights in the soil. Even the village landmarks then set up have been suffered to fall into decay.

Statistical
survey,
1869-79.

It was not until 1869 that a Statistical Survey of Bengal was, after several costly failures dating as far back as 1769 and 1807, organized on an efficient basis. The work was conducted to a successful issue during the ten following years (1869 to 1879); and the results of the survey were published in twenty-two volumes, containing a systematic account of each of the sixty Districts of Bengal and Assam, with their 76 millions of people.

Cultivators
oppressed,
1799-1812.

By two stringent Regulations in 1799 and 1812, the tenant was placed at the mercy of a rack-renting landlord. If he failed to pay his rent, however excessive, his property was rendered liable to distraint, and his person to imprisonment. At the same time, the operation of the revenue sale law had

introduced a new race of *zamindars*, who were bound to their tenants by no traditions of hereditary sympathy, but whose sole object was to make a profit out of their newly-purchased property. The rack-rented peasantry found little protection in our courts until 1859, when an Act was passed which considerably restricted the landlord's powers of enhancement in certain specified cases. Bengal Land Law of 1859.

The Bengal Land Law of 1859 divided the cultivators into four classes:—First, those who had held at the same rates since 1793. It ordained that the rents of such tenants should not be raised at all. Second, those who had held their land at the same rent for twenty years. It ordained that such tenants should be presumed by law to have held since 1793, unless the contrary was proved. Third, those who had held for twelve years. To such tenants it gave a right of occupancy, under which their rents could be raised only for certain specified reasons by a suit at law. Fourth, those who had held for less than twelve years. These were left by Act x. of 1859 to make what bargain they could with the landlords. Land reform of 1859.

Further experience, since 1859, has shown that even these provisions are inadequate to avert the wholesale enhancement of rents in Bengal, and especially in Behar. In 1879, the Government issued a Commission to inquire into the questions involved. The Commissioners of 1879 desired to confirm all the rights given to the peasant by the Land Code of 1859, and proposed to augment them. They recommended that the first class of cultivators, who have held their land at the same rates since 1793, should never have their rent raised. That the second class, or those who have thus held for twenty years, should still be presumed to have held since 1793. That the third class of cultivators, who have held for twelve years, should have their privileges increased. The occupancy rights of this class would, by the recommendations of the Commission, be consolidated into a valuable peasant-tenure, transferable by sale, gift, or inheritance. The Commissioners also proposed that any increase in the value of the land or of the crop, not arising from the agency of either the landlord or the 'occupancy tenant,' should henceforth be divided equally between them. This provision is a very important one in a country like Bengal, where new railways, new roads, and the increase of the people and of trade constantly tend to raise the price of the agricultural staples. What political economists call the 'unearned increment,' would, if this proposal were Subsequent rise in rent.
Rent Commission, 1879.
Its proposals, 1880.

adopted, be halved between the proprietor and the cultivator with occupancy rights.

But the great changes proposed by the Rent Commissioners of 1879 referred to the fourth or lowest class of husbandmen, who had held for less than twelve years, and whom the Land Code of 1859 admitted to no rights whatever. The Commissioners proposed to accord a quasi-occupancy right to all tenants who had held for three years. If the landlord demanded an increased rent from such tenant, and the tenant preferred to leave rather than submit to the enhancement, then the landlord would have to pay to him—first, a substantial compensation for disturbance, and second, a substantial compensation for improvements.

The proposals of the Commissioners were partially, but only partially, embodied in the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885.

Finally, after a long and acrimonious discussion, a Rent Law for Bengal, substantially based upon the Report of the Commission of 1879, was passed in the year 1885.

The Permanent Settlement of 1793 was confined to the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, according to their boundaries at that time. Orissa proper, which was conquered from the Maráthás in 1803, is subject to a temporary Settlement, of which the current term of thirty years will not expire until 1897. The assessment is identical with that fixed in 1838, which was based upon a careful field-measurement and after an investigation into the rights of every landholder and under-tenant. The Settlement, however, was made with the landholder, and not with the tenant; and in practice the rights of the cultivators are nearly on the same footing as in Bengal.

In Assam proper, or the Brahmaputra valley, the Settlement is simple and effective. The cultivated area is artificially divided into *mauzás* or blocks, over each of which is placed a Native official or *mauzádár*. Every year the *mauzádár* ascertains the area actually under cultivation, and then assesses the fields, according to their character, at a prescribed rate. The land revenue raised in Assam under this system in 1890-91 amounted to Rx. 452,855, as compared with Rx. 379,380 in 1881-82, showing an increase of no less than Rx. 73,475. The average incidence of the land revenue was Rs. 1. 11. 9, or (taking the rupee at its old nominal value of 2s.) about 3s. 5d. per acre for land held on annual leases, and Rs. 1. 14. 7, or, at the same rate, about 3s. 10d. per acre for land held on decennial leases. An interesting feature in this Province is the increase in the area of land cultivated by time-expired tea

Three
years'
tenants.

Compensa-
tion for
disturb-
ance.

Rent Law
of 1885.

Orissa
Settle-
ments,
1803-38.

Assam
Settle-
ment,
yearly.

coolies, which rose in the year 1891 from 28,376 acres to 32,360 acres, not including land cultivated by coolies within the limits of tea gardens or private estates.¹

The prevailing system throughout the Madras Presidency is the *rāyatwārī*, which takes the cultivator or peasant proprietor as its rent-paying unit, as the Bengal system takes the *zamindār*. This system cannot be called indigenous to the country, any more than the *zamindārī* is to Bengal. When the British declared themselves heir to the Nawāb of the Karnātik at the beginning of the present century, they had no adequate experience of revenue management. The authorities in England favoured the *zamindārī* system already at work in Bengal,—a system which appeared best calculated to secure punctual payment. The Madras Government was accordingly instructed to enter into permanent engagements with *zamindārs*; and where no *zamindārs* could be found, to create substitutes out of enterprising contractors. The attempt resulted in utter failure, except in tracts where the *zamindārs* happened to be the representatives of ancient lines or powerful chiefs. Several such chiefs exist in the extreme south and in the north of the Presidency. Their estates have been guaranteed to them on payment of a *peshkash* or permanent tribute, and are saved by the custom of primogeniture from the usual fate of sub-division. Throughout the rest of Madras, the influence of Sir Thomas Munro led to the adoption of the *rāyatwārī* system, which will always be associated with his name.

Rāyatwārī Settlement in Madras.

Its history

Zamindārī system failed.

Sir Thomas Munro, 1820.

Madras method of assessment:

According to this system, an assessment is made with the cultivator for the land actually taken for cultivation. Neither *zamindār* nor village community intervenes between the cultivator and the State. The early *rāyatwārī* Settlements in Madras were based upon insufficient experience. They were preceded by no survey, and they had to adopt the crude estimates of Native officials. Since 1858, a department of Revenue Survey has been organized, and the assessment carried out *de novo*.

Nothing can be more complete in theory than a Madras *rāyatwārī* Settlement. First, the area of the entire District, whether cultivated or uncultivated, and of each field within the District, is accurately measured. The next step is to calculate the estimated produce of each field, having regard to every kind of both natural and artificial advantage. Lastly, an equitable rate is fixed upon every field. The elaborate nature

first, measurement; second, estimate of produce; third, fixing the rates.

¹ *Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India 1890-91*, p. 131.

of these inquiries and calculations may be inferred from the fact that as many as 35 different rates are sometimes struck for a single District, ranging from as low as 4 *anas*, or (taking the rupee at its old nominal value of 2s.) about 6d., to as high as Rs. 12, or, at the same rate, about £1 4s. per acre. The rates thus ascertained by the Revenue Survey are fixed for a term of thirty years.

Thirty
years
Settle-
ment.

Madras
yearly
jamābandi.

But during that period the aggregate rent-roll of a District is liable to be affected by several considerations. New land may be taken up for cultivation, or old land may be abandoned; and occasional remissions may be permitted under no fewer than eighteen specified heads. Such matters are decided by the Collector at the *jamābandi*, or inquest held every year for ascertaining the amount of revenue to be paid by each *rāyat* for the current season. This annual inquiry has sometimes been mistaken for a yearly re-assessment of the *rāyat's* holding. It is not, however, a change in the rates for the land which he already holds, but an inquiry into and record of the changes in his holding, or of any new land he may wish to take up.

Permanent
Settlement
in Madras.

Certain of the Madras Districts on the seaboard adjoining Bengal were granted on a Permanent Settlement to *zamīndārs*, hereditary Native chiefs, or revenue-farmers. The land thus permanently settled forms one-eighth of the area of Madras. Throughout the other seven-eighths, the *rāyatwāri* Settlement has raised the cultivator into a peasant proprietor. This person was formerly the actual tiller of the soil. But, as population increased under British rule, the value of the land rose, and the peasant proprietor has in many cases been able to sub-let his holding to poorer cultivators, and to live, in whole or part, off the rent. The Government has during the same period decreased rather than increased its average land-tax per acre throughout the Madras Presidency. For, as the people multiplied, they were forced back upon inferior soils, and the average Government demand per acre has been proportionately diminished. But the very same process of falling back on the inferior soils has, according to economical principles, created the possibility of levying a rent from the superior soils. This rent is enjoyed by the former cultivators, many of whom are thus growing into petty landholders, living upon the rent of fields which their fathers tilled with their own hands, but now tilled by under-tenants.

The
cultivator
grows
into a pro-
prietor.

Extension
of tillage
in Madras,
1853-90.

An idea of the increase of population in Madras, and of the extension of cultivation, may be obtained from the following figures:—In 1853, the general population was estimated at

22 millions; in 1881 (after the great famine of 1876-78), the Census returned it at 30,827,218; and the Census of 1891 exhibits a striking rise to 35,630,440, or an increase on 1853 of no less than $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or 61 per cent., more than one half. The cultivated land held by husbandmen direct from the State by *riyatuiri* tenure has increased during the same period (between 1853 and 1890) from 12,078,535 to 21,043,050 acres, about 75 per cent., or three-fourths. The area of tillage has, therefore, not only kept pace with the increase of population, but has extended at a ratio of 14 per cent. more rapidly. This resulted partly from the fact that the inferior lands, now reclaimed, could not support so large an average of people as the superior lands, which were already in cultivation at the commencement of the period. The Government recognised this, and has accordingly increased its rental from *riyatuiri* tracts only from Rs. 3,022,422 to Rs. 3,961,832—being only 31 per cent., or less than one-third, while the area of cultivation increased by about 75 per cent., or three-fourths. The Government, in fact, has reduced its average rental over the total area of cultivation from Rs. 2. 8 an acre in 1853 to Rs. 1. 14 an acre in 1890, or over 25 per cent., say one-fourth.¹ According to the ordinary theory of rent, rates should have risen enormously during that period, and they have risen enormously wherever the land is held by private proprietors.

As regards the Madras Presidency, the facts may be recapitulated thus:—During the 38 years ending 1890, the area of cultivation had increased about 75 per cent., or three-fourths; the population by 61 per cent., or nearly two-thirds; and the Government rental by only 31 per cent., or less than one-third; while the average rates of land-tax per cultivated acre had been actually reduced by about one-fourth, from Rs. 2. 8, or (taking the rupee at its old exchange value of 2s.) from 5s. an acre in 1853 to Rs. 1. 14, or, at the same rate, 3s. 6d. in 1890. Instead of taking advantage of the increase of population to enhance the rental, the Madras Government has realised the fact that the increase in numbers means a harder struggle for life, and has reduced instead of enhancing, according to the economic laws of rent, the average rates throughout its domains.

Bombay has also a land system of its own, which requires

¹ The later figures are derived from Howrah Ichulchur S. Srinivasa Iyer, vanyangar's *Memoir on the Political and Financial Position of the last Forty Years* (Madras, 1892, 12s. 6d., 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 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Land system of Bombay.	to be distinguished from the <i>niyatwari</i> of Madras, although resembling it in principle. In the early days of our rule, no regular method existed throughout the Bombay Presidency; and at the present time there are tracts where something of the old confusion survives. The modern 'Survey tenure,' as it is called, dates from 1835-37, when it was first introduced into one of the <i>taluks</i> of Poona District: it has since been gradually extended over the greater part of the Presidency. As its name implies, the Settlement is preceded by survey. Each field is measured, and an assessment placed upon it according to the quality of the soil and the crop. ¹ This assessment holds good for a term of thirty years. The ordinary rates vary in different Districts from Rs. 2. 4, or (taking the rupee at its old nominal rate of 2s.) 4s. 6d. an acre, in the rich black-soil lands of Gujarât, to 6 <i>anas</i> 8 <i>pies</i> , about 10d. an acre, in the hills of the Konkan.
The 'Survey tenure' of Bombay.	
Its rates.	
Its simplicity.	The primary characteristic of the Bombay system is its simplicity. The Government fixes a minimum area as the revenue assessment unit, below which it merely registers subdivisions. This minimum area, technically called a 'field,' varies from 20 acres upwards, in different Bombay Districts. The 'field' is therefore the unit, and its actual occupier is the person recognised by the revenue law. He knows exactly what he will have to pay, and the State knows what it will receive, during the currency of the term. The assessment is, in fact, a quit-rent liable to be modified at intervals of thirty years. The Bombay system is also characterized by its fairness to the tenant. He possesses 'a transferable and heritable property, continuable without question at the expiration of a Settlement lease, on his consenting to the revised rate.' To borrow a metaphor from English law, his position has been raised from that of a villein to that of a copyholder. In place of the bare permission to occupy the soil, he has received a right of property in it.
Its advantages to the provident.	
Its disadvantages to the improvident.	Some of the Bombay peasants have proved unequal to the responsibilities of property which they had not won by their own exertions. In rich districts, the men who were recorded as the actual occupiers are able to let their land to poorer cultivators, and so live off the toil of others upon fields which they themselves had formerly to till. But these proprietary rights give the peasant a power of borrowing which he did not possess before. In certain parts, especially in the dry

¹ I have given an account of the history and method of the Bombay 'Survey tenure' in my *Bombay*, 1885-90, pp. 225-246.

Districts of the high-lying Deccan, the husbandmen have sunk hopelessly into debt to the village bankers. The peasant was often improvident, the seasons were sometimes unfortunate, the money-lender was always severe.

Amid the tumults of Native rule, the usurers lent comparatively small sums. If the peasant failed to pay, they could not evict him or sell his holding; because, among other reasons, there was more land than there were people to till it. The Native Government, moreover, could not afford to lose a tenant. Accordingly, the bankrupt peasant went on, year after year, paying as much interest as the money-lender could squeeze out of him; until the next Maráthá invasion or Muhammadan rebellion swept away the whole generation of usurers, and so cleared off the account. Under our rule there is no chance of such relief for insolvent debtors; and our rigid enforcement of contracts, together with the increase of the population, has armed the creditor with powers formerly unknown. For the peasant's holding under the British Government has become a valuable property, and he can be readily sold out, as there are always plenty of husbandmen anxious to buy in. The result is twofold. In the first place, the village banker lends larger sums, for the security is increased; and, in the second place, he can push the peasantry to extremities by eviction, a legal process which was economically impossible, and politically impermissible, under Native rule.

In Bengal, the cry of the peasant is for protection against the landlord. In South-western India, it is for protection against the money-lender. After a careful inquiry, the Government determined to respond to that cry. In 1879 it practically said to the village bankers: 'A state of things has grown up under British rule which enables you to push the cultivators, by means of our Courts, to extremities unknown under the Native dynasties, and repugnant to the customs of India. Henceforth, in considering the security on which you lend money, please to know that the peasant cannot be imprisoned or sold out of his farm to satisfy your claims; and we shall free him from the life-long burden of those claims by a mild bankruptcy law.' Such is the gist of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Acts of 1879 and 1881.

The Act of 1879 provided, in the first place, for small rural debtors of Rs. 50 and under. If the Court is satisfied that such a debtor is really unable to pay the whole sum, it may direct the payment of such portion as it considers that he

Debts
of the
Deccan
peasant.

Bombay
Relief
Acts, 1879
and 1881.

Its provisions for
the husbandman:

can pay, and grant him a discharge for the balance. The Act gave powers to the Court to go behind the letter of the bond, to cut down interest, and to fix the total sum which may seem to the judge to be equitably due.

as a rural
Insolvency
Act.

To debtors for amounts exceeding Rs. 50, it gave the full protection of an Insolvency Act. No agriculturist shall henceforth be arrested or imprisoned in execution of a decree for money. In addition to the old provisions against the sale of the necessary implements of his trade, no agriculturist's immoveable property shall be attached or sold in execution of any decree, unless it has been specifically mortgaged for the debt to which such decree relates. But even when it has been specifically mortgaged, the Court may order the debtor's holding to be cultivated, for a period not exceeding seven years, on behalf of the creditor, after allowing a sufficient portion of it for the support of the debtor and his family. At the end of the seven years the debtor is discharged.

Rural
Insolvency
Procedure.

If the debtor himself applies for relief under the Insolvency clauses, the procedure is as follows:—His moveable property, less the implements of his trade, are liable to sale for his debts. His immoveable property, or farm, is divided into two parts, one of which is set aside as 'required for the support of the insolvent and members of his family dependent on him,' while the remainder is to be managed on behalf of his creditors. But 'nothing in this section shall authorize the Court to take into possession any houses or other buildings belonging to, and occupied by, an agriculturist.' Village arbitrators or 'conciliators' were appointed by the same Act, and every creditor must first try to settle his claims before them. If the effort at arbitration fails, the 'conciliator' shall give the applicant a certificate to that effect. No such suit shall be entertained by any Civil Court, unless the plaintiff produces a certificate from the local 'conciliator' that arbitration has been attempted and failed. The Act of 1879 was somewhat modified by the amending Act of 1881.

'Concilia-
tors.'

Commis-
sion of
Inquiry,
1891-92.

Results of
the Act.

After having been in operation for twelve years, a Commission was appointed in 1890 to inquire into the working and results of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Acts. On the general question of the advantages of the special legislation, the Commissioners reported: 'One great effect of the Act has undoubtedly been to make the professional money-lender more cautious in advancing loans except on the security of the land, and the agriculturist more reluctant to borrow where the security of the land is required. The evidence collected by

the Commission during their local inquiries shows that this result has been accompanied by a marked reduction in unnecessary borrowing. . . . The position of the *ráyat* is much stronger and more independent than it was. Some have become more thrifty, and manage to get along without borrowing. Dealings with fellow-*ráyats* have to a much greater extent than formerly taken the place of dealings with professional money-lenders.' The Commissioners, however, add: 'The fact remains that a large and increasing area is still being annually transferred from the cultivating to the trading and other classes. . . . The Act, by reducing the burden of debt, by exempting land from liability to sale in execution of money decrees, and by making clear to the *ráyat* the results of the contracts which he enters into, has undoubtedly largely checked the transfer of the land, both by the voluntary action of the parties and by the action of the Court. It has, however, unquestionably failed to stop that process.' With regard to the working of the Act, the Commissioners make many important suggestions, and recommend various modifications. The most striking remarks in this part of the report deserve quotation. 'The Commission considers that the law regarding the exemption of immoveable property from attachment and sale in execution of money decrees should now be extended to agriculturists in other parts of India—at any rate, with prospective effect.' Further: 'The Commission recommends that the amount of the standing crop which is liable to attachment should be limited to one-half, and that this half should be sold subject to the payment by the purchaser of the Government revenue due on the crop attached.' The system of unofficial 'conciliators' is condemned: 'The Commission is strongly of opinion that in its present shape that system ought not to be retained.' Several reasons are given for this condemnation: the difficulty of finding fit and proper persons to discharge the functions of 'conciliators,' the absence of power to examine on oath or to reject unfair agreements, and the use made of the system to evade the Stamp and Registration Laws. The Commission therefore suggests 'that the law should be amended so as to provide that no "conciliator" shall record any agreement unless he considers it reasonable; that when a "conciliator" records an agreement, he shall also draw up a statement showing what the facts as stated by the parties are, and that the agreements so recorded shall be subject to the ordinary Stamp and Registration Laws.' If unofficial conciliation, safeguarded in this or some similar

Report of
the Com-
mission,
1892.

Working
of the
system.

Recom-
menda-
tions of
the Com-
mission,
1892.

form, is not found to give any material relief to the Courts, it might be altogether abolished. But the experiment, if made at all, should be provided for by a separate Act. It has no special connection with the relief of agricultural indebtedness.

Further
recommendations,
1892.

The general recommendations of the Bombay Commission deserve particular attention. It is reported that 'no complaints of the assessment being too heavy were made,' and 'that the revenue is on the whole moderate.' But, on the other hand, considering the uncertainty of the weather in the Deccan, 'it seems obvious that a revenue system which aims at securing a fixed annual payment is unsuited to such a country. Such a system could only work smoothly if the good seasons occurred regularly, and the *ráyats* were sufficiently provident to save the surplus of good against the losses of bad years; but, unfortunately, in the Deccan good seasons do not occur regularly, and the average *ráyat* is not provident. . . . The present rigidity of collection ought to be modified. Under standing orders, the Commission believes, the Collector has power to suspend collections in cases of an abnormal failure of the harvest over a considerable area. Hitherto this power has been much too sparingly exercised, and Collectors should be compelled or encouraged to make use of it with reasonable regard to the *ráyat's* ability to pay. . . . A significant indication of the value of an elastic system of revenue collection is afforded by the absolute or comparative immunity from debt enjoyed by the cultivators in several *inám* villages examined by the Commission. One of the chief causes assigned for this immunity by the people themselves was, that in bad seasons the *inámdar* suspended the collection of the rent. The Commission sees no reason why the adoption of a similar system in Government villages should not be attended by similarly good results.' The Commission also advocated that more care should be taken to collect the land revenue at suitable periods, and discussed the possibility of passing a law of tenant right, for the protection of *ráyats* who have parted with their holdings, whether by sale or by mortgage with possession, but who have been continued on the land as tenants at will, liable to summary eviction. The report, as a whole, contains most valuable data on the position and prospects of the *ráyats* generally in the Bombay Presidency.¹

¹ *Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Working of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act* (Calcutta, 1892), pp. 5, 6, 12, 53-54, 60, 61, 62, 67, 68, 73, 74.

The North-Western Provinces and the Punjab have practically one land system. In those parts of India, the village community has preserved its integrity more completely than elsewhere. Government therefore recognises the village, and not the *zamindar's* estate or the *riyat's* field, as the unit of land administration. The village community takes various forms. Sometimes it holds all the village lands in joint-ownership; the share of each co-owner being represented by a fractional part of the gross rental. Sometimes part of the lands is held in common and part in severalty; while sometimes no common lands remain, although a joint responsibility for the Government revenue still subsists.

The Settlement in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab is more comprehensive than in Madras or Bombay. In addition to measurement and agricultural appraisalment, it includes the duty of drawing up an exhaustive record of all customs and sub-tenures existing in every village. The proprietors are alone responsible for the revenue; but while the State limits its claims against them, it defines the rights of all other parties interested in the soil. The term of settlement in the North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab is thirty years. The principle of assessment is that the Government revenue shall be equal to one-half of the rent, leaving the other half as the share of the landlord or landholding body, that is liable for due payment, and has the trouble of collecting it from the cultivators. The average rate of assessment is Rs. 1. 12. 3, or 3s. 6½d. per cultivated acre, in the North-Western Provinces, and 15 *anas* 7 *pies*, or rs. 11½d., in the Punjab—converting at the old rate of 2s. to the rupee.

Oudh, the Indian Province acquired only in 1856, has a peculiar land system, arising out of its local history. The Oudh *talukdars* resemble English landlords more closely even than do the *zamindars* of Bengal. In origin, they were not revenue-farmers but territorial magnates, whose influence was derived from feudal authority, military command, or hereditary sway. Their present status dates from the pacification after the Mutiny of 1857. The great *talukdars* were then invited to become responsible each for a gross sum for the estates which they were found to hold prior to our annexation of Oudh. The exceptional position of the *talukdars* was recognised by conferring upon them, not only the privilege of succession by primogeniture, but also the power of bequest by will—a land-right unknown to Hindu and Indian Muhammadan law. Land not comprised in *talukdari* estates was settled in the ordinary

way with its proprietors or *zamindars* for a term of thirty years. The whole of Oudh has since been accurately surveyed.

Land
system of
Central
Provinces.

The Central Provinces contain many varieties of land tenure, from the feudatory chiefs, who pay a light tribute, to the village communities, who are assessed after survey. Population is sparse and agriculture backward, so that the incidence of land revenue is everywhere low. The survey was conducted generally on the Punjab system, adopting the 'estate' as the unit of assessment. But in the Central Provinces the British Government gave proprietary rights to the former revenue-farmers, or fiscal managers of villages, under Native rule. It thus created a body of landholders between itself and the cultivators. Of the rental paid by the husbandmen, the Government takes nominally one-half as land-tax, and allows one-half to the proprietary body. The current Settlement, for a term of thirty years, will expire in 1897.

Land
revenue
of British
India,
1882-83.

The gross land revenue realized from territory under British administration in India amounted to Rx. 21,876,047 in 1882-83. During the ten years ending 1882-83, it averaged Rx. 21,283,764, which was raised to about Rx. 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions by the inclusion of certain local rates and cesses levied on land. The average annual cost of collecting the land revenue during the ten years ending 1882-83 was Rx. 2,945,151. The *nett* land revenue realized from British India, deducting charges of collection, during the ten years ending March 1883, averaged therefore Rx. 18,338,613. In 1882-83, the land revenue of British India was Rx. 21,876,047 *gross*, and Rx. 18,833,451 *nett*.¹

Land
revenue
of British
India,
1890-91.

It is instructive to compare these figures with those for the last decade. During the ten years ending 1890-91, the *gross* land revenue of British India averaged Rx. 22,789,857, or a yearly increase on the ten years ending 1882-83 of Rx. 1,506,093. The average cost of collecting this augmented land revenue was Rx. 3,391,906, or an increase of Rx. 446,755. Deducting the charges for collection, the *nett* land revenue for the ten years ending in March 1891 averaged Rx. 19,397,951, or an increase of Rx. 1,059,338. Even more striking is a comparison between the last years of the two periods, for the land revenue of British India in 1890-91 was Rx. 24,045,209 *gross*, and Rx. 20,368,613 *nett*, showing an improvement of Rx. 2,169,162 *gross*, and Rx. 1,535,162 *nett* since 1882-83.² The local rates

Increase
since 1882.

¹ Parliamentary Return.

² *Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1881-82 to 1890-91*, p. 97 (elsewhere quoted as *Statistical Abstract*, 1890-91).

and cesses calculated and levied on the land revenue, and known as 'provincial rates,' amounted in 1890-91 to Rx. 3,491,240,¹ making the total burden on the land in that year Rx. 27,536,449.

In interpreting the meaning of these figures, it is necessary to exclude Bengal, for which the detailed statistics are not available to me. In the other Provinces of British India, the cultivated area in 1890-91 was 165,799,792 acres, of which 138,890,947 acres were actually cropped,² and the gross land revenue, including rates and cesses, Rx. 22,842,615. This shows that the incidence of the land revenue averaged for the whole of British India, excepting Bengal, Rs. 1. 6, or (taking the rupee at its old nominal value of 2s.) about 2s. 9d. per cultivated acre. Nevertheless this statement is somewhat too general, as it deals solely with the cultivated area; it is advantageous to compare it, in order to comprehend the actual weight of the land revenue, with the average amount levied on each fully assessed cultivable acre.

The surveyed area of British India, excluding Bengal, was 508,527,453 acres (1890). Slightly less than one-half of this extent, 249,182,382 acres, was fully assessed, the remainder being, like Bengal, for various reasons assessed at privileged rates. The land revenue, excluding rates and cesses, assessed on this fully-assessed area was Rx. 19,757,814, giving an average of 12 *anas* 8 *pies*, or (taking the rupee at its old nominal value of 2s.) about 1s. 7d. per acre. The incidence varied per fully-assessed acre from Rs. 2. 6. 6 in Sind, and Rs. 2. 5. 1 in Upper Burma, to 6 *anas* 1 *pie* in the Punjab, and 3 *anas* 3 *pies* in the Central Provinces. Taking the whole surveyed area, that is, excluding Bengal, but including the partially-assessed Districts in the other Provinces, the incidence of the land revenue on the population in 1890-91 averaged Rs. 1. 8. 1, or (taking the rupee as before) about 3s. per head. It averaged per head from Rs. 3. 2. 2 in Sind, and Rs. 2. 9. 3 in Berâr, to 12 *anas* 2 *pies* in Assam, and 10 *anas* 2 *pies* in the Central Provinces.³

THE SALT DUTY.—Salt ranks next to land revenue among the items of actual taxation in India; opium being chiefly paid for by the Chinese consumer. Broadly speaking, the salt consumed in India is derived from four sources—(1) importa-

¹ *Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1890-91*, p. 109.

² *Statistical Abstract, 1890-91*, p. 144.

³ *Idem*, pp. 147, 148.

Sources
of salt.

tion by sea, chiefly from the mines of Cheshire ; (2) solar evaporation in shallow tanks along the seaboard ; (3) gatherings from the Salt Lakes in Rájputána ; (4) quarrying in the Salt Hills of the Northern Punjab. Until recently, the tax levied upon salt varied very much in different parts of the country ; and a numerous preventive staff was stationed along a continuous barrier hedge, which almost cut the peninsula into two fiscal sections.

Equaliza-
tion of
salt duty.

The reforms of Sir J. Strachey in 1878, by which the higher rates were reduced while the lower rates were raised, and their subsequent equalization over the whole country, have effectually abolished this engine of oppression. Communication is now free ; and it has been found that prices are lowered by thus bringing the consumer nearer to his market, even though the rate of taxation be increased. In the Punjab and Rájputána, salt administration has become, as in Lower Bengal, a simple matter of weighing quantities and levying a uniform tax. In Bombay, the manufacture is conducted at a minimum of expense by the Government in large central brine-works on the Rann of Cutch in Gujarát, and also at numerous small sea-salt factories in the Konkan, leased to private individuals, but kept under a thorough system of excise supervision. Along the eastern coast, from Orissa to Cape Comorin, the process of evaporating sea-water is mainly carried on as a private industry, although under official supervision and on Government account.

Systems
of manu-
facture.

Process
of manu-
facture.

The process of manufacture in Madras is exceedingly simple, and at the same time free from temptations to smuggling. The season lasts from about January to July, in which latter month the downpour of rain usually puts a stop to operations. A site is selected in the neighbourhood of one of the backwaters or inlets which abound along the coast. Before commencing, the proprietor of the salt-pan must each year obtain the consent of the Collector of the District, and must engage to supply a certain quantity of salt. The first step is to form a series of pans or reservoirs of varying degrees of shallowness, by banking up the earth, with interconnecting channels. Into the outer and deepest of these pans, the sea-water is baled by means of a lever and bucket-lift, and there allowed to stand for some days, until it has by evaporation acquired the consistency of brine. The brine is then passed through the channels into the remainder of the series of gradually shallowing pans. At last it becomes crystallized salt, and is scraped off for conveyance to the wholesale depôt.

It is estimated that, in a favourable season, this process may be repeated *de novo* from twelve to fifteen times, according as the weather permits. But a single shower of rain will spoil the whole operation at any stage.

Like the poppy cultivation in Bengal, the manufacture of salt in Madras is a monopoly, which can be defended by the circumstances of the case. No one is compelled to manufacture, and rights of property in a salt-pan are strictly respected; while the State endeavours, by means of a careful staff of supervisors, to obtain the maximum of profit with a minimum of interference. The system as at present carried on has been gradually developed from the experience of nearly a century. The manufacturers belong to the same class as the ordinary cultivators; and, as a rule, their condition is somewhat more prosperous, for they possess a hereditary privilege carrying with it commercial profits. They do not work upon a system of advances, as is the case with so many other Indian industries; but they are paid at a certain rate when they bring their salt to the Government depôt. This rate of payment, known as *kudivaram*, is at present fixed at an average of 1 *ana* 5·8 *pies*, or (at the old nominal rate of exchange) about 2½d. per *maund* of 82¾ lbs.; the other expenses of the Salt Department for supervision, etc., raise the total cost to 3 *anas* 5·6 *pies* (or about 5½d.) per *maund*. The price charged to the consumer by the Madras Government since the enhancement of the salt duty in January 1888, has been Rs. 2. 11 (or about 5s. 4½d. at the nominal rate of exchange) per *maund*. It has been found in practice that the system of handing over the manufacture of salt to private enterprise led to too great an increase in the price, and the Government of Madras has therefore again commenced manufacturing, and has laid in a reserve store of salt, by means of which the sale price can be kept down, in case the supply runs short or the market is unduly manipulated.¹

The equal rate of salt duty which now prevails throughout all continental India is Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or (at the old nominal rate of 2s. to the rupee) 6s. 9d. a cwt. In Burma, only 1 rupee per *maund*, or 2s. 4d. a cwt., is charged for local consumption, and a transit duty *ad valorem* for salt sent across

¹ *Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India*, 1890-91, p. 93; Diwân Bahâdur S. Srinivasa Raghavaiyengar, in his *Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last Forty Years* (Madras, 1892), gives a table of the prices charged for Government salt since 1805, p. 65.

the frontier. The total salt revenue of British India in 1882-83 was returned at Rx. 6,177,781, the average for ten years being Rx. 6,627,194.

The increase of the salt duty from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2. 8 in continental India, and from 3 *anas* to 1 rupee in Burma in 1888, has naturally brought about a great rise in the revenue raised from salt. The total receipts in 1890-91 amounted to Rx. 8,523,368, showing a marked increase on the two previous years with the same rate. It is interesting to observe the sources of this income, as illustrating the previous paragraphs. Thus, of Rx. 5,610,141 levied as excise on manufactured salt, Rx. 2,109,397 was raised in Bombay, Rx. 1,711,402 in Madras, Rx. 17,251 in Burma, nothing in Bengal, and Rx. 1,772,091 in the rest of India. On the other hand, of the other large item of the salt revenue, the duty levied on salt imported by sea, out of Rx. 2,449,081 raised in 1890-91, Rx. 2,306,666 came from Bengal, and Rx. 140,648 from Burma. It cost in 1890-91 only Rx. 429,013 to collect the salt revenue of Rx. 8,523,368, or say 5 per cent.¹

Excise
admini-
stration.

EXCISE DUTIES in India are not a mere tax levied through the private manufacturer and retailer, but (like salt) a species of Government monopoly. The only excisable articles are intoxicants and drugs; and the object of the State is to check consumption, not less than to raise revenue. The details vary in the different Provinces, but the general plan of administration is the same. The right to manufacture, and the right to retail, are both monopolies of Government, let out to private individuals upon strict conditions. Distillation of country spirits is permitted under two systems—either to the highest bidder under official supervision, or only at certain centres set apart for the purpose. The latter is known as the *sadr* or central distillery system. The right of sale is also farmed out to the highest bidder, subject to regulations fixing the quantity of liquor that may be sold at one time. The brewing of beer from rice and other grains, a process universal among the hill tribes and other aboriginal races, is practically untaxed and unrestrained. The numerous European breweries at the Hill Stations pay a tax at the rate of 4 *anas* a gallon. A large business in brewing is now done at Simla, Marri (Murree), Kasauli, Masúri, Náini Tál, Solán, the Nilgiris, and in other Hill Districts. An attempt is being made to establish breweries on the plains. In 1890-91, there were altogether 22 breweries

Central
distillery
system.

Rice-beer.

Breweries.

¹ *Statistical Abstract*, 1890-91, pp. 100-103.

in India, which produced 5,192,572 gallons of beer and porter, a large proportion of which is purchased by the Commissariat Department for the use of the European soldiers. This proportion, however, has decreased from over four-fifths of the total amount brewed in 1888 to three-fifths in 1890, owing to the dislike of the British soldier to consume the beer supplied to him by the State. The Government has consequently, since the beginning of 1891, allowed the regiments to arrange for their own supplies independently, and it is probable that both importations on account of Government and purchases by the Commissariat of Indian beer will show a further decrease.¹

Excise duties are also levied upon the sale of a number of intoxicating or stimulant drugs, of which the most important are opium and *gánjā* or *bháng*. Opium is issued for local consumption in India from the Government manufactories at Patná and Benares, and sold through private retailers at a monopoly price. This drug is chiefly consumed in Assam, Burma, and the Punjab. *Gánjā* is an intoxicating preparation made from the flowers and leaves of Indian hemp (*Cannabis sativa*, var. *indica*). The cultivation of hemp for this purpose is chiefly conducted in a limited area of Rájsháhí District, Bengal, and in the valleys of the Himálayas, whence the drug is imported to India under the name of *charas*. Its use is a frequent cause, not only of crime, but also of insanity. Government attempts to check consumption—first, by fixing the retail duty at the highest rate that will not encourage smuggling; and second, by continually raising that rate as experience permits. Strictly speaking, *gánjā* consists of the flowering and fruiting heads of the female plant; *bháng* or *siddhi*, of the dried leaves and small stalks, with a few fruits; while *charas* is the resin itself, collected in various ways as it naturally exudes.

No duty is at present levied upon tobacco in any part of British India. The plant is universally grown by the cultivators for their own smoking, and, like almost everything else, was subject to taxation under Native rule; but the impossibility of accurate excise supervision caused the British Government to abandon this impost. The total excise revenue of British India in 1882-83 was returned at Rx. 3,609,561, the average for ten years being Rx. 2,774,073. In 1890-91 it had risen, not like the salt revenue by fresh taxation, but by careful

¹ *Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1890-91*, p. 215; *Statistical Tables for British India* (Calcutta, 1892), pp. vii., 52.

Total
excise
revenue,
1890-91.

administration, to Rx. 4,947,780, an increase on 1882-83 of more than 37 per cent. To collect this increased amount cost Rx. 175,053, or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole. The average of the total excise revenue for the ten years ending 1890-91 was Rx. 4,249,264, and of its cost of collection, Rx. 122,525.¹ The excise revenue does not, however, include the whole of the income derived from the taxation of intoxicants. More than three-quarters of the import duties levied in the customs departments on sea-borne goods are collected from imported liquors. These customs dues have increased 50 per cent. in the last decade, from Rx. 407,123 in 1881-82 to Rx. 600,901 in 1890-91,² and should be taken into calculation in considering the efforts of the Indian Government to check the increase of intemperance.

Municipal
admini-
stration.

THE MUNICIPALITIES at present existing in India are a creation of the Legislature; indeed, a recent branch of our system of administration. Their origin is to be traced, not directly to the Native *panchayat*, but to the necessity for relieving the District officer from certain details of his work. The *panchayat* or elective Council of Five is one of the institutions most deeply rooted in the Hindu mind. By it the village community was ruled, the head-man being only its executive official, not the legislator or judge. By it caste disputes were settled; by it traders and merchants were organized into powerful guilds, to the rules of which even European outsiders formerly had to submit. By a development of the *panchayat*, the Sikh army of the *khálsá* was despotically governed, when the centralized system of Ranjít Singh fell to pieces at his death.

The old
"Council
of Five;"

Municipalities
succeed it.

The village organization was impaired or broken up under Mughal rule. Municipal institutions have developed under the British rule in place of the old Hindu mechanism of rural government, which had thus worn out. Police, roads, and sanitation are the three main objects for which a modern Indian municipality is constituted. In rural tracts, these departments are managed (in different Provinces) by the Collector, or by one of his subordinate staff, or by a Local Fund Board. Within municipal limits, they are delegated to a Committee, who, at first, derived their practical authority from the Collector's sanction, implied or expressed. Except in the larger towns, the municipalities can scarcely be said as yet to exhibit the attributes of popular representation or of vigorous corporate life. But the Local Government Acts,

¹ *Statistical Abstract*, 1890-91, p. 105.

² *Idem*, p. 107.

which received a new impulse during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty (*ante*, p. 499), have strengthened the rural and municipal boards. As education advances, they will be further developed.

In 1882-83, the municipalities in British India, exclusive of the three Presidency cities, numbered 783, with 12,923,494 inhabitants. In that year the municipalities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras governed a population of 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ millions; the members of the three municipal bodies numbered 171, of whom 93 were elected. Municipal statistics, 1882-83.

Increased life and vigour has been given to municipal institutions in India by the extension of the elective principle, under the Local Self-Government Acts (1882-84). In important places the majority of the municipal bodies are elected by the local taxpayers, but in certain small towns all, and in every town some, of the administrators are nominated by the Government, or have seats *ex officio*. In Upper Burma alone there are no elected members in the sixteen municipalities, which, despite the recent date of the annexation, have already been constituted. The 758 municipalities, excluding the Presidency towns, of British India consisted, in 1890-91, of 10,585 members, of whom 5848 were elected, and 4737 nominated or *ex officio*. But this does not fairly exhibit the advance made by the elective principle, for the nominated municipal commissioners of small towns or in backward Provinces are included. It is more instructive to point out that in the 107 municipalities of the North-Western Provinces there were 1218 elected to 317 nominated members, and that in the 145 municipalities of Bengal the proportion was 1154 to 944. Out of the aggregate number of municipal commissioners concerning whom information is available, 6790 were natives and 839 Europeans. The population within municipal limits was, according to the Census of 1891, no less than 15,024,308, of whom 1,580,715 resided in the three Presidency towns. The larger the town and the more vigorous the municipality, the greater is the power of local administration conceded to it, and the larger the proportion of elected members. Thus, in the three municipalities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, 138 out of the 180 municipal commissioners were elected in 1890-91. They have to face serious difficulties in meeting the problems of draining and keeping healthy large urban populations. They have grappled with their task, and the Tansa Water-works Scheme for supplying Bombay with pure water, for instance, which has just been completed, in spite of grave engineering obstacles, Presidency municipalities.

is a credit to the local authorities. The financial statistics of the Indian municipalities are given in a later section of this chapter (p. 558).¹

District
and Local
Boards.

The establishment of rural local self-government has been undertaken later than that of urban self-government, and presents peculiar difficulties, owing to the nature of the population and the distances to be traversed to attend meetings. Nevertheless, District and Rural Boards have been formed in every Province, except Burma, to administer and allot local taxation. The principle of election has been admitted as far as possible, and in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1284 out of 1564 members of the District Boards were elected, and in Bengal 323 members out of 793. The greater part of the expenditure of these Rural Boards is devoted to local roads, but as the idea of local self-government develops, they receive charge of primary education and sanitation. It is more difficult to get members to attend these Boards than in the municipalities, but with increased responsibility and powers it is hoped that this difficulty will lessen.²

Imperial
finance.

FINANCE.—It is difficult to present a view of Indian finance, which shall be at once concise and intelligible. The subject is full of controversies, and obscured by different presentments of the same sets of accounts. In the first place, the aggregate revenue and expenditure are officially returned according to a system which, although necessary for Indian purposes, is apt to mislead the English critic. The Indian Government is not a mere tax-collecting agency, charged with the single duty of protecting person and property. Its system of administration is based upon the view that the British Power is a paternal despotism, which owns, in a certain sense, the entire soil of the country, and whose duty it is to perform the various functions of a wealthy and an enlightened proprietor.

Its ob-
-curities.

The 'busi-
ness' of
the Indian
Govern-
ment.

It collects its own rents. It provides, out of its own capital, facilities for irrigation, means of communication, public buildings, schools, and hospitals. It also takes on itself the businesses of a railway owner, and of a manufacturer on a grand scale, in the case of opium and salt. These departments swell the totals on both sides of the balance-sheet with large items, neither of the nature of taxation nor of administrative expenditure.

¹ *Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India*, 1890-91, pp. 39-39, and Table on p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 39-44.

In the second place, the methods of keeping the Indian public accounts have been subjected to frequent changes during recent years, to such an extent as to vitiate all comparative statements for long periods of time. The commercial traditions, inherited from the days of the Company, regulated the Indian accounts until about the year 1860. From that date efforts have been made to bring the methods of Indian accounting into conformity with the English system of public accounts. It results that the same entries represent different facts at different periods. Thus, under the Company, the items usually represented the nett sums; they now represent the gross sums. At one period, the gross receipts are shown, with a *per contra* for the charges of collection or for refunds. At another time, important classes of charges have been transferred from the Imperial to the Provincial Budgets, to be brought back again after an interval of a few years to the Imperial Budget, and again transferred to Local Finance. Capital expenditure on public works, at one period charged to current revenue, is at another period excluded, as being 'extraordinary' or 'reproductive.' The entire nett income of the railways, whether the property of the State or of guaranteed companies, has now been entered as Imperial revenue, and the interest to shareholders as Imperial expenditure. The Indian accounts represent, therefore, not only the Indian taxation and the cost of administration; they represent the trade expenses and profits of the Government as a great railway owner, canal maker, opium manufacturer, salt monopolist, and pioneer of new industries. They also represent these profits and expenses under diverse systems of account at different periods.

Changes
in system
of account.

The result-
ing ob-
scurities.

The following pages will first endeavour to exhibit the actual taxation of British India, as compared with that of the Mughal Empire. They will then show the gross revenue and expenditure of British India, whether of the nature of taxation or otherwise, and analyze its principal items.

THE ACTUAL TAXATION paid by the people of British India during the ten years ending 1879 averaged Rx. 35½ millions. The subjoined tables show the gross items, exclusive of the opium duty which is paid by the Chinese consumer, tributes from foreign or Feudatory States, forest receipts, and the Mint. The actual taxation arranges itself under seven branches, as given on the next two pages, from 1869 to 1891.

Gross
taxation
of British
India.

STATEMENT I.

ACTUAL TAXATION OF BRITISH INDIA, 1869-79.

Compiled from the Parliamentary Return dated 8th July 1880.

	1869-70.	1870-71.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77.	1877-78.	1878-79.
Land Revenue, . . .	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Excise, . . .	21,088,019	20,622,823	20,530,337	21,348,069	21,037,912	21,296,793	21,593,742	19,857,152	19,869,667	22,330,586
Assessed Taxes, . . .	2,253,655	2,374,405	2,399,109	2,323,788	2,286,637	2,346,143	2,493,232	2,523,045	2,457,075	2,619,349
Provincial Rates, . . .	1,110,224	2,072,025	825,241	580,139	20,136	2,747	510	310	86,110	900,920
Customs, . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	238,504	2,638,835
Salt, . . .	2,129,185	2,610,789	2,575,990	2,653,800	2,628,495	2,678,479	2,721,389	2,483,345	2,622,296	2,326,561
Stamps, . . .	5,888,707	6,106,280	5,966,595	6,165,630	6,150,662	6,227,301	6,244,415	6,304,658	6,460,082	6,941,120
	2,379,316	2,510,316	2,476,333	2,608,512	2,699,936	2,758,042	2,835,368	2,838,628	2,993,483	3,110,540
TOTAL, . . .	35,149,166	36,296,698	34,733,605	35,680,628	34,823,778	35,399,505	35,798,656	34,007,138	34,727,217	40,867,911

Total for Ten Years ending 1879, . . . Rx. 357,394,242

Deduct Refunds, Drawbacks, and adjusting Payments, as
per Parliamentary Statement, . . . 4,379,234

Gross Taxation for Ten Years ending 1879, . . . Rx. 353,015,008

Yearly Average of Gross Taxation, . . . Rx. 35,301,500

N.B.—I do not go into the economic question as to whether the Land Revenue of India is of the nature of taxation or of rent, but simply reproduce the official classification without entering it.

STATEMENT II.

ACTUAL TAXATION OF BRITISH INDIA FROM 1879-80 TO 1890-91.

Compiled from the *Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Statistical Abstracts relating to British India.*

	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.
Land Revenue,†	Rx. 21,861,180	Rx. 21,112,995	Rx. 21,048,922	Rx. 21,875,047	Rx. 22,361,869	Rx. 21,832,211	Rx. 22,592,371	Rx. 23,055,724	Rx. 23,180,292	Rx. 23,016,104	Rx. 23,081,399	Rx. 24,045,209
Salt,	Rx. 7,266,413	Rx. 7,115,966	Rx. 7,175,600	Rx. 6,177,781	Rx. 6,115,413	Rx. 6,507,236	Rx. 6,345,128	Rx. 6,657,641	Rx. 6,670,723	Rx. 7,675,634	Rx. 8,187,739	Rx. 8,523,368
Stamps,	Rx. 3,179,730	Rx. 3,130,561	Rx. 3,181,372	Rx. 3,379,631	Rx. 3,513,701	Rx. 3,606,632	Rx. 3,663,174	Rx. 3,751,280	Rx. 3,876,298	Rx. 3,927,088	Rx. 4,057,908	Rx. 4,068,969
Excise,	Rx. 2,813,021	Rx. 3,135,206	Rx. 3,477,774	Rx. 3,609,561	Rx. 3,836,961	Rx. 4,011,867	Rx. 4,152,136	Rx. 4,375,171	Rx. 4,534,655	Rx. 4,705,316	Rx. 4,891,894	Rx. 4,917,700
Customs,	Rx. 2,158,700	Rx. 2,539,600	Rx. 2,361,138	Rx. 1,296,119	Rx. 1,187,266	Rx. 1,029,043	Rx. 1,109,976	Rx. 1,216,293	Rx. 1,348,837	Rx. 1,332,784	Rx. 1,506,666	Rx. 1,713,218
Assessed Taxes,	Rx. 75,111	Rx. 532,700	Rx. 516,200	Rx. 517,111	Rx. 526,087	Rx. 511,828	Rx. 504,031	Rx. 1,254,715	Rx. 1,434,136	Rx. 1,520,919	Rx. 1,595,274	Rx. 1,617,306
Provincial Rates,	Rx. 2,776,370	Rx. 2,935,180	Rx. 2,935,180	Rx. 2,613,015	Rx. 2,328,731	Rx. 2,791,461	Rx. 2,940,315	Rx. 2,994,661	Rx. 3,035,323	Rx. 3,054,251	Rx. 3,410,055	Rx. 3,191,710
Total,	Rx. 41,077,550	Rx. 40,130,193	Rx. 41,925,995	Rx. 40,519,558	Rx. 40,201,168	Rx. 41,416,134	Rx. 43,446,714	Rx. 43,446,714	Rx. 44,026,569	Rx. 45,232,150	Rx. 47,663,055	Rx. 48,437,130

Total for the Twelve Years ending 1890-91. Rx. 514,077,786
 Deduct Refunds, Drawbacks, Assignments, Compensations, and adjusting Payments, 19,183,590
 (According to the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Statistical Abstracts, p. 93)

Gross Taxation for the Twelve Years ending 1890-91, Rx. 494,894,196

Yearly Average of Gross Taxation, Rx. 41,241,183

† Excluding Land Revenue due to Immigration.

Statement I. was compiled from a special Parliamentary Return, and shows the nett taxes, after deducting drawbacks and items not of the nature of actual taxation. Statement II. shows the revenue from the same items during the twelve following years, 1880-91. The average of these twelve years is Rx. $41\frac{1}{4}$ millions, against Rx. $35\frac{1}{2}$ millions during the ten years ending 1879.

Nett and
gross
taxation
of British
India.

The nett taxation of British India, that is to say, the sums realized, less the cost of collection, averaged 32 millions¹ during the ten years ending 1879. Returns of nett taxation, however, depend much upon the method on which they are prepared. But the final accounts as presented to Parliament enable us to arrive accurately at the gross taxation paid by the Indian people, which, as above shown, was Rx. $35\frac{1}{2}$ millions during the ten years ending 1879, or, according to the former Census, and taking the rupee at its old nominal value, Rs. 1. 13. or 3s. 8d. per head. During the last twelve years the gross taxation has increased from Rx. $35\frac{1}{2}$ millions to Rx. $41\frac{1}{4}$ millions, or more than 16 per cent.; but the population has increased proportionately, and the rate of actual taxation per head, according to the Census of 1891, taking the average of the last twelve years, and the rupee at its old exchange value, is Rs. 1. 13. 10, or 3s. 8½d. Taking the year 1890-91 by itself, the actual gross taxation, after deducting refunds, etc., was Rx. 46,691,425, giving a rate, according to the Census of that year, of Rs. 2. 1. 9, or (at the old rate of exchange) of 4s. 2½d. per head of the population, or say 2s. 8d. at present exchange of 1s. 3d. per rupee.

English
and
Indian
taxation.

This rate contrasts alike with that now paid by the taxpayer in England and with that formerly paid in India under the Mughal Empire. The $37\frac{3}{4}$ millions of people in Great Britain and Ireland pay 80 millions of Imperial taxation,² besides heavy local and municipal burdens. The revenues of the Mughal Empire, derived from a much smaller population than that of British India, varied, as we have seen,³ from 42 millions nett under Akbar in 1593 to 80 millions under Aurangzeb in 1695. The trustworthiness of these returns has been discussed in a previous chapter; and they must be taken subject to the qualifications therein indicated.

¹ Compiled from the Parliamentary Return, 8th July 1880, pp. 4, 5.

² Customs, 19½ millions; Inland revenue, 60½ millions: total Imperial taxation, 80 millions. The gross revenue of the United Kingdom in 1800-01 was £99,698,683, beside a heavy local taxation.

³ *Ante*, chap. xi. p. 357. etc.; Table of Mughal Revenues (1593 to 1761).

If we examine the items in the Mughal accounts, we find the explanation of their enormous totals. The land-tax then, as now, formed about one-half of the whole revenue. The nett land revenue demand of the Mughal Empire averaged Rx. 25 millions from 1593 to 1761; or Rx. 32 millions during the last century of that Empire, from 1655 to 1761. The annual nett land revenue raised from the much larger area of British India, during the ten years ending 1890-91, has been Rx. 19½ millions (gross, Rx. 22¾ millions). But besides the land revenue there were under our predecessors not less than forty imposts of a personal character. These included taxes upon religious assemblies, upon trees, upon marriage, upon the peasant's hearth, and upon his cattle. How severe some of them were may be judged from the poll-tax. For the purposes of this tax, the non-Muhammadan population was divided into three classes, paying respectively Rs. 40, Rs. 20, and Rs. 10 annually to the Exchequer for each adult male. The lowest of these rates, if now levied from each non-Musal-mán male adult, would alone yield an amount exceeding our whole actual taxation. Yet, under the Mughals, the poll-tax was only one of forty burdens.

We may briefly sum up the results. Under the Mughal Empire, 1593 to 1761, the existing returns of the Imperial demand averaged about Rx. 60 millions a year. During the ten years ending 1879, the Imperial taxation of British India, with its far larger population, averaged Rx. 35½ millions, and for the twelve years ending 1890-91, Rx. 41½ millions. Under the Mughal Empire, the land-tax, between 1655 and 1761, averaged Rx. 32 millions. Under the British Empire, the nett land-tax has, during the ten years ending 1879, averaged Rx. 18 millions, and Rx. 19½ millions during the twelve years ending 1890-91.

Not only is the taxation of British India much less than that raised by the Mughal Emperors, but it compares favourably with the taxation of other Asiatic countries in our own day. The only other Empire in Asia which pretends to a civilised government is Japan. The author has no special acquaintance with the Japanese revenues; but German statisticians show that over 11 millions sterling are there raised from a population of 34 million people, or, deducting certain items, a taxation of about 6s. a head. In India, where we try to govern on a higher standard of efficiency, the rate of actual gross taxation averaged 3s. 8d. a head for the ten years ending 1879, and 3s. 8½d. per head for the twelve years ending 1890-91.

Taxation
of a
Province
under the
Mughals,

and under
the
British.

The
land-tax.

Rates per
acre.

If, instead of dealing with the Imperial revenues as a whole, we concentrate our survey on any one Province, we find these facts brought out in a still stronger light. To take a single instance. After a patient scrutiny of the records, I found that, allowing for the change in the value of money, the ancient revenue of Orissa represented eight times the quantity of the staple food which our own revenue now represents.¹ The Native revenue of Orissa supported a magnificent court, with a crowded seraglio, swarms of priests, a large army, and a costly public worship. Under our rule, Orissa does little more than defray the local cost of protecting person and property, and of its irrigation works. In Orissa, the Rájá's share of the crops amounted, with dues, to 60 per cent., and the mildest Native Governments demanded 33 per cent. The Famine Commissioners estimate the land-tax throughout British India² 'at from 3 per cent. to 7 per cent. of the gross out-turn.' Ample deductions are allowed for the cost of cultivation, the risks of the season, the maintenance of the husbandman and his family. Of the balance, Government *nominally* takes one-third or a half; but how small a proportion this bears to the crop may be seen from the data collected by the Famine Commissioners.

Their figures dealt with 176 out of the 199 millions of people in British India. These 176 millions cultivated, when the inquiry was made in 1879, 188 millions of acres, grew 331 millions sterling worth of produce, and paid 18½ millions of land revenue. While, therefore, they raised over Rs. 17. 8 worth of produce per acre, they paid to Government under one rupee of land-tax per acre. Instead of thus paying 5½ per cent., they would, under the Mughal rule, have been called upon to pay from 33 to 50 per cent. of the crop. The two systems, indeed, proceed upon entirely different principles. The Native Governments, write the Famine Commissioners, often taxed the land 'to the extent of taking from the occupier the whole of the surplus after defraying the expenses of cultivation.'³ The British Government objects to thus 'sweeping off the whole margin of profit.'

What becomes of the surplus which our Government refrains

¹ The evidence on which these statements are based was published in my *Orissa*, vol. i. pp. 323-329. (Smith, Elder, & Co., 1872.)

² *Report of the Indian Famine Commission*, part ii. p. 90, as presented to Parliament, 1880.

³ *Report of the Indian Famine Commission*, part ii. p. 90, as presented to Parliament, 1880.

from taking? It goes to feed a greatly increased population. The tax-gatherer now leaves so large a margin to the husbandman, that the Province of Bengal, for example, feeds three times as many mouths as it did in 1780, and has a vast surplus of produce, over and above its own wants, for exportation. 'In the majority of Native Governments,' writes the highest living authority on the question,¹ 'the revenue officer takes all he can get; and would take treble the revenue we should assess, if he were strong enough to exact it. In ill-managed States, the cultivators are relentlessly squeezed; the difference between the Native system and ours being, mainly, that the cultivator in a Native State is seldom or never sold up, and that he is usually treated much as a good bullock is treated, *i.e.* he is left with enough to feed and clothe him and his family, so that they may continue to work.' John Stuart Mill studied the condition of the Indian people more deeply than any other political economist, and he took an indulgent view of Native institutions. His verdict upon the Mughal Government is that, 'except during the occasional accident of a humane and vigorous local administrator, the exactions had no practical limit but the inability of the peasant to pay more.'

Increase
of popula-
tion.

Taxation
in Native
States.

The Famine Commission, after careful inquiries, stated² that throughout British India the landed classes pay revenue at the rate of Rs. 2. 12 per head, including the land-tax for their farms, or Rs. 0. 14 without it. The trading classes pay Rs. 1. 10 per head; the artisans Rs. 1—equal to four days' wages in the year; and the agricultural labourers under Rs. 0. 14. The whole taxation, including the Government rent for the land, averaged, as we have seen, under Rs. 1. 14 per head during the ten years ending 1879. But the Famine Commissioners declare that 'any native of India who does not trade or own land, and who chooses to drink no spirituous liquor, and to use no English cloth or iron, need pay in taxation only about 7d. a year on account of the salt he consumes. On a family of three persons, the charge amounts to 1s. 9d., or about four days' wages of a labouring man and his wife.'³

Incidence
of taxation
in British
India.

¹ Report by Mr. (now Sir) Alfred Lyall, C.B., formerly Governor-General's Agent in Rājputana, afterwards Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh; quoted in the Despatch of the Governor-General-in-Council to the Secretary of State, 8th June 1880. 'Condition of India,' Blue Book, pp. 36, 37.

² *Report of the Famine Commission*, part ii. p. 93 (folio, 1880).

³ *Ibid.*, part ii. p. 93.

Gross
balance-
sheet of
British
India.

GROSS REVENUES.—But it should always be borne in mind that the actual taxation of the Indian people is one thing, and the gross revenues of India are another. As explained in a previous paragraph of this chapter, the revenues include many items not of the nature of taxation. The following table, compiled from the *Statistical Abstract for 1890-91*, exhibits the gross Imperial revenue and expenditure of India for that year, according to the system of accounts adopted at the time. For the reasons already given, it is practically impossible to analyze these gross totals in such a way as to show the actual amount raised by taxation, and the actual amount returned in protection to person and property. The actual taxation has therefore been dealt with in the two separate statements already given. It is equally impossible to compare the gross totals with those for previous years, owing to changes that have been made from time to time in the system of entering the accounts. The only profitable plan is to particularize some of the items, and to explain their real meaning.

Analysis
of Indian
revenues
in 1891.

The list of items shows how large a portion of the gross revenue is not of the nature of taxation proper. Public works, including railways and irrigation and navigation canals, yielded in 1890-91 no less than Rx. 19,408,556, or over 22½ per cent. of the total. Adding the items of post-office and telegraphs, which also represent payment for work done or services rendered, the proportion would rise to over 25 per cent. Then the sum of Rx. 7,879,182 gross, or Rx. 5,698,355 nett, derived from opium, being an additional 6½ per cent. of the gross

Not of the
nature of
taxation.

revenue, is not a charge upon the native tax-payer, but a contribution to the Indian exchequer by the Chinese consumer of the drug. Add to these the tributes from Feudatory States, produce of the forests, etc., and upwards of one-third of the total gross revenue is accounted for. The whole revenue of British India of the nature of actual taxation, including Land Revenue, Excise, Assessed Taxes, Provincial Rates, Customs, Salt, and Stamps, amounted in 1878 to Rx. 34,727,217, or 1 rupee 13 *anas* and 2 *pies*, which was equivalent (at the old nominal rate of 2s. to the rupee) to about 3s. 7¾d. per head. In 1890-91 the gross actual taxation of British India was Rx. 48,437,180, or, taking the figures of the new Census and the old nominal value of the rupee, an average of 2 rupees 3 *anas*, or 4s. 4¾d. per head.

Revenue
from
taxation.

GROSS IMPERIAL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF BRITISH INDIA FOR 1890-91.
Compiled from the Twenty-sixth Statistical Abstract relating to British India.

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
Land Revenue,		Land Revenue,	
Opium,	Rx. 24,045,209	Opium,	Rx. 3,696,566
Salt,	7,879,182	Salt,	2,186,797
Stamps,	8,523,368	Stamps,	4,960,613
Excise,	4,068,969	Excise,	1,390,019
Provincial Rates,	4,917,780	Provincial Rates,	175,083
Customs,	3,491,240	Customs,	54,040
Assessed Taxes,	1,743,218	Assessed Taxes,	14,052
Fine S ^{ts} ,	1,617,396	Forests,	79,246
Registrars,	1,448,002	Forests,	1,061,113
Tributes from Native States,	365,449	Registration,	1,366,734
Post-office,	766,421	Post-office,	1,366,734
Telegraphs,	1,402,593	Telegraphs,	1,366,734
Mint,	781,034	Mint,	121,888
Law and Justice,	354,152	General Administration,	1,740,465
Police,	613,915	Law and Justice,	3,695,893
Marine,	309,483	Police,	3,850,663
Education,	225,606	Marine,	559,257
Medical,	203,745	Education,	1,371,735
Scientific and Minor Departments,	101,751	Medical,	166,005
Railways, 1)	77,669	Medical,	866,937
Railways, 2)	17,235,978	Political,	770,541
(2,172,578		Scientific and Minor Departments,	485,747
Reproductive Public Works,	2,69,259	Railways (Working Expenses, Charges against Capital, Interest, etc.),	17,923,269
Buildings and Roads—Non-productive Public Works,	735,635	Irrigation,	2,743,128
Interest,	931,590	Buildings and Roads,	5,730,997
Superannuation Funds,	337,553	Military,	20,690,068
Stationery and Printing,	78,478	Special Defence Works,	491,837
Exchange,	78,478	Interest, Relief and Insurance,	4,195,304
Miscellaneous,	398,994	Temple and Political Persians,	600,000
		Civil Purgah and Absence Allowances,	597,569
		Superannuation Allowances and Pensions,	232,747
		Stationery and Printing,	3,051,511
		Refunds and Drawbacks,	593,436
		Assessments and Compensations,	235,663
		Miscellaneous,	1,510,092
			274,223
		Total Expenditure,	Rx. 84,256,917
		Deduct Provincial Adjustments,	Rx. 198,627
		Railway Construction charged against Revenue,	4,812
		Net Expenditure	203,430
			Rx. 83,053,478

1 Gross Receipts of State Railways and Net Traffic Receipts of Guaranteed Companies. 2 Including Rx. 7-8 1996, portion of Land Revenue due to Irrigation

Nature of
the land-
tax.

The land revenue, amounting to Rx. 24,045,209 in 1890-91, forms by far the largest item. Whether it should be properly regarded as a tax, or only as rent, is a problem for political economists to settle; but in any case, it is paid without question, as an immemorial right of the State. It yielded in 1890-91, 28 per cent., or nearly one-third, of the gross revenue.

1890-91.

Excise.

Of the other items of taxation, excise and stamps are practically creations of British rule. The excise is a tax upon intoxicating liquors and deleterious drugs, levied both on the manufacture and on the sale, according to different systems in different Provinces. Like the corresponding duty in England, it is voluntarily incurred, and presses hardest upon the lowest classes. But, unlike the English excise, it can hardly be called an elastic source of revenue, for the rate is intentionally kept so high as to discourage consumption. No duty whatever is levied upon tobacco. Stamps, as in England, form a complex item. The stamp revenue in India is chiefly derived from fees on litigation, and only a comparatively trifling amount from stamps proper on deeds of transfer, etc.

Stamps.

Customs,
1890-91.

Customs are divided into import and export duties, both of which have been so greatly lightened in recent years, that their permanent maintenance may be considered doubtful. Duties on exports have been altogether abolished, with the single exception of that on rice, which brings in from Rx. 600,000 to over Rx. 900,000 per annum. The average for the ten years ending 1890-91 was Rx. 740,757, the amount for the last-mentioned year (1890-91) Rx. 924,838, and there has been a steady increase since 1878. This export duty is levied at the rate of 3 *anas* a *maund*, or, at the old value of the rupee, about 6d. per cwt., being equivalent to an *ad valorem* rate of 10 per cent. The Rx. 1,743,218 received from customs in 1890-91 was practically made up of Rx. 600,901 levied on imported liquors and Rx. 165,040 on imported mineral oils, such as petroleum, together with Rx. 924,838 levied on exported rice. The receipts from all other import customs, chiefly levied on arms, ammunition, and drugs, amounted in 1890-91 to only Rx. 28,497, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total; and the balance of the customs revenue was made up by Rx. 6221 from land customs, and Rx. 17,721 from miscellaneous receipts, wharf-rents, and fees.¹

The import duty on cotton goods was finally abolished in

¹ *Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for the year 1890-91*, p. 37.

March 1882, having been reduced in 1878, and again in 1879. Imported cotton manufactures had previously formed the most important item of the customs revenue. From 1874 to 1882 the duty on cotton goods varied from Rx. 941,672 in 1878 to Rx. 574,915 in 1881-82, the average being about Rx. 750,000 during the nine years preceding the total abolition of the duty. Cotton Duties.

The salt-tax, which now yields over Rx. 8,000,000 a year, is a problem of greater difficulty. It is an impost upon an article of prime necessity, and it falls with greatest severity upon the lowest classes. On the other hand, it may be urged that it is familiar to the people, is levied in a manner which arouses no discontent; and is the only means available of spreading taxation proper over the community. The reforms of 1878 and 1882, referred to on a previous page, have equalized the incidence of the salt-tax over the entire country, with the incidental result of abolishing arbitrary and vexatious customs-lines. As stated on a previous page, the rate is now a uniform one of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or (at the old nominal value of the rupee) 6s. 9d. per cwt., throughout British India, except in Burma, where the rate is one rupee per *maund*. The salt-tax.

Direct taxation is no novelty in India, the Native Governments having from time immemorial made the non-agricultural classes pay their share of the expenses of the State. In the Provinces which passed early under British rule, we found this taxation mixed up with a complicated mass of 'octroi' and transit duties falling more or less upon the general population; and when (about 1844) the salt-tax was imposed upon the latter, the old system of direct and indirect taxation was, perhaps too indiscriminately, swept away. Assessed taxes.

The financial necessities arising out of the Mutiny of 1857 having compelled the Government to revert to direct taxation, the form of the English income-tax was adopted instead of the Native model that had been discarded about 1844. Ignorant and unlettered millions were called upon, at short notice, to assess themselves or prove rights of exemption, to send in elaborate returns and calculations, and to understand and watch their own interests under the system of notices, surcharges, claims, abatements, instalments, penalties, etc., consequent thereon. The result was a long train of abuses. Renewed direct taxation thus made a disadvantageous start. Furthermore, with the English form came the English idea that the tax was to be a convenient means for rectifying Budget inequalities, and a standing reserve in emergencies. History of the income-tax.

Rates of
income-
tax, 1860-
1877.

Hence, incomes which had been taxed 2 per cent. in 1860, were exempted in 1862; the 4 per cent. rate was reduced to 3 per cent. in 1863, and the whole tax was dropped in 1865. In 1867 it reappeared as a 'licence-tax' at a rate of 2 per cent. at more than, but reaching down to, incomes of Rs. 200. In 1868 it was made a 'certificate-tax,' at rates one-fifth lower, and starting with a Rs. 500 limit. In 1869 it became again an 'income-tax' at 1 per cent. on all incomes and profits of Rs. 500 and upwards. In the middle of the same year it was suddenly nearly doubled. In 1870 came a further rise to $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., followed in 1871 by a fall to about 1 per cent., with a minimum of Rs. 750, which in 1872 was relaxed to Rs. 1000. To this succeeded four years of total abolition. In 1877 a new start was made, upon somewhat improved lines, to levy a 'licence-tax,' but the system of local legislation led to local inequalities of incidence and of maximum, and the measure was admittedly provisional.

Present
arrange-
ment.

In 1886 the defences of India involved a large additional taxation. This led to a re-examination of the subject, and it was recognised that the perpetual changes in rate, incidence, name, form, classification, and procedure, evidenced by twenty-three Acts in some twenty years, had rendered successful direct taxation impossible. It was noted that the Native Governments levied without difficulty or demur sums far larger than the Rs. 500,000 which cost the British Government so much unpopularity and outcry. Their system consisted of a traditional acquaintance with individuals and their circumstances, a careful record of the names and revenues of non-agricultural householders, a rudely equitable apportionment between man and man, a fixed reluctance to vary assessments without grave cause, and the employment of the ordinary land-revenue agency. A measure was then framed, such as, with due allowance for modern circumstances, would by its provisions, and still more by the Rules framed under it, give the utmost scope for the application of these fundamental principles. A suitable permanent agency, under effective supervision, was to shun petty increases and changes from year to year; to use the power of assessment with care, tact, and moderation; to learn and record the real means of parties; to prevent the unfair escape of individuals; and by patient, continuous endeavours to build up a framework of taxation which could be smoothly worked upon. Act II. of 1886 remains in force up to the present time, and is reported to have fulfilled the anticipations which had been formed of the new departure, and to show a

Measures
taken in
1886.

yearly increase corresponding to the growth of India in wealth and population. The nett receipts of the assessed taxes, deducting the cost of collection, have been since the introduction of the new system :—

1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.
Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
1,277,510	1,382,808	1,477,514	1,567,593	1,588,150	1,614,900 ¹	1,613,400 ¹

GROSS EXPENDITURE.—Putting aside the cost of collection and civil administration, which explain themselves, the most important charges are the Army, Interest on Debt, Famine Relief, Loss by Exchange, and Public Works, to which may be added the complex item of payments in England. Military expenditure has averaged Rx. 19,484,591 during the ten years ending 1890-91, and in 1890-91 was Rx. 20,690,068. Of this amount, Rx. 14,799,128 were spent in India and Rx. 5,890,140 in England, in both cases slightly exceeding the average for the decade, which was Rx. 14,178,800 in India and Rx. 5,305,790 in England. In connection with military expenditure must be noted an item for special defence works, which has appeared in the Indian accounts since 1886-87. Under this head there was spent in 1890-91 the sum of Rx. 491,837, the average for the five years being Rx. 550,511.

In 1877-78, the total of the Indian Public Debt (exclusive of capital invested on railways and other productive public works) was returned at over Rx. 134 $\frac{2}{3}$ millions, being Rs. 6. 12. 2, or (taking the rupee at its old nominal value of 2s.) just 13s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per head of the population. In 1890-91, it was returned at over Rx. 207 millions, or, taking the figures of the new Census, at Rs. 9. 5. 8, or, according to the old rate of exchange, 18s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head of the population. Part of this was of the nature of obligations or deposits not bearing interest. The charge for interest was Rx. 5 millions in 1877-78, and only Rx. 4,195,304 in 1890-91. The above 'Public Debt' is independent of Rx. 126 $\frac{1}{3}$ millions invested in railways and productive works in 1877-78, which had increased to over Rx. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ in 1890-91.²

In 1840, the Public Debt amounted to only 30 millions, and gradually rose to 52 millions in 1857. Then came the Mutiny, which added upwards of 40 millions of debt in four years. The rate of increase was again gradual, but slow, till about

¹ Estimates for 1891-92, 1892-93.

² *Statistical Abstract for 1890-91*, p. 302.

1874, when Famine Relief conspired with Public Works to cause a rapid augmentation, which has continued to the present time. A significant feature in this augmentation is the large proportion of debt contracted in England.

Famine
Relief.

No charge has recently pressed harder upon the Indian exchequer than that of Famine Relief. Apart from loss by reduced revenue, the two famines of 1874 and 1877-78 caused a direct expenditure on charitable and relief works amounting in the aggregate to just over Rx. 14 millions. From 1878-79 to 1882-83 the expenditure on 'Famine Relief' was returned at Rx. 3½ millions (of which the greater portion was expended on Public Works in the nature of insurance against famine, and not on actual relief); making a total of nearly Rx. 17½ millions during the ten years 1874 to 1883 inclusive. This amounted to an annual charge of Rx. 1¾ millions for 'Famine Relief.' Since 1882-83 the need of special expenditure under this head has not been so imperative. Nevertheless, during these eight years up to 1890-91, Rx. 6¼ millions more has been spent on 'Famine Relief and Insurance,' or an average sum of Rx. ¾ of a million a year.¹

Loss by
exchange.

Loss by exchange is due to the circumstance that large payments in gold require to be made in England by means of the depreciated rupee. In the table on p. 551 it is not treated as a separate item, but spread over the different branches of Indian expenditure. The average amount spent in England during the six years from 1885-86 to 1890-91 was £14,869,127, and the actual figure for 1890-91 was £15,568,875. An analysis of this expenditure shows that the principal items were—Interest on Debt, £2,513,000; Interest on State and Guaranteed Railways, £5,702,207; Effective Military Charges (including payment for British forces, troop service, etc.), £1,325,463; Non-Effective Military Charges (including retired pay, pensions, etc.), £2,095,632; Indian Service Funds (pensions to Civil officers, etc.), £1,406,606; and Stores, chiefly military, £1,522,108.² To meet these large and necessary disbursements, money has to be transmitted to England, and a considerable loss is caused by the depreciated value of silver as against gold. In 1869-70, the loss by exchange was more than balanced by an entry of gain by exchange on the other side of the ledger. In 1876-77, the loss amounted to Rx. 2,161,713; between 1878-79 and 1884-85, when the rupee was worth a varying fraction more

¹ *Statistical Abstract for 1890-91*, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 109.

than 1s. 7d., it averaged Rx. 3,395,528; and between 1887-88 and 1890-91, when the rupee had fallen to a varying fraction over 1s. 4d., the average loss was Rx. 6,678,084¹

In 1890-91, however, the rupee rose once more to slightly over 1s. 6d. in value, and the loss on exchange consequently was only Rx. 5,217,896. The actual loss on the payment of the Home Charges of £15,568,875 was Rx. 5,087,144, and the difference is accounted for by the fact that the Secretary of State for India cannot draw bills for exactly the amount required at the moment, but has to watch the market and seize favourable opportunities.

The expenditure on Public Works is provided from three sources—(1) the capital of private companies, with a Government guarantee; (2) loans for the construction of railways and canals; (3) current revenue applied towards such works as are not directly remunerative. In 1877-78, the capital raised for guaranteed railways amounted to Rx. 97½ millions, and the capital invested on State railways and other productive public works to Rx. 29 millions: total, Rx. 126½ millions on railways and productive works. In 1890-91, the capital of the guaranteed railways was reduced to Rx. 71¼ millions; the capital invested on State railways and other productive public works amounted to Rx. 95¾ millions: total on railways and productive public works, Rx. 167½ millions in 1890-91. During the interval, 64 millions sterling of capital had been transferred from the guaranteed to the State railway account, owing to the purchase of the East India, the Eastern Bengal, and the Sind, Punjab, and Delhi railways by the Government. Public Works expenditure.

Independent of Imperial finance, and likewise independent of certain sums annually transferred from the Imperial exchequer to be expended by the provincial governments, there is another Indian budget for local revenue and expenditure. This consists of an income derived mainly from cesses upon land, four-fifths of which are classified as Provincial Rates, and expended to a great extent upon minor public works and education. In 1877-78, local revenue and expenditure were each returned at about Rx. 3½ millions, and in 1890-91 the local revenue amounted to Rx. 3,579,010, and the local expenditure to Rx. 3,989,060, of which Rx. 1,600,095 was spent on public works, and Rx. 585,661 on education.² Local finance

Yet a third budget is that belonging to the municipalities.

¹ *Statistical Abstract for 1890-91*, p. 133.

² *Finance and Revenue Account of the Government of India for 1890-91*, pp. 18, 19.

Municipal
finance,
1876-91.

The three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had in 1876-77 a total municipal income of Rx. 668,400, of which Rx. 519,322 was derived from taxation, being at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per head of population. In addition, there were 894 minor municipalities, with a total population of 12,381,059. Their aggregate income was Rx. 1,246,974, of which Rx. 979,088 was derived from taxation, being at the rate of 12 *anas* 8 *pies* per head. In 1890-91 the total municipal revenue of the three capital towns was Rx. 1,106,400, namely, of Bombay, Rx. 586,100; of Calcutta, Rx. 420,000; and of Madras, Rx. 100,300; while their expenditure was Rx. 1,575,600, namely, in Bombay, Rx. 1,013,000; in Calcutta, Rx. 447,000; and in Madras, Rx. 115,600. Their debt amounts (1891) to Rx. 5,698,000, of which Rx. 3,285,000 belongs to Bombay, Rx. 2,126,000 to Calcutta, and Rx. 287,000 to Madras; while the incidence of municipal taxation on the population varies from Rs. 6 in Bombay, and Rs. 5. 10. 11 in Calcutta, to Rs. 1. 15 in Madras. An idea of the importance of the Presidency towns may be formed from the fact that the whole municipal income of all the other 758 municipalities in India amounted in 1890-91 to only Rs. 1,929,614, and their total expenditure to Rx. 2,438,096.¹ In the Presidency towns, rates upon houses, etc., are the chief source of income; but in the District municipalities, excepting in Bengal and Madras, octroi duties are more relied upon. The chief items of municipal expenditure are conservancy, roads, and police.

Constitu-
tion of the
army.

THE INDIAN ARMY.—The constitution of the Indian army is based upon the historical division of British India into the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. There are still three Indian armies, each composed of both European and Native troops, and each with its own Commander-in-Chief and separate staff, although the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal exercises supreme authority over the other two. There may also be said to be a fourth army, the Punjab Frontier Force, which, until 1885, was under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.

The three
Presidency
armies.

The Bengal army garrisons Bengal Proper and Assam, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, a portion of Central India and Rájputána, and the Punjab. In 1877-78 its total strength was 104,216 officers and men, of whom 63,933 were

¹ *Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India*, 1890-91, pp. 30, 31, 36, 38; and *Statistical Abstract for 1890-91*, p. 143.

Native troops. In 1890-91, the Bengal army numbered 130,375 officers and men, of whom 84,053 were Native troops. In the Bengal Native army, the distinguishing feature is the presence of 12 batteries of artillery, and an exceptionally large proportion of cavalry, both of which arms are massed in the Punjab.

The Madras army extends beyond the limits of that Presidency into Mysore, the Nizám's Dominions, the Central Provinces, also to Burma across the Bay of Bengal, and to the Andaman convict settlements. In 1877-78, its total strength was 47,026 officers and men, of whom 34,293 were Native troops. In 1890-91, the Madras army numbered 46,072 of all ranks, of whom 32,123 were natives. In the Madras Native army, the distinguishing features are the large proportion of sappers and miners, the small proportion of cavalry, and the entire absence of artillery.

The Bombay army occupies Bombay Proper and Sind, the Native States of Central India, and the outlying station of Aden in the Red Sea. In 1877-78, its total strength was 38,355 officers and men, of whom 26,645 were Native troops. In 1890-91, the Bombay army numbered 41,771 officers and men, of whom 28,672 were natives.

The total established strength of the European and Native army in British India in 1877-78 (exclusive of Native artificers and followers) consisted of 189,597 officers and men, of whom 64,276 were Europeans, and 124,871 were Native troops. The four chief arms of the service were thus composed :—(1) Artillery, 12,239 Europeans and 901 natives ; (2) cavalry, 4347 Europeans and 18,346 natives ; (3) engineers, 357 Europeans (all officers) and 3239 natives ; (4) infantry, 45,962 Europeans and 102,183 natives. In 1890-91, the total European and Native army in British India consisted of 218,218 officers and men, of whom 73,370 were Europeans and 144,848 were Native troops. The artillery consisted of 12,723 Europeans and 3757 natives ; the cavalry of 5679 Europeans and 23,348 natives, besides a bodyguard of 199 troopers ; engineers, 254 Europeans (all officers) and 4015 natives ; infantry, 53,701 Europeans and 113,529 natives. British Staff Officers, Invalid and Veteran Establishment, etc., 1013. Total Europeans, 73,370.

POLICE.—Excluding the village watch, still maintained as a subsidiary police in many parts of the country, the regular police of all kinds in British India in 1890 consisted of a

Police of
India,
1890.

total strength of 150,591 officers and men, being an average of one policeman to about $6\frac{1}{3}$ square miles of area, and to about 1468 of the population. The total cost of maintenance was Rx. 2,583,963, of which Rx. 2,418,973 was payable from Imperial or provincial revenues. The former figure gives an average cost of Rs. 26. 13. 8, or (at the old rate of exchange of 2s. to the rupee) of about £2 13s. 8½d. per square mile of area; and of 1 *ana* 9 *pies*, or (at the old rate of exchange) about 2½d. per head of population. The average pay of each constable was Rs. 7 a month, or £8 8s. a year.

Jails, 1890.

In 1890, the total number of places of confinement in British India, including Central and District jails and lock-ups, was 746; the total number of prisoners admitted during the year, or remaining over from the previous year, was 495,820; the daily average was 88,353.¹ The places of transportation for all British India are the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, where there are two penal establishments, containing, in 1890-91, a daily average of 11,804 convicts.²

Educa-
tion.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION in India is directly organized by the State, and is assisted by grants-in-aid, under careful inspection. But at no period of its history has India been without some system of popular education, independent of State organization or aid. The origin of the Deva-Nāgari alphabet is lost in antiquity, though it is generally admitted not to be of indigenous invention. Inscriptions on stone and copper, the palm-leaf records of the temples, and in later days the widespread manufacture of paper, indicate not only the general knowledge, but also the common use, of the art of writing.

In ancient
India.

From the earliest times the Brāhman caste preserved, first by oral tradition, then in manuscript, a literature unrivalled in its antiquity and for the intellectual subtlety of its contents. The Muhammadan invaders introduced the profession of the chronicler, and attained a high degree of historical excellence, compared with European writers of the same mediæval period. Throughout every change of dynasty, vernacular instruction has been given, at least to the children of respectable classes, in each large village. On the one hand, the *tois* or seminaries for teaching Sanskrit philosophy at Benares and Nadiyā recall the schools of Athens and Alexandria; on the other, the importance attached to instruction in accounts reminds one of

Village
schools.
Sanskrit
schools.

¹ *Statistical Abstract for 1890-91*, pp. 68, 69

² *Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands for 1890-91*, p. 2.

the picture which Horace has left of a Roman education. Even at the present day, a knowledge of reading and writing, taught by the Buddhist monks, is as widely diffused throughout Burma as in many countries of Europe. Our own efforts to stimulate education have been most successful, when based upon the existing indigenous institutions.

During the early days of the East India Company's rule, the promotion of education was not recognised as a duty of Government. Even in England, at that time, education was entirely left to private, and mainly to clerical, enterprise. A State system of instruction for the whole people is an idea of the latter half of the nineteenth century. But the enlightened mind of Warren Hastings anticipated this idea by founding the Calcutta Madrasa for Muhammadan teaching (1781), and by extending his patronage alike to Hindu *pandits* and European students. Our first efforts at education. Lord Wellesley's schemes of Imperial dominion led to the establishment of the college of Fort William for young civilians. Of the Calcutta seminaries, the Sanskrit College was founded in 1824, when Lord Amherst was Governor-General; the Medical College, by Lord William Bentinck in 1835; the Húglí Madrasa, by a wealthy Native gentleman in 1836. The Sanskrit College at Benares had been established in 1791, the Agra College in 1823. Calcutta Madrasa and other Colleges.

Meanwhile, the Christian missionaries made the field of vernacular education their own. Discouraged by the authorities, and under the Company liable to deportation, they not only devoted themselves with courage to their special work of evangelization, but they were also the first Europeans to study the vernacular dialects spoken by the people. Nearly two centuries ago, the Jesuits at Madura, in the extreme south, had so mastered Tamil as to leave works in that language which are still acknowledged as classical by Native authors. About 1810, the Baptist mission at Serampur, above Calcutta, raised Bengali to the rank of a literary prose dialect. The interest of the missionaries in education, which has never ceased to the present day, although now comparatively overshadowed by Government activity, had two distinct aspects. They studied the vernacular, in order to preach to the people, and to translate the Bible; they also taught English, as the channel of Western knowledge. Mission Schools.

After long and acrimonious controversy between the advocates of English and of vernacular teaching, the present system was based, in 1854, upon a comprehensive Despatch sent out by Sir C. Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax). In the midst of State system of education, 1854.